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The  
Emma  
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Papers



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64

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Papers

*A Microfilm Edition*

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**Reel 64**

**Government Documents**

**November 1, 1919 to December 22, 1919**

Edited by

Candace Falk

Ronald J. Zboray

and

Daniel Cornford

Government Documents Editor:

Alice Hall

**CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.**

Alexandria, Virginia

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# The Emma Goldman Papers Project

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## Contents

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### Reel 64

#### Government Documents: November 1, 1919 to December 22, 1919

- [Report on Emma Goldman's Activities in New York] New York [1919 Nov.? 1? (fragment?)] / [Margaret M. Scully, Agent, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities].
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- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 1, New York [to unknown recipient (draft)] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman.
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 1, New York [to J. Clere, Seattle, Wash.] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman.
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- [Letter, 1919] Nov. [2?] Staten Isl[an]d, N.Y. [to] Newton D. Baker [Secretary of War, War Department], Washington, D.C. / W[illia]m D. Nelson.
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney Gen[eral, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] George F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [Frank Burke? Assistant Director and Chief? Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice].
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- [Agent Report] In re: Anarchism — Berkman and Goldman, New York, 1919 Nov. 5 / B. B. [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 5, New York [to] Margaret Scully [Agent, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities, New York (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman

- [Letter, 19] 19 Nov. 5 [New York to Turner? Agent? New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities?, New York] / [Margaret M. Scully, Agent, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 6 [New York to Rayme W.] Finch [Chief Investigator, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities, New York] / [Margaret M. Scully, Agent, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities].
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman – Alex Berkman, New York, 1919 Nov. 6 / B. B. [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 7, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 7 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 7, New York [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / G[eorge] F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
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- [Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 12, Chicago [to] E[dward] J. Brennan, Div[ision] Sup[erintenden]t, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].
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[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman – Anarchists Held for Deportation, New York, 1919 Nov. 12 / John L. Haas [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 12, Philadelphia [to A. Mitchell] Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / H.S.J. Sickel.
- [Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner – Alleged Husband of Emma Goldman, Syracuse, N.Y., 1919 Nov. [13?] / James C. Tormey, Special Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 13, Rochester, N.Y. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t [of] Justice, Wash[ingto]n, D.C. / [James C.] Tormey [Special Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- Emma Goldman Lawyer Seeks Verdict Delay – 22 cm. *In* [New York Call (Nov. 13, 1919)] / [author unknown].
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- [Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 14, Chicago [to] Maclay Hoyne [United] States Attorney [Department of Justice], Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].
- Hotel Cancels the Anarchist Reception – 22 cm. *In* [Philadelphia Record (Nov. 14, 1919)] / [author unknown].
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- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 16, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / A.F. Sherman, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.
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- Explanatory Note: Report on the Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, November 17, 1919.



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- [Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] / [A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice].
- [Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] / [A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice].
- [Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] / [A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice].
- Emma Goldman to be Deported — 21 cm. *In* [New York Sun (Nov. 17, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- Palmer Bares Be[r]kman and Goldman Acts — 21 cm. *In* [New York American (Nov. 17, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- Palmer Brands Miss Goldman Riot Breeder — 21 cm. *In* [New York Tribune (Nov. 17, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- Palmer Says Emma Goldman Knew McKinley Slayer — 21 cm. *In* [New York Illustrated News (Nov. 17, 1919)] / [author unknown].
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- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 17 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
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- [Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 18, Chicago [to] Maclay Hoyne [United] States Attorney [Department of Justice], Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].
- [Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 18, Chicago [to] Aryan Grotto Temple, Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].
- [Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 19, Chicago [to] Maclay Hoyne [United] States Attorney [Department of Justice], Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].
- Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 19, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence] 4 [War Department].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 19, Chicago [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- When Emma Goldman's lawyer says... — 21 cm. *In* [Philadelphia Inquirer (Nov. 19, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- Get Those Behind Them — 21 cm. *In* [New York Telegram (Nov. 20, 1919)] / [author unknown].
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- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] Todd Daniel [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Philadelphia / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] J. Washington L[a?]gue, Philadelphia / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 21 [Washington, D.C. to] H.S.J. Sickel, Philadelphia / R[obert] P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 21 [Washington, D.C. to M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Buffalo, N.Y. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Anarchism — Emma Goldman, N[ew] Y[ork] 1919 Nov. 21 / B. B. [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 21, Chicago [to unknown recipient] / Cassius V. Cook.
- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 22 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].

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- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 22, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 22, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Speech on] Amnesty for Political Prisoners, Autoworkers' Union Hall, Detroit, Mich. / Emma Goldman. — 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript].
- [Speech on Amnesty for Political Prisoners] Autoworkers' Hall, Detroit, Mich. / [Alexander Berkman]. — 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript].
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- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman — Anarchists, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 2[4?] / Fred H. Hessler [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 24, Washington, D.C. [to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 24, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Byrne H. Uhl, Assistant Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.
- [Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 25 [Washington, D.C. to Louis F.] Post [Assistant Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Edw[ard] McGraw, Private Secretary [Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 25, Chicago [to] Marlborough Churchill [Director, Military Intelligence Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / Thomas B. Crockett [Department Intelligence Officer] Central Department, War Department.
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman — Anarchistic Meeting Held at 56 E. Adams St. at 8 P.M., Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 25 / G.F.R. Cummerow [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].

- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman – Anarchistic meeting held at 56 E. Adams St. at 8 P.M., Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 25 / B[ernard] Kahn [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner, Chicago, 1919 Nov. 25 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 25, Buffalo, N.Y. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief] Bureau [of] Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington [D.C.] / [M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 25 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 26 / John A. Dowd [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Speech on Political Deportations, Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America, Detroit] / Ja[cob] Margolis. — [1919 Nov. 26 (government transcript)].
- [Speech on Political Deportations, Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America, Detroit] / Emma Goldman. — [1919 Nov. 26 (government transcript)].
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- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Her [?] Jacob Lewis — Deportation Matter, Chicago [1919 Nov. 26?] / F.M. S[turgis, Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 28, Chicago [to] George F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1919 Nov. 28, Chicago [to] A[rthur] L. Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Detroit, Mich. / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 28 / W.W. Spain [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman — Anarchists, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 28 / Thomas C. Wilcox [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 28, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 29 [Washington, D.C. to Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
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- [Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 29, Chicago [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department.
- [Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 29, Washington [D.C. to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / J[ohn?] T. S[uter?] Assistant to the Director? Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
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- [Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 29 / Fred H. Hessler [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Berkman – Radical Activities, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 29 / John A. Dowd [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Nov. 29 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie [Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor.
- [Warrant] 1919 Dec. 1 [for deportation of Emma Goldman] / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor.
- [Warrant] 1919 Dec. 1 [for deportation of Emma Goldman] / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor.
- [Warrant] 1919 Dec. 1 [for deportation of Emma Goldman] / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington [D.C. to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor.
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- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 1, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington [D.C. to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, Washington, D.C. / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.
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- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 1, New York [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / G[eorge] F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
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- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago [19]19 Dec. 1 / Jas. O. Peyronnin [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman – Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 1 / A.H. Loula [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman – Anarchist Matter, Indianapolis, 1919 Dec. 1 / Bernard Kahn [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].

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- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Chicago [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Wash[ingto]n, D.C. / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, New York [to Louis F.] Post, Ass[istan]t Sec[retar]y of Labor [Department of Labor], Wash[ingto]n, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [New York to] Louis F. Post, Ass[istan]t Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. [draft] / Harry Weinberger.
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
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- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. [draft] / Harry Weinberger.
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- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie [Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor.
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- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, New York [to] John W. Abercrombie, Act[ing] Sec[retary] of Labor [Department of Labor], Wash[ington], D.C. / David Bernstein.
- [Memorandum, 19]19 Dec. 2, Washington [D.C. to Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / John W. A[bercrombie] Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to Bureau of Immigration? Department of Labor? Washington, D.C.] / John W. A[bercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor].
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- [Telegram, 1919 Dec. 2, Washington, D.C. to] David Bernstein, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to Byrne H. Uhl] Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 2, Chicago [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / John B. Campbell, Acting Department Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department.
- [Report on Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman] Meeting, Nov. 29th – Street Car Men's Hall, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 / Patriotic American League.
- [Report on Emma Goldman] Meeting, Nov. 30, 1919, West Side Auditorium, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 / Patriotic American League.
- [Report on International Workers Defense League Banquet], Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 / Patriotic Am[erican] League.
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alex[ander] Berkman, Indianapolis, Ind. [1919] Dec. 2 / T.F. Mullen [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Rochester, N.Y. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Affidavit] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Joseph Kersner.
- [Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re: Jacob Kersner] / Barney H. Joseph.
- [Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re: Jacob Kersner] / Isadore Joseph.
- [Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re: Jacob Kersner] / Rosa Goldberg.
- [Deposition] 1919 Dec. 3 [in re: Jacob Kersner] / Clara Ackerman.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 3, Chicago [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].

- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman – Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]19 Dec. 3 / Vincent P. Creighton, Special Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- Weekly Situation Survey for week ending December 3, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief [Military Intelligence 4, War Department].
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- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 3, Detroit, Mich. [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Arthur L. Barkey, Special Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Meeting West Side Auditorium [Chicago] 1919 Dec. 3 / Patriotic American League.
- [Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman – Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 3 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 3, Chicago [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 3, New York [to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 3, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 3 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombi[e, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor.
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.
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- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 4 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / Frank K. Nebeker, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington [D.C. to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] B. Wilson, Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor.
- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 4, Chicago [to] Maclay Hoyne [United] States Attorney [Department of Justice], Chicago / John B. Campbell, Acting Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].
- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 4, Chicago [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / John B. Campbell, Acting Department Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department.
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- [Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner, Emma Goldman – Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 / P[eter] P. Mindak [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman – Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman – Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 / Jas. O. Peyronnin [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- Explanatory Note. J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection, December 5, 1919.

- [Photograph] Berkman and Emma Goldman When They Reported at Ellis Island — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 5? 1919)] / [author unknown].
- Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman on the way to Ellis Island... — 18 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 5? 1919)] / [author unknown].
- [Photograph of] Emma Goldman [Ellis Island, N.Y.] 1919 Dec. 5 / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Photograph of Emma Goldman, Ellis Island, N.Y., 1919 Dec. 5] / [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.
- [Photograph of Emma Goldman, Ellis Island, N.Y., 1919 Dec. 5] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [List of] Russian Radicals Held at Ellis Island [N.Y., 1919 between Dec. 5 and 21] / [Byrne H. Uhl?] Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 5, New York [to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 5 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
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- United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 5 / Julius M. Mayer, Judge, United States District [Court].
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- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 5, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 5, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 6, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 6 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Memorandum, 19] 19 Dec. 6 [Washington, D.C. to W.J. Peters?] Law Div[ision, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / [Anthony] C[aminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 6, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.

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- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 6, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / [Francis G.] Caffey [United States Attorney, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 6 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey [United States Attorney, Department of Justice], New York / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
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- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman – Deportation Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 6 / F.M. Sturgis [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 7, New York [to A. Mitchell] Palmer [Attorney General] Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Tho[mas] L. Elder.
- [Letter, 19]19 Dec. 7, Brooklyn, N.Y. [to A. Mitchell] Palmer [Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / Theodore De Munel.
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- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman – Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 8 / M. Wolff [Agent? Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Byrne H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, Chicago [to] Harry Weinberger, New York – Leon Green.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, New York [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.

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- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, New York [to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.
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- United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Return, 1919 Dec. 8 [to Goldman's petition for writ of habeas corpus] / Augustus P. Schell [Immigrant Inspector, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
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- United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Order Dismissing Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 9 / Julius M. Mayer, Judge, United States District Court.
- United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: [Order Dismissing Writ of Habeas Corpus] 1919 Dec. 9 [draft] / [Julius M. Mayer, Judge, United States District Court].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 9, New York [to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 9, New York [to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 9 [New York to] Louis D. Brandeis [Associate Justice] U[nited] S[tates] Supreme Court, Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
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- [Report on Harry Weinberger, New York? 1919 Dec. 9?] / [Agent No. 7, Military Intelligence Division? War Department?].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 9 [Chicago? to] Thomas B. Crockett [Department Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department], Chicago / [Agent] No. 452 [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman – Anarchists, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1919 Dec. 9 / J.D. Rooney [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Lost File on Goldman-Berkman Case, New York, 1919 Dec. 9 / E[dward] Anderson [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- Back to Russia – 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 9, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] Keonan [Department of Justice?, Washington, D.C.] / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].



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/ Harry Weinberger.
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- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 10, Washington, D.C. [to] Henry G. Pratt, Military  
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Corps of Intelligence Police [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 11 [Boston to Marlborough Churchill] Director,  
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Frothingham [Department] Intelligence Officer, Northeastern Department  
[War Department].
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General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J.  
E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of  
Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 11 [Washington, D.C. to] Theodore De Munel, Brooklyn, N.Y. /  
Thomas J. Spellacy, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 11 [Washington, D.C. to Francis G. Caffey] United States  
Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / [Alexander C.] King, Solicitor  
General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 11, New York [to Alexander C. King] Solicitor General,  
Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States  
Attorney, Department of Justice.
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 11, New York [to Alexander C. King] Solicitor General,  
Dep[artmen]t [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Francis G.] Caffey [United States  
Attorney, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 11, Seattle, Wash. [to] W.H. Moran, Chief, Secret Service  
[Treasury Department], Washington, D.C. / Thomas B. Foster, Agent in Charge  
[Secret Service, Treasury Department].
- [Agent Report] In re: Anarchist Activities, Emma Goldman – Alex[ander]  
Berkman Hearing, New York, 1919 Dec. 11 / E[dward] Anderson [Agent,  
Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 12, New York [to] Byr[ne] H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / Francis G.  
Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 12, New York [to Alexander C. King] Solicitor General  
[Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States  
Attorney, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 12 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States  
Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / R[obert] P. Stewart, Assistant  
Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 12 [New York to] Leon Green, Chicago / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 12, New York [to] R[obert] P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney  
General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.

- Statement [in re: Deportation of Emma Goldman, 1919 Dec. 12?] / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Statement in re: Deportation, 1919 Dec. 12?] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 12, New York [to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 12 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 12 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- Emma Goldman Gets Stay of Week; Berkman to Go — 28 cm. *In* [Chicago Tribune (Dec. 12, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- Soviet Ark to Sail in 10 Days — 36 cm. *In* [New York Globe (Dec. 12, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- [Agent Report] In re: Goldman — Berkman — Mina Lowensohn — Count Max Podocki (Alleged Anarchists — Russian Activities), Philadelphia [19] 19 Dec. 12 / J.[F.] McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Report on] Abraham Schneider [St. Louis? Mo.?] 1919 Dec. 13 [excerpt?] / [Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice].
- [Letter, 19] 19 Dec. 13, Brunswick, Me. [to Frank K. Nebeker, Assistant Attorney General] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / J.R. Pierson.
- The deportation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman is the unworthy way — 36 cm. *In* The Lewiston Daily Sun (Dec. 13, 1919) [fragment] / [author unknown].
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 13 [Washington, D.C. to Francis G. Caffey] United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / [Alexander C.] King, Solicitor General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / Alex[ander] C. King, Solicitor General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [Washington, D.C. to] A.J. Carter, Division of Russian Affairs, Dep[artmen]t [of] State, Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 13, Chicago [to] H.A. Strauss [Department Intelligence Officer? Eastern Department? War Department], New York / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [New York to] Byrne H. Uhl, Assistant Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [New York to] Percy Baker, Sup[erintenden]t, Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [New York to] Robert A. Lansing, Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [New York to] Collector of the Port, New York / [Harry Weinberger].
- Emma Goldman Ready To Go To Soviet Russia — 28 cm. *In* [Chicago Tribune (Dec. 13, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 15, Chicago [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington [D.C.] / Tho[mas] B.



- Crockett, Dep[artmen]t Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department.
- Martens Wants Reds for Russia — 33 cm. *In* [New York Post (Dec. 15, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- [Agent Report] In re: Radical Activities in New York — Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, "Anarchist Soviet Bulletin" [New York] 1919 Dec. 15 / J.F. McDevitt, Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [File Memorandum re: Deportation of Emma Goldman, 19]19 Dec. 15 / [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 15, New York [to Alexander C. King] Solicitor General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 15 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 15 [New York to] Byrne H. Uhl, Assistant Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 15, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / James D. Maher, Clerk, United States Supreme Court.
- [Telegram] 1919 Dec. 15 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [A. Mitchell] Palmer [Attorney General, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 16 [Washington, D.C. to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 16 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / Alex[ander] C. King, Solicitor General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 16, New York [to] A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Motion [to Dismiss Writ of Error, 1919 Dec. 16?] / Harry Weinberger.
- [Letter, 1919? Dec.? 16?] Washington [D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Frank T. Hines, Chief, Transportation Service, War Department.
- [Deposition] 1919 Dec. 16 [in re departure of the Buford] / James H. Townley.
- "Reds" Not Going on the Buford — 36 cm. *In* [The New York World (Dec. 16, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- [Memorandum, 19]19 Dec. 17, Washington, D.C. [to] Frank Burke, Ass[istan]t Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W.H. Moran, Chief, Secret Service, Treasury Department.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 18, Washington [D.C. to] Ludwig A. Martens, Soviet Representative to the United States, New York? / [Robert A. Lansing, Secretary of State] Department of State.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 18, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [United States ex rel] Goldman v. Caminetti: [Memorandum Decision, Dec. 18, 1919] / [Supreme Court of the United States]. — p. 565 ; 22 cm. *In* [United States Reports]. — Vol. 251 [1920].

- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 18, Philadelphia [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Todd Daniel, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter, 19] 19 Dec. 19, Chicago [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Leon Green.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 19 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 19, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 19, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Alex[ander] C. King, Solicitor General, Department of Justice.
- [Power of Attorney] 1919 Dec. 19 [naming Stella Ballantine] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter to Miss Emma Goldman] / L[udwig] A. Martens. — 27 cm. *In* Soviet Russia. — Vol. I, no. 29 (Dec. 20, 1919).
- [Photographs Taken On Board the Buford between 1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Photographs Taken On Board the Buford between 1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Photographs] Leading Personages on the Buford's Passenger-List — 10 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 21? 1919)] / [author unknown].
- [Photograph] Famous Anarchists Ordered Deported and Their Counsel — 24 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 21? 1919)] / [author unknown].
- [List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, en route to U.S.S.R.] 1919 Dec. 21 [government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman].
- Alex. Berkman and Emma Goldman say they will come back... — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec.? 22? 1919)] / [author unknown].
- The Buford Has Fine Service Record — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec.? 22? 1919, fragment)] / [author unknown].
- Emma Goldman / Walt Mason. — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec.? 22? 1919)].
- [Political Cartoon] 249 Reds to Russia / Berryman. — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 22? 1919)].
- Berkman and Goldman — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 22? 1919)] / [author unknown].
- 249 Reds Sail, Exiled to Soviet Russia... — 28 cm. *In* [New York Herald (Dec. 22, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- Emma Goldman Mentor of Czolgosz, McKinley's Slayer, Declare U.S. Investigators / Carl W. Ackerman. — 28 cm. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 22, 1919)].
- Radical Writings of Emma Goldman Are Made Public — 28 cm. *In* [Washington Star (Dec. 22, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- Anarchist Leaders Fought to Last Legal Ditch to Escape Deportation — 28 cm. *In* [New York Tribune (Dec. 22, 1919)] / [author unknown].
- Sails With 249 Reds — 29 cm. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 22, 1919)] / [author unknown].

## **Introduction to Reels 63 and 64 Government Documents Series (August 1, 1919 to December 22, 1919)**

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Reels 63 and 64 cover the period of Goldman's deportation. Although the Bureau of Immigration began preparing its case as early as April 1919, not until August did the various government agencies concentrate on deporting Goldman and Berkman.

The Immigration Act of 1918 authorized the government to deport any alien who was an anarchist or advocated the overthrow of organized government, regardless of length of residence in the United States. Therefore, the government had to prove only that Goldman was an anarchist and an alien.

To this end, the Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of Investigation, under the tireless and enthusiastic supervision of J. Edgar Hoover, then special assistant to the attorney general and head of the newly-established General Intelligence Division of the Department of Justice, searched Goldman's published writings, her files with the New York and Chicago Police, and records of her arrests and trials for proof that she was an anarchist. They sent investigators to Rochester to interview her relatives regarding her age, place of birth, and marriage to Jacob Kersner. They relied on Kersner's denaturalization to prove Goldman was no longer a citizen. When Hoover learned that Goldman planned to argue that Kersner had died before the government took away his citizenship, he sent agents to Chicago to obtain proof that Kersner died after 1909.

Goldman's deportation was a complicated mixture of administrative and judicial proceedings. The Supreme Court has consistently held that deportation is a civil, not criminal, matter to which the full constitutional rights associated with a jury trial do not apply. In 1919, the Bureau of Immigration was required only to provide an administrative hearing, run by its own

personnel. The only way to appeal the Bureau's decision was by means of a writ of habeas corpus while in custody. Habeas corpus is an emergency measure designed to protect people in custody from only the most serious abuses of due process. Therefore, the prospective deportee in custody had the difficult task of proving the fundamental unfairness of the impending government action.

After extensive negotiations, the Bureau of Immigration allowed Goldman to post a fifteen thousand dollar bond upon her release from prison and they agreed to transfer her deportation hearing from Missouri to Ellis Island. After several postponements at Weinberger's request, the hearing took place on October 27 and November 12. Goldman refused to participate in what she termed an inquisition into her opinions. She read a prepared statement and refused to answer any further questions from the government. Weinberger requested an adjournment of thirty days in order to present evidence that Goldman was a United States citizen.

The Bureau of Immigration refused to adjourn the hearing and Weinberger refused to submit a brief to the Bureau, choosing instead to rely on the courts. On November 29, Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis Post ordered Goldman deported. He gave her and Berkman until December 5 to appear at Ellis Island ready for deportation.

On December 5, when Goldman and Berkman went to Ellis Island, Weinberger petitioned the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York for a writ of habeas corpus. He argued that the deportation was invalid for many reasons, citing flaws in Kersner's denaturalization and the government's failure to notify Goldman of the denaturalization case in advance. He protested that the government could not deport Goldman for her political opinions; nor could they deport her to Russian territory controlled by anti-Bolshevik forces where her life would be in danger.

Judge Mayer, who presided over Goldman's trial in 1917, also presided over the habeas corpus case. He heard oral arguments on December 8 and ruled in favor of the government. He agreed to stay the deportation for two days to give Weinberger time to appeal to the Supreme Court, but he refused to allow Goldman out on bail during this period.

The Supreme Court agreed to hear Goldman's appeal. After government assurances of a speedy deportation to Soviet Russia, Goldman decided to accept deportation to participate in the revolutionary struggle in Russia with Berkman rather than stay on Ellis Island and struggle to raise money to fight a losing appeal. In the cold early morning hours of December 21, 1919, the government deported Goldman, Berkman, and 247 other Russian radicals on the S.S. *Buford*.

The documentary record of Goldman's deportation includes the arrest warrant, the administrative hearing transcript, and the records of the habeas corpus case and the Supreme Court appeal. The document header for the hearing transcript, a fifty-three page document dated October 27, contains cross-references to the many exhibits presented at the hearing. Most of these exhibits consist of early documents that appeared previously with other material of the same date in this microfilm edition.

The legal papers from the habeas corpus case, entitled *United States ex rel. Goldman v. Caminetti*, include Weinberger's petition for the writ, the government's reply in opposition, and the sixty-nine page stenographer's transcript of Harry Weinberger and Francis Caffey's arguments before Judge Mayer on December 8. The papers in the Supreme Court appeal are Weinberger's petition for a writ of error and his assignment of errors, Justice Brandeis's grant to hear the appeal, and Weinberger's motion to dismiss the appeal, dated December 18. In addition to the court papers, Weinberger maintained an extensive correspondence regarding the details of the

deportation. This correspondence reveals the government's obsession with deporting Goldman and their efforts to conceal their specific plans from her.

During October and November, zealous citizens, Congressmen, and J. Edgar Hoover exhorted the Bureau of Immigration to speed up Goldman's deportation. By mid-November, when Hoover learned through his agents that Goldman was planning a speaking tour through the mid-West, his requests grew more urgent. Acting under the pressure of a Senate resolution, the Justice Department, on November 17, released a report on their efforts to rid the country of alien radicals. This report features a long analysis of Goldman and Berkman's deportation, probably written by Hoover.

In late 1919, the Bureau of Investigation and other intelligence gathering agencies, spurred by a number of bombings directed at public officials including Attorney General Palmer, began a massive crackdown on radicals. Since they could not use the wartime Espionage and Sedition Acts to imprison citizens in peacetime, they directed their efforts at deporting alien radicals. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, two of the most prominent radicals, were among the first targets.

Agents of the Bureau of Investigation followed Goldman from the time she left the Jefferson City Penitentiary to her arrival in New York. The surveillance continued in New York. Confidential informant 836 from Pittsburgh attended Stella Ballantine's private welcome home celebration for Goldman in early October. Several agents attended a large dinner in Goldman and Berkman's honor at the Brevoort Hotel on October 27 and wrote colorful reports. Margaret Scully, alias Marion Barling, an undercover agent working for the Lusk Committee of the New York State Legislature, managed to obtain employment as Goldman's secretary at the end of October. Her lively, and sometimes anti-Semitic, reports continue from October 27 to November 6, when Goldman fired her. Several agents attended a dinner to honor Kate Richards O'Hare at which Goldman and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn spoke.

The investigative agencies were particularly active during Goldman and Berkman's farewell tour to Detroit and Chicago between November 21 and December 4. Agents followed them every step of the trip, intercepted their mail, attended and reported on their speeches, investigated their hosts, accompanied them separately on the train back to New York, and tried to intimidate lecture hall owners. On November 23 and 26, the Bureau of Investigation made extremely detailed transcripts of Goldman and Berkman's speeches in Detroit on political deportations, amnesty for political prisoners, and prison conditions.

Emma Goldman's Bureau of Investigation file testifies to J. Edgar Hoover's obsession with her deportation. He personally made sure her bail was set at the extraordinarily high sum of fifteen thousand dollars. He directed the network of agents who scoured the country for evidence with which to deport her. Nearly all of the many letters directing the evidence-gathering campaign were signed by Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief of the Bureau of Investigation, but were written and initialed by J. Edgar Hoover. He wrote the government's brief, attended both hearings, badgered the immigration officials to speed up her deportation, and attended the early morning departure of the *Buford*.

Hoover's weekly "Reports of the Radical Section," from August to October 1919, provide a detailed overview of his activities during his first few months in charge of the General Intelligence Division. During this time, he supervised not only Goldman's deportation, but that of hundreds of members of the Union of Russian Workers. He completely reorganized the Bureau to assure successful deportations; he established a card index file which would contain the names of 80,000 individuals and organizations within a few months; and he expanded and defended the use of undercover informants.





# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Emma Goldman's Activities in New York] New York [1919 Nov.? 1? (fragment?)] / [Margaret M. Scully, Agent, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the New York State Archives.*

**Summary:** Scully reports the dates of Goldman's upcoming speaking tour.

Hotel Seville  
Fifth Ave. & 29th St.,  
New York.

c o p y

Wrote Margolis they will test temper of cities thru medium of dinner - Does he want a dinner in his town? If so they will go Nov. 21 on way to Detroit.

Detroit Nov. 22/27

Auto workers Hall 2 meetings

Labor Lyceum - 1 meeting

Chicago

Nov. 27 - Dec. 8

5 meetings

halls unknown - get 'em later

A man named E. C. Cook of 1117 Harris Trust Bldg., Chicago, should be squelched. They are depending on him to fix up St. Louis since D. of Justice have spoken to Schneider.

One called Ben Huebsch of 225 Fifth Ave. - is to have talk with E. next week.

People called Grubers from Chicago are active and dangerous anarchists.

E's printers phone number is Stuyvesant 8086. have not known to me.

St. Louis meetings Dec. 11, 12, 13, 14, if halls can be had.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]19 Nov. 1 [New York to Turner? Agent? New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities?, New York] / [Margaret Scully, Agent, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.  
*Obtained from the New York State Archives.*

**Summary:** Scully reports from Goldman's office that she will run the office when Goldman is out of town in November and December.

Nov. 1/19.

Dear Chief:

Between now and E's departure I am to be broken in so I can go on and handle her mail and answer correspondence without supervision when they are away, i.e. Nov. 21 until latter Dec.

Margolis will be in New York early January to stay - I think - at least to be there indefinitely.

M. Barling.

P.S. E is going to a show tonight and gave me a ticket to a musical at 43rd St. #34 West, go to admit myself and another.

The ticket she gave me was given her by Mary Anderson, radical and Editress of The Little Review, Chicago.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 1, New York [to unknown recipient (draft)] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the New York State Archives.

**Summary:** Goldman and Berkman thank their friends for their support during the past two years in prison and outline their plans to fight for amnesty for political prisoners and an end to political deportations.

**Notes:** Bleedthrough; dark copy. Enclosed with 821210014. Draft of 880606306.

Barling  
11-1-19

New York, N. Y.

November 1, 1919.

Dear Friend: There are moments in life when one's heart is too full for utterance, and language too inadequate to satisfy one's urge for expression. We are just now living through such a moment. Fresh on the threshold of the larger life, upon our release from prison, we would fain like to meet and embrace each and every dear comrade whose spirit and thoughts were with us during our incarceration, and whose invisible hand and sympathetic touch made them the living and ever-present companions of our long, weary days and months. But, unfortunately, such close personal contact is not within our power, and therefore we take this much less satisfying method of sending our greetings and love to you, dear friend, comrade, and fellow-sufferer.

Need we say the things that swell our hearts at this crucial moment, or even mention the deep appreciation of your friendship and comradeship that helped to sustain our spirits in the dark night of our past two years? Surely you know and understand. It is the inexpressible blessing enjoyed only by the politicals in prison, that they — in contrast with the ordinary social victim — have an ideal to sustain them, a star of hope and faith to guide and encourage them even in the blackest hours of humiliation and suffering. It is the great cause of the New Life, of the already approaching Dawn, that lifts the mind and spirit of a political prisoner above and beyond the stifling atmosphere and crushing routine of prison life and inspires him or her with ever renewed courage and endurance. But in this triumphant inspiration of a great Ideal, the devotion and loyalty of one's friends and comrades is the greatest single factor, the vital importance of which only the prisoner can realize fully. And so, dear friend, we want you to feel that it was you, your sympathetic understanding, your faith and confidence in us, and your steadfastness of heart and mind amid the present chaos of soul demoralization that have been our main support and source of strength and hope.

And now we are out again, out in the free air and sunshine that feel so good and invigorating, out in the larger prison called the world of which the little cell and the penal discipline are but the reflex in miniature. We say it freely and frankly, with utmost conviction, that both of us are entering again upon the remaining sentences of our lives, with our spirits unbroken, entirely unrepentant — indeed, with a will unembittered by the acid of the prison test, but rather purified and made stronger, with our minds happily unimpaired by the the terrible experiences of the last two years, our hearts youthful with the joy of life, of work, of social effort.

In short, to speak colloquially, we are on the job again. Locks and bars and dungeons may stifle the voice, but no power on earth can paralyze our inherent love of liberty. Even in the grave-like silence of the prison night our wills remained steadfast, our minds alive and active. Many thoughts and hopes we have dreamed, many plans fashioned in the solitude of the two past years. Now is the time to attempt their realization.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 1, New York [to unknown recipient (draft)] / Emma Goldman  
[and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the New York State Archives.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman thank their friends for their support during the past two years in prison and outline their plans to fight for amnesty for political prisoners and an end to political deportations.

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- 2 -

Among the very first of the things we have planned is the immediate effort to aid the fellow prisoners we have left behind. In the Missouri State Prison, at Jefferson City, in the Federal Penitentiary, at Atlanta, Ga., as in every other prison of these democratic United States, there are buried men and women — and especially political and industrial prisoners — whose voices call loudly to us, whose misery we suffer again in our waking days and restless nights. We owe them a duty that society has neglected, the duty of one human toward another, and particularly the duty of helping to restore the political prisoners to comparative liberty.

We mean to concentrate our immediate efforts upon arousing widespread public sentiment in behalf of the political prisoners, thousands of whom fill the jails and prisons of this country, with the aim of securing a general amnesty. In this work we shall also use the opportunity of exposing the brutal treatment and the barbaric punishments that still prevail in our prisons and to which the political prisoners are subjected with even greater severity than the average offender.

Furthermore, there is another work of utmost importance. The government of these United States has now introduced, on a large scale, the Czarist methods of suppressing unpopular thought and ideas. Deportation of so-called aliens is fast becoming an established American institution, and if allowed to remain unchallenged by the liberal minded spirits of the country, this imperialistic system of stifling the voice of social protest will become rooted in American life. Deportation is but the first step that will inevitably lead to its ultimate, the complete suppression of popular discontent and free speech by the system of exiling even the native protestants and rebels. Among others threatened with deportation are also ourselves. We mean to fight this new symptom of American Prussianism with our utmost efforts.

This, briefly sketched, are our plans for immediate activity. For this purpose we plan to begin a tour of the country, visiting for the present the larger cities such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis and Kansas City. Our tentative program is to have one or two mass-meetings in each city, as well as one social affair, such as a dinner, for the purpose of more informally meeting our friends and comrades. The proceeds of the meetings are to be devoted to the purposes mentioned above.

Dear friend, we know that you realize fully the necessity and importance of our proposed activities. Your aid and cooperation are vital to secure the success of our efforts. We are anxious to hear from you in this matter at the earliest possible date, as we are planning to begin our tour very soon. In New York City a very successful dinner, as our welcome-home reception, has already taken place on October 27th, and a mass-meeting is now being arranged. Our tour will begin in the latter part of November.

Hoping to hear from you, we are

BS&AU-12646

Fraternally,

Address:

Emma Goldman,  
36 Grove St. New York, N.Y.

*Emma Goldman*  
*Alexander Berkman*

Alexander Berkman, c/o R. E. Fitzgerald, 857 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 1, New York [to J. Clere, Seattle, Wash.] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman greet their friends upon their release from prison and outline their plans, including a tour to speak on deportations and amnesty for political prisoners.

Notes: Enclosed with 880606304 and 880606305.

New York, N.Y.  
Nov. 1, 1919.

Dear Friends:

There are moments in life when one's heart is too full for utterance, and language too inadequate to satisfy one's urge for expression. We are just now living through such a moment. Fresh on the threshold of the larger life, upon our release from prison, we would fain like to meet and embrace each and every dear comrade whose spirit and thoughts were with us during our incarceration, and whose invisible hand and sympathetic touch made them the living and ever-present companions of our long, weary days and months. But, unfortunately, such close personal contact is not within our power, and therefore we take this much less satisfying method of sending our greetings and love to you, dear friend, comrade, and fellow sufferer.

Need we say the things that swell our hearts at this crucial moment, or even mention the deep appreciation of your friendship and comradeship that helped to sustain our spirits in the dark night our past two years? Surely the politicals in prison, that they - in contrast with the ordinary social victim - have an ideal to sustain them, a star of hope and faith to guide and encourage them even in the blackest hours of humiliation and suffering. It is the great cause of the New Life, of the already approaching Dawn, that lifts the mind and spirit of a political prisoner above and beyond the stifling atmosphere and crushing routine of prison life and inspires him or her with ever renewed courage and endurance. But in this triumphant inspiration of a great ideal, the devotion and loyalty of one's friends and comrades is the greatest single factor, the vital importance of which only the prisoner can realize fully. And so, dear friend, we want you to feel that it was you, your sympathetic understanding, your faith and confidence in us, and your steadfastness of heart and mind amid the present chaos of social demoralization that have been our main support and source of strength and hope.

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Among the very first of the things we have planned is the immediate effort to aid the fellow prisoners we have left behind. In the Missouri State Prison, at Jefferson City, in the Federal Penitentiary, at Atlanta, Ga., as in every other prison of these democratic United States, there are buried men and women - and especially political and industrial prisoners - whose voices call loudly to us, whose misery we suffer again in our waking days and restless nights. We owe them a duty that society has neglected, the duty of one human toward another, and particularly the duty of helping to restore the political prisoners to comparative liberty.

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Summary: Goldman and Berkman greet their friends upon their release from prison and outline their plans, including a tour to speak on deportations and amnesty for political prisoners.

Notes: Enclosed with 880606304 and 880606305.

Furthermore, there is another work of utmost importance. The government of these United States has now introduced, on a large scale, the Czarist methods of suppressing unpopular thought and ideas. Deportation of so-called aliens is fast becoming an established American institution, and if allowed to remain unchallenged by the liberal minded spirits of the country, this imperialistic system of stifling the voice of social protest will become rooted in American life. Deportation is but the first step that will inevitably lead to its ultimate, the complete suppression of popular discontent and free speech by the system of exiling even the native protestants and rebels. Among others threatened with deportation are also ourselves. We mean to fight this new symptom of American Prussianism with our utmost efforts.

This, briefly sketched, are our plans for immediate activity. For this purpose we plan to begin a tour of the country, visiting for the present the larger cities such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis and Kansas City. Our tentative program is to have one or two mass-meetings in each city, as well as one social affair, such as a dinner, for the purpose of more informally meeting our friends and comrades. The proceeds of the meetings are to be devoted to the purposes mentioned above.

Dear friend, we know that you realize fully the necessity and importance of our proposed activities. Your aid and cooperation are vital to secure the success of our efforts. We are anxious to hear from you in this matter at the earliest possible date, as we are planning to begin our tour very soon. In New York City a very successful dinner, as our welcome home reception, has already taken place on October 27th, and a mass-meeting is now being arranged. Our tour will begin in the latter part of November.

Hoping to hear from you, we are

Fraternally,

B3AAU-12646

Emma Goldman

Alexander Berkman

Address:

Emma Goldman,  
26 Groves St., New York, N.Y.

Alexander Berkman, c/o K.E. Fitzgerald, 887 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 1 [New York? to Marlborough Churchill] Director,  
 Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / Intel[igence]  
 Off[icer] Eastern Dep[artmen]t [War Department]. — 1 p. ; 36 × 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.  
 Summary: The Eastern Department Intelligence officer sends Churchill newspaper clippings.  
 Notes: For enclosure, see 810331100.

Intel. 000.75  
 Newspaper Clippings. ✓

To Director of Military Intelligence, Washington, D. C., for his  
 information. WAR DEPARTMENT

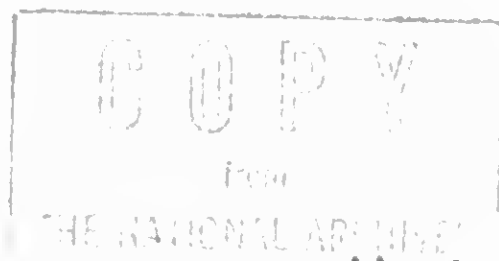
Hq. Eastern Dept.,  
 Intel. Off.  
 November 1, 1919.

*John*

CAPTAIN SNOW  
 M. I. 4.

*enc  
 cv*

*Goldman*



Chief of Staff  
 M. I. 4. 100-34-685/102

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 1 [Washington, D.C. to] Augustus P. Schell, Law Officer [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Hoover asks for a copy of Goldman's deportation hearing transcript as soon as it is ready.  
 Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For transcript mentioned, see 830214027.

FILE BUREAU FILE

322-379

15446

November 1, 1919.

Honorable Augustus P. Schell,  
 Law Officer, Ellis Island,  
 New York.

My dear Mr. Schell:

I forgot to ask you before I left last Monday whether you would be kind enough to forward to me a copy of the hearing in the EMMA GOLDMAN case when the same has been transcribed. I would appreciate it if you could arrange to let me that a copy of this hearing as soon as the same is completed, in order that I may refer to it in preparing a memorandum for the Commissioner-General of Immigration with the conclusions reached by this office in the case.

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

18-15446

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 1 [Washington, D.C. to] George F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke asks Lamb to find out who paid Goldman and Berkman's bail.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For reply, see 880606201.

JMK-810

15446

November 1, 1919.

George F. Lamb, Esq.,

Box 241, City Hall Station,

New York City.

Dear Sir:

This Bureau is very desirous of ascertaining the names of persons who have furnished liberty bonds for you on bail in the cases of anarchists who are being held for deportation by the immigration authorities, particularly in the cases of EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERSHMAN. The Department would be interested to learn of the names and addresses of the persons who have taken such personal interest in these cases.

Kindly give this matter your preferred attention.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Director and Chief.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919] Nov. [2?] Staten Isl[an]d, N.Y. [to] Newton D. Baker [Secretary of War, War Department], Washington, D.C. / W[illia]m D. Nelson. — 4 p.; 34 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: William Nelson writes as a loyal citizen to complain, among other things, that the federal government has done nothing about Goldman.

Mr. Newton D. Baker  
Washington  
D.C.

Staten Isl  
New York  
Nov 2 1919  
10110-124819  
DEPT. OF WAR  
RECEIVED

My dear Sir

I am writing on my own political  
as an American citizen a few things  
that might be exploited before all  
law abiding American citizens.

lest we forget  
we have a woman amongst our midst  
at present out on bail. Emma Goldman  
who for years preached Anarchy, sedition  
etc. But no notice taken of this our  
Federal Govt. just see how it has bore  
fruit in the shape of an organization  
calling themselves. The industrial workers  
of the world. composed of cutthroats  
thieves, agitators for revolution. what  
is being done by our Govt to crush them  
nothing. the local authorities have to  
handle them the best they can. did you  
ever hear a Senator or a Congressman  
denouncing them. never

lest we forget  
we have a man in this country at  
present proclaiming to be the president  
of the Irish republic. what as he as  
American have we to do as American  
citizens with the Irish republic or any  
other European republic. how he has  
been exploited in the papers especially  
in the New York Herald. saying nothing  
of the enthusiastic receptions have been  
given him in some of our cities by the Irish  
element.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919] Nov. [2?] Staten Isl[an]d, N.Y. [to] Newton D. Baker [Secretary of War, War Department], Washington, D.C. / W[illia]m D. Nelson. — 4 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: William Nelson writes as a loyal citizen to complain, among other things, that the federal government has done nothing about Goldman.

(2)

and in his speeches endeavoring to get the sympathy and the support of the American people to free Ireland from the tyranny of the British Govt so they say. What did Ireland or Irelanders ever do for the American people let the Americans remember this after our cruel civil war and families North and South were getting over the wounds inflicted on them. in the loss of a husband, brother or son. and things were getting in normal shape what a scare was given us. it was like a bomb went through out the country the Irish (Germans) were going to take Canada. Their object was to entrap us in war with England. Ah we had Govt officials at that time that nipped it in the bud. not like now. when only two weeks a U.S. Senator proposed taking up the Irish question. and prior to his proposition Mr Williams of Mississippi roundly denounced the Irish and from the time until the Irish were going to take Canada until the present they have been troubling trouble all the time and as you know they are a power in politics in these United States.

Let me forget if you remember during our war with Spain Germany was furnishing Spain with arms and ammunition. and gave them assistance as far as they dared and when Dewey cleaned up the Spanish fleet. in came a powerful



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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German fleet with Prince Henry on board  
 as one of them whilst he was commanding  
 Admiral Dewey in came a powerful  
 English fleet and as you know the  
 Germans steamed up and left quickly  
 for John Bull was standing slightly  
 aground while Samuel do not forget  
 this. it was not the Irish  
 and if I may quote the words of our greatest  
 American patriotic citizen our deceased  
 countryman from Europe and takes the oath  
 of allegiance, he becomes what are  
 American citizens then let him abide by  
 his oath or else deport him.  
 Just look at the conditions in our country  
 today, a prominent American going to bed  
 in his own home does not know whether  
 he and his family will get blown to pieces  
 before daylight or not. And sometimes  
 say can't find the perpetrators. they  
 can't. how is it they could find out every  
 man eligible for draft during the war  
 in every city. town and hamlet in the U.S.  
 And here every day right  
 here in New York catch them right handed  
 in their scoundrels with their seditious  
 literature what is the Govt doing  
 about it. nothing at all.

Thank God. we have two men  
 Americans that stand for law and order  
 and enforce it. Ole Hanson of Seattle  
 and Gen. Carlidge of Massachusetts

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919] Nov. [2?] Staten Isl[an]d, N.Y. [to] Newton D. Baker [Secretary of War, War Department], Washington, D.C. / W[illia]m D. Nelson. — 4 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.  
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Summary: William Nelson writes as a loyal citizen to complain, among other things, that the federal government has done nothing about Goldman.

4

and the sooner the Govt takes hold  
and adjust matters and cleans out all  
these D. r. r. anarchists, and these  
profiteers, if they would shut some of  
these D. r. r. and anarchists things  
would even get in normal shape

it is time for the Govt Officials to  
wake up, or as Ole Hansen says the  
American people will have a lot  
of foreigners in our country causing a  
reign of terror

Thanking you for reading  
this, which I have no doubt  
you have

remaining yours  
a patriotic American citizen  
Wm D Nelson

New Brighton

Staten Isl  
New York

How few realize when Prince Henry  
was touring the U.S. and the public were dubbing  
all over him that was just one man that to  
Prince Henry was a thorn in the flesh and that  
man was Admiral Dewey. He gave him the cold  
shoulder.

Same should be accorded Gompers  
and Foster in Washington for neither one  
of them ever achieved anything as men  
except breeders of trouble

German Gona in New York, like waving the  
red flag defiantly before the full, may few know it  
they came near getting a bomb.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

880606196

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: In light of Goldman and Berkman's planned speaking tour, Hoover urges Caminetti to close their cases without delay.

Notes: Dark copy, portions illegible.

FILE BUREAU FILE

JHE-GIO

November 2, 1919.

Internal.

15446

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,

Commissioner-General of Immigration,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Caminetti:

I am just in receipt of a communication from the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation to the effect that a speaking tour throughout the United States is being arranged for EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN. At a meeting held on October 27, 1919, over \$5,000 was raised to meet the expenses of this tour. In view of the contemplated tour, I submit to you for your earnest consideration the advisability of closing the cases of these subjects at the earliest possible moment. It seems to be the intention of Mr. Weinberger, the attorney for these two anarchists, to postpone the final decision in these two cases as long as possible, the purpose of the same being quite obvious. I would, therefore, appreciate it if this office could be advised as to when Mr. Weinberger is to be required to file his brief in each of the cases.

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] George F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [Frank Burke? Assistant Director and Chief? Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke asks Lamb to investigate Leon Green, who gave money to Goldman's speaking tour fund.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Reply to 880606190.

JMB-470

November 2, 1919

George F. Lamb, Esq.,  
Box 241, City Hall Station,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of November 1, 1919, from the Attorney General and the Federal Bureau of Investigation with particular reference to the reference to a man who had under consideration for the case of Leon Green who has been mentioned.

I am enclosing herewith a memorandum containing information received in the case of Mr. Green and would appreciate it if you could ascertain whether the man who was mentioned in the memorandum is the same person for whom I am searching. I am very anxious to have the information in the case of Leon Green and would appreciate it if you could be able to check upon the subject and reply and forward it.

Very truly yours,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 4, Ottawa, Canada [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / E. Davis, Director of Military Intelligence, Department of Militia and Defence. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The director of Military Intelligence in Canada reports on their arrest of Minna Lowensohn while she was heading for Russia, carrying letters from Ludwig Martens and Berkman.

~~SECRET~~



10110-1453  
ADDRESS REPLY TO  
THE SECRETARY, MILITIA COUNCIL  
HEADQUARTERS  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
C.3117/02  
AND QUOTE NO.

DEPARTMENT OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE

OTTAWA, November 4th 1919.

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority NND 760054  
By [Signature] SEP 10 1975

CAPTAIN SNOW  
M. I. 4.

From: The Director Military Intelligence,  
CANADA.

To: The Director Military Intelligence,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MINNIE LEVINSOHN ( or LEVINSON).

With reference to your 10110-1453 M.I.4-F,  
dated 29th October:

The above woman together with the man Dunn was arrested at the request of Lieut-Colonel Thwaites, British Assistant Provost Marshal in New York. We were asked to release the woman on condition that she return to the United States, holding the man ( who apparently was in Thwaite's employ) until the woman was out of the way.

Miss Levinsohn was arrested in Montreal on the 7th October, 1919. She was scheduled to sail from Quebec on the Steamer "Empress of France" on October 8th for England, and then to proceed to France, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden.

When arrested a thorough search of her clothing was made in which was concealed various messages. In a belt around her body was found a letter from Martens, the Soviet Representative in New York, addressed to one F. STORM, Stockholm, asking him to assist her into Soviet Russia.

A further letter was found, signed by Alexander Berkman, who was just lately released from the Atlantic Penitentiary, and who is now under indictment in connection with the San Francisco bomb outrage on Preparedness Day, and pasted between the covers of a book was found a photo of Berkman. In her effects were also found books of cigarette papers, with messages written thereon in invisible ink, also a letter written in the Finnish language.

After being thoroughly examined, she was given the option of being prosecuted at Montreal under the Defence of Canada Act, or of returning to New York of her own accord. She chose the latter and was returned to New York. Information has since been received from that City that she duly arraigned there.

It is alleged that she is a first cousin of Trotsky and a sweetheart of Bill Shatov. She has a

M. E. A. 108  
200m 8 18  
1772 30 300



## The Emma Goldman Papers

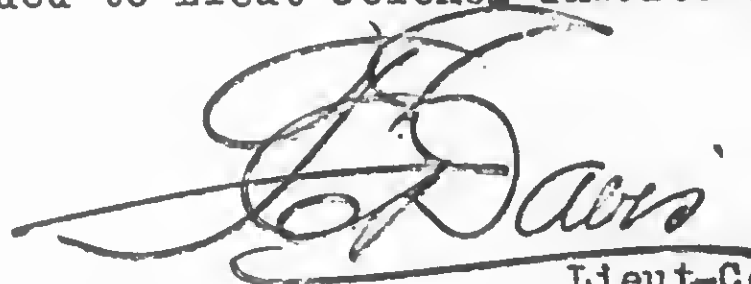
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-2-

couple of scars on her forehead caused by a bomb which she is alleged to have thrown herself.

All papers, letters, &c., found on the woman were forwarded to Lieut-Colonel Thwaites.



Lieut-Colonel,  
Director of Military Intelligence,  
CANADA.

Inf. to State, 11/8/19.

Copy to I.O., New York City, for information 11/11/19.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 5, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / [Wrisley Brown, Chief] Military Intelligence 4 [War Department].—  
7 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Military Intelligence's weekly situation survey includes a description of Goldman's deportation hearing and a summary of the Brevoort Hotel dinner for Goldman and Berkman.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 820106000.

## C O N F I D E N T I A L

WEEKLY SITUATION SURVEY FOR WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 5, 1919.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, GENERAL STAFF,

SECTION M. I. 4.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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## RADICAL ACTIVITIES

Page 1

Organization of Policemen's Unions by American Federation of Labor,	1
Deportation Proceedings against Emma Goldman,	2
Anarchists Sentenced in New York,	4
Spokane Jury Frees I. W. W.'s,	5
Trend of I. W. W. Expansion,	5
Amalgamated Textile Workers of America,	6
I. W. W. Viewpoint,	7
Different Types of Unions,	7
Campaign to Release Political Prisoners,	8
Radicalism in Recent Elections,	9
Political Aspect of the Labor Movement,	12
Legislation Relative to Radical Aliens,	14

## LABOR UNREST

15

Steel Strike,	15
Coal Strike,	18
Reported Strikes:	
Coal Strike Situation, November 5th,	23
Strikes Ended,	24
Strikes Continuing,	26
New Strikes,	30
Strikes Threatened,	32

## CONDITIONS IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

34

Radicals and Disloyalists,	34
The Posts,	35
Conscientious Objectors,	36
Use of Uniform,	36

## NEGRO SUBVERSION

36

I. W. W. Influence upon Negroes,	36
Aftermath of Arkansas Uprising,	38

## GERMAN ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

38

## FOREIGN COUNTRIES

39

Mexico,	39
Switzerland,	40
Spain,	40

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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WEEKLY SITUATION SURVEY FOR WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 5, 1919.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, GENERAL STAFF,

SECTION M. I. 4.

### RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

#### ORGANIZATION OF POLICEMEN'S UNIONS BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR:

Evidence that the American Federation of Labor has been taking the initiative in unionizing policemen to a much greater degree than it has admitted is furnished by a letter which has been printed in "Justicia," weekly organ of the Federation of Porto Rican Workers. The letter was written by Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, to Santiago Iglesias, general organizer of the American Federation of Labor at San Juan, Porto Rico. It urges that an organization of policemen be formed in Porto Rico, and encloses a copy of a letter sent out to all American Federation of Labor organizers officially emphasizing this project from the American Federation of Labor headquarters. The letter claims that among the cities where charters have already been issued to police unions are included Washington, D. C., Norfolk, Va., Macon, Ga., Knoxville, Tenn., Jersey City, N. J., Fort Worth, Texas, East St. Louis, Ill., Peoria, Ill., and Oklahoma City, Okla. This letter has the appearance of a confidential document and informs organizers that "inquiries every day are coming in relative to the organization of policemen."

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 2 -

A blank form is enclosed for charter and the information is conveyed that the cost of the charter and "outfit" is \$10.00, while the initiation fee is \$2.00 per member, "fifty cents of which must be forwarded to this office with application."

The date of Morrison's letter is August 25, 1919, and it appears in the "Justice" of September 8th. It is apparent that although the American Federation of Labor may have since withdrawn its support from that campaign to some extent, the propaganda to unionize the police was vigorously and extensively pushed immediately following the decision at the Atlantic City conference to embark on that field.

Although the American Federation of Labor claims that over forty cities are now "organized", a definite check has been given to police unions. The Boston strikers are still "out", and though they have been extremely prominent lately in their support of Richard H. Long, democratic candidate for governor in the State of Massachusetts, they have lost the strike and 800 of their places have been filled up in the Boston police force by men pledged not to belong to a union. The situation is somewhat similar in Washington, where an amendment to a congressional bill raising policemen's salaries contained the provision that union affiliation would be forbidden. In the face of losing their salary increases, and in the spirit of accepting the inevitable and adjusting themselves to public opinion, Washington policemen voted to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor, and there the matter remains.

### DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS AGAINST EMMA GOLDMAN:

Emma Goldman appeared before the United States Immigration Authorities on October 27th to answer to the deportation proceedings instituted against her at the time of her release from prison a month ago. The form of the proceedings was that of a hearing before Immi-

- 2 -

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 3 -

gration Inspector A. P. Schell at Ellis Island as to why Emma Goldman should not be deported to Russia as an alien anarchist and an advocate of the overthrow of the United States Government. The proceedings were in secret and her appearance was secured by a \$15,000. bond. The report of findings of the Inspector will be forwarded to the Secretary of Labor, and if they favor deportation he will thereupon be moved to put that decision into effect.

Miss Goldman relies for her defense on the claim that she is an American citizen. She became a citizen, she claims, by the naturalization of her father and by her marriage to a naturalized Russian Jew named Kerstner, from whom she was subsequently divorced. Evidence which has come to light concerning her father's will and other papers, however, tends to show that Miss Goldman was twenty-four years old when her father became naturalized, so his naturalization did not have the effect of making her a citizen; while as yet no record of her marriage to the man Kerstner has been produced. It is, therefore, more than likely that the deportation proceedings against this famous anarchist, who has exercised a powerful influence over many thousands of unsettled minds, will be carried through successfully.

Both Miss Goldman and Alexander Berkman were guests at a banquet given at the bohemian Hotel Brevoort in New York on October 27th. Among the well known anarchists present were Leonard Abbott, who presided, Harry Kelly, head of the Ferrer School at the anarchist colony of Stelton, N. J., Harry Weinberger, attorney for Berkman and Miss Goldman, Alexander Cohen, organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Ella Reeves Bloor, communist agitator who is now active in the general amnesty agitation, the writers, Lola Ridge and Anna Sloan, and Sadakichi Hartman. Miss Goldman's speech was very slurring on native Americans and

- 3 -



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 4 -

gave the impression that she does not regard deportation from the United States with any great trepidation or regret. She prophesied that the next step the Government would have to take after deporting aliens would be to exile natives, and that ultimately American radicals would have to seek asylum in "liberal Russia".

The case of Alexander Berkman is expected to come up shortly under the same auspices at Ellis Island.

### ANARCHISTS SENTENCED IN NEW YORK:

Justice Weeks of the New York Supreme Court passed sentence on October 28th, on Carl Paivio and Gustav Alonen, the Finnish editors of the magazine "The Class Struggle". He committed them to Sing Sing for from four to eight years, with the recommendation of immediate deportation upon their release. Extraordinary precautions were taken against any demonstration in the Court room, but nothing transpired, and, as was expected, the defendants entered a formal appeal through their counsel.

A significant development at the trial was the introduction of evidence showing that Alonen, one of the defendants, was at the same time a member of the Brotherhood of Carpenters under an assumed name, and organizer and secretary of the Finnish branch of the I. W. W., illustrating what was said by Assistant District Attorney Stevenson at the trial to be the common method used by radicals in New York in attacking the American Federation of Labor by "boring from within".

Assistant District Attorney Rorke has announced that he will move for an early trial of the cases of the three men who assisted in the publication of the Russian language paper "Bread and Freedom". These men are under indictment charging

- 4 -

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 5 -

them with violating the same statute against Criminal Anarchy under which Paivio and Alonen have just been convicted.

### SPOKANE JURY FREES I. W. W.'S:

The I. W. W. scored a legal advantage of some importance in the present situation when thirteen of the thirty-seven I. W. W.'s arrested in Spokane, Washington, last July for wearing the insignia of their organization were acquitted by the Superior Court on October 26th, after a trial lasting nine days.

The verdict is that the wearing of the insignia of the Industrial Workers of the World is no crime, and that the organization itself is not antagonistic to the United States Government.

The thirteen defendants were all members of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, an I. W. W. union, and were arrested while attending a trial in the municipal court room on July 4th. They have all been held in jail since their arrest.

The defense was conducted by Attorney G. F. Vanderveer, of Seattle, who called a number of witnesses who had previously been in the State or Government service in the 1917-1918 investigation of I. W. W. activities. These witnesses appeared to have testified for the most part that although the I. W. W. was bent on securing control of the basic industries, it is not a political revolutionary organization, which advocates sabotage or the destruction of property.

### TREND OF I. W. W. EXPANSION:

The I. W. W. has for a long time been closely following



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Anarchism—Berkman and Goldman, New York, 1919 Nov. 5 / B. B. [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 27 x 19 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: Underecover agent B.B. briefly describes the welcome-home dinner for Goldman and Berkman at the Hotel Brevoort in New York which she attended. Notes: For other reports of same event, see 880606186 and 821210005.

REPORT MADE BY: B. B.	PLACE WHERE MADE: New York City.	DATE: Oct. 27. 1919.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Nov. 5.
IN RE: <u>ANARCHISM</u> <u>BERKMAN AND GOLDMAN.</u>			
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE OBTAINED, SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.			

Tonight accompanied by Miss Mathilde Guerre, I went to the Brevoort Hotel to dinner given for Berkman and Goldman. At the entrance to the hotel we greeted Mrs. Abbott and talked a while with Mr. Sadikichi Hartman. At the entrance to the dining room Miss Elmer Fitzgerald assigned Miss Guerre and myself to table No. 14. Miss Fitzgerald later came to our table and took our tickets which I had purchased from Mrs. Sloane for the dinner.

At our table were seated also Mr. Newton and Mme Krantz whose cards I enclose, also a Hebrew couple whose table etiquette was disgustingly vulgar, and two other ladies one of which was a sculptress. Mme Krantz told me that she had known Miss Goldman for over 27 years but had never heard that she was married. Mme Krantz said that she sang at a benefit given for Mr. Berkman during his incarceration in prison in Penn. Mr. Newton said he had translated many radical books from Russian into the English language. He said that he was an engineer employed by the Government.

At the table with Berkman and Goldman were seated Marie Yuster (sister of Mrs. Abbott), Mr. and Mrs. Abbott, Sadikichi Hartman, Harry Kelly, Mrs. Anna Sloane, Lola Ridge, Harry Weinberger and a young woman whom I had not seen previously and whose name I did not learn. After dinner addresses were given by Mr. Abbott, Harry Weinberger, Harry Kelly, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. Among other things Emma Goldman said that if

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Anarchism—Berkman and Goldman, New York, 1919 Nov. 5 / B. B. [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 27 x 19 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: Undercover agent B.B. briefly describes the welcome-home dinner for Goldman and Berkman at the Hotel Brevoort in New York which she attended. Notes: For other reports of same event, see 880606186 and 821210005.

Americans did not fight for their rights under the constitution of the United States that there were enough foreigners in the United States to fight the battle for them. Harry Weinberger insinuated Government agents were responsible for the bomb plots; that the agents sent the bombs, etc. to reflect discredit on the revolutionists with the object of retarding the liberation of political prisoners.

The dining room was vacated about midnight. I said good-night to Mrs. Abbott, Mr. Hartman, Mr. Hypolite Havel and others and went home accompanied by Miss Guerre. Mr. Hartman asked me to come to 135 MacDougal Street Wednesday night. He said he expected to talk there.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 5, New York [to] Margaret Scully [Agent, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities, New York (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the New York State Archives.

Summary: Goldman explains that she cannot employ Scully because she does not know her well enough and is not willing to expose her to possible government raids.

Notes: Dark copy. Enclosed with 821210018.

COPY

EMMA GOLDMAN  
26 Grove Street  
New York

November 5, 1919

My dear Miss Scully -

I arrived at my office rather late this morning, after you had phoned my niece. I had not then read your letter. Understand, my dear, that I am not in any way provoked because you did not keep your promise to come Monday morning. I realize that no one has control over his physical condition. My objection was to you waiting until noon before you notified me, in view of the fact that I could make no arrangements with anyone else for that day. You did the same thing on Saturday. You said you would go out for a little while and then did not return at all.

You must realize that in the kind of work we are doing, a certain amount of regularity must be kept or we would be swamped with the work which accumulates day by day. However, all these are minor things. The important issue is that I cannot employ anyone in the line of work we are doing of whom I know nothing about. Then, too, there is another fact -- I do not know but what any moment my place may be visited by the different Departments of State. I cannot afford to involve a girl who, like you, knows nothing about the social issues and while feeling with the great social struggles, is yet far removed from it in every respect. I have not the right to involve you.

I quite appreciate the opposition of your sister and your aunt to working in my place. If I were in their place perhaps I, too, should object - which is only another reason for my determination to work only with those who are sufficiently conversant with social ideas to decide for themselves whether or not they want to work in my place.

I am sorry, because I really love your work. Few women are competent to do the work as well as you are doing it, but it will be best for you, as well as myself, if you find another position. As to helping, thanks very much but it is best not to accept your offer, since you will be tired after your day's work and I must have my evenings free to devote to other matters outside the daily routine.

Thank you very much for the work you have done so far.

With the hope that you may develop into a free and independent woman earnestly desirous to take your place in the great human struggle, I remain

Faithfully yours,

Miss Margaret Scully  
1958 Third Avenue City  
BS&AU-12646

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]19 Nov. 5 [New York to Turner? Agent? New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities?, New York] / [Margaret M. Scully, Agent, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

*Obtained from the New York State Archives.*

**Summary:** Scully complains that she should not have been fired, but she is just as happy to be free of the gloom at Goldman's office.

Nov. 5/19.

Dear Chief:

Herewith photo of Mrs. Edna Delmar - but I'm sorry it is not more distinct. The lady is truly "some peach" and all you wish to add meaning "she's there with bells on".

The amazing part of our brief (though pleasant) association is that you fail to recognize in me a female Sherlock Gluck (Holmes). Though without failure and more thru my own effort I have stopped work on my first case for you---

You have lost faith and I am fired. I would have thought my services worth 30 bucks if only intermittent - sort of a good 'un to have at hand for jobs that arise from day to day?

As I am by nature sincere and as I am fond of Goldie and sorry for Sasha it is as well that I am no longer forced to deceive my comrades. After all they are well beaten and I prefer to work where the fire is blazing. Things are dreary and cold at 36 and a discouraged and brow beaten atmosphere exists.

Trace Van Laar of 59 West 10th St. (Chelsea 5770) and please raid his place and get the liquor. I'm thirsty.

Yours in ex-service,

Marion (Holmes)

(No, I did not chew the paper off.)

P.S. If it is against the law for a man to bring a single girl to his apt. for immoral purposes, then Adrian's apt. could be caught red handed at least 2 evenings a week. He usually gets home in a taxi with his woman at about 1 or 2 o'clock. Yea, verily have I visited too - even have I supped of the wines of Adrian's vineyard. M.B.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 6 [New York to Rayme W.] Finch [Chief Investigator, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities, New York] / [Margaret M. Scully, Agent, New York State Joint Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities].—  
1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the New York State Archives.

Summary: Having lost her job for Goldman, Margaret Scully plans to attend radical functions and try to get the job back in January.

Notes: For enclosure see 821210017

one thirty the 6th day of  
November in the Year of our Lord 1919.

Memorandum to Mr. Finch -

I am sorry you are out, but believe in that way you are lucky since you have thus escaped my talkative self. However, I am dolled up a little today as I am out to do the vaudeville agencies that I am go to my theatrical activities.

Regarding the enclosed letter from Emma the whole thing sums up to the fact that she refuses to involve one so innocent as I in a probable raid, and she knows nothing about me moreover.

My plan is to get in with the Radicals by attending their tea parties and strawberry festivals until January when Emma will return. By then I will be beyond suspicion and be myself a full fledged radical. Then too if I marry in the interim (which is not unlikely, although I don't know which man of the three to marry) ---- I will be able to offer my stenographic services gratis. As I will be above and beyond all suspicion by January 1st, Emma ought to be glad to take me into her active propaganda work at that time. I see no reason why the above plan should not work out with full and complete success.

Meantime -- I warn you I shall come back later in the day that you may view me in my jade sweater - made from a remnant of an old dress. Still it looks like my idea of decorating Astor's pet goat.

Devotedly,

Comrade Marion.

P.S. Please note that the enclosed bears my honest to God name and not the stage name. Therefore I shall rely on your handling it carefully. In which respect I am merely poking requests at you in the spirit of retaliation. I cannot take all your don't and For God's sakes without wishing to avenge myself. Therefore to you I say "Don't use the enclosed negligently." Marion Barling. read enclosed memorandum also please.

Thank you.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Alex Berkman, New York, 1919 Nov. 6 / B.  
 B. [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 × 19 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Undercover agent B.B. reports that Goldman and Berkman are planning a speaking tour.

15 #46

REPORT MADE BY: B.- B.	PLACE WHERE MADE: New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: Nov. 6, 1919	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Nov. 2, 1919
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TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR BASIS OF OTHER DATA INVESTIGATION:  
 In re Emma Goldman- Alex Berkman

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:  
 Today I learned that Emma Goldman and Alex. Berkman are preparing to go on a tour of the country, first visiting the larger cities such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago etc. They expect to hold two mass meetings and dinners in each city. Miss Goldman's address is 36 Grove St., City. Berkman's is c/o M. E. Fitzgerald, 857 B'way, City.

They are planning to have a big mass meeting in New York before starting on the tour. They expect to start the latter part of this month.

2013

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

1-37

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 7, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.— 1 p.; 27 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Hoover urges Caminetti to complete Goldman's deportation case as soon as possible.

Notes: For reply, see 810113041.

## DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

JEH-GPO

November 7, 1919.

Personal

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,  
Commissioner-General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Caminetti:

" In view of information which I have received from New York, I believe it would be advisable to endeavor to have the case against EMMA GOLDMAN closed and forwarded to you for final disposition at the earliest possible moment. In view of the fact that the attorney for Emma Goldman will apparently resort to the courts to prevent her deportation, I believe it would be advisable if such action is taken that it be taken during the month of December. For that reason, disposition by your office should be taken during the month of November.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

*Lawful  
Nov 7/19  
115*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 7 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].  
— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger promises to send his brief opposing Berkman's deportation to the Bureau of Im-  
migration in a few days.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible.

November 7th, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

In answer to telegram signed "Abercrombie"  
in re: Berkman's brief, I beg to state, that I am leaving  
town to-night in the matter of Emma Goldman and will  
return on Monday and begin preparation of brief and will  
send it by Wednesday or Thursday of next week.

Sincerely yours,

HW/IC

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 7, New York [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / G[eorge] F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Lamb submits an itinerary of Goldman's speaking tour and the names of her contacts in each city.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible.

## Department of Justice,

### Bureau of Investigation.

New York City, New York, Nov. 7, 1919.

Dear Sir:

Information has been received at this office to the effect that both Gold and Berkman start for Pittsburgh on November 11th, where arrangements have been made with Margolice, for a meeting in that city. After they will proceed to Chicago where they will meet with the group who will act as speakers. A speaking tour then to St. Paul, Minn., and also in St. Louis. In the latter city one Under will discuss the matter, but will not appear in person inasmuch as he suspects the Department in watching his activities. Gold will offer to be chairman at all of the meetings other than the one held in Pittsburgh.

I am advised that both Gold and Berkman are working but little interest to radical activities at this time, and that the contemplated tour has been suggested by their friends.

Very truly yours,

G. F. Lamb

Division Superintendent.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

List of Aliens brought to Ellis Island [on] Nov[ember] 8, 1919 / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Labor].— 2 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration prepares a list of seventy-one aliens brought to Ellis Island following Justice Department raids.

List of Aliens brought to Ellis Island Nov. 8, 1919  
from New York, N.Y. and Newark, N.J. by agents of the  
Department of Justice. (Raid Cases)

(71 aliens, 69 men, 2 women--7 of these old cases.

Old Cases previously detained at Ellis Island and  
released on bond.

E. I. File No.	Department Warrant No.	Names.
98749/564	54616/116	Bianky, Peter
98753/387	54616/117	Chernoff, Alexander
98747/357	54235/159	Haskewicz, Leo
98749/563	54616/115	Ketzus, Arthur
98749/169	54517/74	Lachowsky, Hyman
98749/562	54616/115	Oradovsky, Marcus
98725/104	54248/20	Stepanuk, Anaum

## New Cases. (Preliminary Hearings granted)

E. I. File No.	Department Warrant No.	Names.
98759/319		Abrossemoff, Michel
98759/305	54709/277	Afanasech (or Afanasievitch) Benj., alias Ptashetchnik
98759/348	54709/362	Andonoff, Misha, alias Antonoff, Michael
98759/256	54709/272	Andreink, alias Roman
98759/318	54709/450	Banoff (or Vanoff) John
98759/309	54709/448	Bratko, Mike
98759/131	54616/115A	Bernstein, Ethel
98759/258	54709/273	Brook, Abe
98759/342	54709/354	Bugdanoff (or Bogdonoff) Ignatz
98759/302		Chalow, Adam
98759/286	54709/117	Chinejko, or Maxim Chinejko
98759/349	54709/363	Cozlich, John, alias Ivan Kozlik
98759/321	54709/360	Czyzyk, George, alias Paul Gigalko -
98759/259	54709/97	Duboff, E., alias John (Ivan) Duboff
98759/327	54709/337	Federaco, Tony
98759/351	54709/365	Furs, Thomas
98759/345	54709/357	Hieduk, Alfonse, alias Alfons Hajduk
98759/347	54709/361	Kaminsky, Steve
98759/341	54709/353	Kastialla, andre, alias Andrew Hostilla
98759/346	54709/358	Keretchuk, Boris
98759/315		Kolesnikoff, John
98759/340	54709/352	Kornen (or Konon) Alexander
98759/306		Korscheikoff, Tony
98759/333	54709/345	Koropotko, Nicholi, alias Nikolai Kuropato
98759/330	54709/342	Koza, Joe
98759/301	54709/446	Kozloff, Piotr
98759/331	54709/343	Kravechuk, Dimian
98759/322	54709/359	Kutovich, Fedosie, or Theodosy Kotovich
98759/281	54709/103	Lawna, William, alias August Schmidt
	54709/366	(two warrants, same individual)
98759/299		Lawrinuk, Michail

COPY

from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932  
File Number 54235/36

# The Emma Goldman Papers

List of Aliens brought to Ellis Island [on] Nov[ember] 8, 1919 / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Labor].— 2 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration prepares a list of seventy-one aliens brought to Ellis Island following Justice Department raids.

## Aliens brought to Ellis Island Nov. 8, 1919 cont'd.

E. I. File No.	Department Warrant No.	Names.
98759/335	54709/347	Lazarowitz (or Lazarewich) Andrew
98759/271	54709/275	Lipkin, Dora
98759/304		Lipsky, Anton
98759/337	54709/349	Melniok, Nick (or Nicholas)
98759/312	54709/125	Melnikoff, Gregory, alias Kushneroff
98759/326	54709/338	Newar, John
98759/274	54709/119	Nowiok, P., or Piotr Nowiok
98759/325	54709/337	Oohrymuk, Nick, or Nikolai Oohrimuk
98759/276	54709/112	Panco, D., alias Dimitri Panko
98759/344	54709/356	Podlipsky, Mathew
98759/311	54709/449	Poluleok, Joseph
98759/350	54709/364	Proskowich (or Proshkovich) Theodore
98759/328	54709/340	Rice (or Risch) Daniel
98759/316		Ristiok, Louis
98759/279	54709/128	Schatz, Alex
98759/280	54709/278	Sohatz, Boris
98759/283	54709/113	Semon, Mike (or Seegan), alias Siginoff
98759/336	54709/348	Sevitsky, Mick, or Michail Sawicki
98759/308		Shinkevich, Ilia (Eli) or Ilia Platonovich Shinkevich.
98759/310	54709/447	Skochuk, Grigori, or Harry Skoohuk
98759/314	54709/280	Smoliakow, or Tony Smollok
98759/329	54709/341	Turka, Tom, alias Foma
98759/339	54709/351	Urgell (or Urgel) Peter
98759/334	54709/346	Uschenna (or Uschenia) Stephen
98759/397	54709/117	Vermenuk, John, or Ivan Veremiuk
98759/343	54709/355	Vizeroff, Nick, or Nicolay Besarow
98759/303	54709/99	Vlasoff, Adam, or Nicholas Wasilieff
98759/290	54709/104	Vlasoff, Demian, or John Vlasloff
98759/291	54709/102	Varchenko (or Varoatinko) alias Peter Voronenko
98759/307		Wardner (or Wodner, or Vodner) Harry
98759/388		Washnik, Nicholas
98759/338	54709/350	Yarmola (or Ermola) John
98759/292	54709/284	Zafronia, Necita, or Nikita Safronieff
98759/300		Zorin (or Zoranoff) Peter

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932  
File Number 54235/36

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 8, Washington [D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.—  
1 p.; 36 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caminetti explains the status of Goldman's deportation hearing to J. Edgar Hoover and assures him that the Department of Labor should decide her case by the end of November.

Notes: Reply to 830214037.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

## U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,  
AND REFER TO

No. 52410/43

November 8, 1919.

J. E. Hoover, Esq.,  
Special Assistant to the  
Attorney General,  
Department of Justice.



My dear Mr. Hoover:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your personal note of the 7th instant, in which you suggest the advisability of having the Emma Goldman case closed and forwarded here for decision at the earliest possible moment.

It is, as you suggest, desirable to have this case closed as soon as that action can be taken without prejudicing the interests of the Government, either from failure to afford counsel for the alien reasonable time and opportunity to submit his evidence and brief, or the Government opportunity to develop the case in its fullest possible strength. The hearing was to have been completed and the case closed on Monday, the 10th instant. I am informally advised, however, that Attorney Weinberger has been granted an additional two days on his claim that it would be necessary for him to secure certain evidence as to Miss Goldman's citizenship which was not available in New York City. Miss Goldman, with her counsel, I am advised, will appear at Ellis Island on the 12th instant, when it is her intention to offer some additional evidence of her citizenship. Advantage will, of course, be taken of the occasion to ask her a few questions with respect to her present beliefs, etc., on the question of anarchism and kindred subjects. It is my hope that you and Mr. Peters, of this Bureau, can be present at the time and go over the record (which, I understand, has now been typewritten) before the case is finally closed.

I know of no reason why the decision of the Department in this case can not be rendered some time during the present month, and beg to assure you, in this connection, that this Bureau will leave no stone unturned in this direction.

Very truly yours,

186233-13-214

Commissioner General.

JAN 9 20

WJP:REL



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 8 [Washington, D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOLA.

Notes: Bleedthrough; dark copy. Copy of 810113041.

62410/43

November 8, 1919.

J. E. Hoover, Esq.,  
Special Assistant to the  
Attorney General,  
Department of Justice.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

My dear I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your personal note of the 7th instant, in which you suggest the advisability of having the Emma Goldman case closed and forwarded here for decision at the earliest possible moment.

It is, as you suggest, desirable to have this case closed as soon as that action can be taken without prejudicing the interests of the Government, either from failure to afford counsel for the alien reasonable time and opportunity to submit his evidence and brief, or the Government opportunity to develop the case in its fullest possible strength. The hearing was to have been completed and the case closed on Monday, the 10th instant. I am informally advised, however, that Attorney Weinberger has been granted an additional two days on his claim that it would be necessary for him to secure certain evidence as to Miss Goldman's citizenship which was not available in New York City. Miss Goldman, with her counsel, I am advised, will appear at Ellis Island on the 12th instant, when it is her intention to offer some additional evidence of her citizenship. Advantage will, of course, be taken of the occasion to ask her a few questions with respect to her present beliefs, etc., on the question of anarchism and kindred subjects. It is my hope that you and Mr. Peters, of this Bureau, can be present at the time and go over the record (which, I understand, has now been typewritten) before the case is finally closed.

I know of no reason why the decision of the Department in this case can not be rendered some time during the present month, and beg to assure you, in this connection, that this Bureau will leave no stones unturned in this direction.

Very truly yours,

Commissioner General.

WJP:RM

*File with  
Goldman  
case*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 11, Washington [D.C. to] L. Lanier Winslow, Office of the Under Secretary, Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / Wrisley Brown [Chief, Military Intelligence 4] War Department. — 1 p. ; 36 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Brown sends the weekly situation report to the Department of State.

Notes: For enclosure, see 820106001.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

In replying refer to

10641-212

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON

November 11, 1919.

Mr. L. Lanier Winslow,  
Office of the Under Secretary,  
Department of State.

Dear Mr. Winslow:

Herewith is copy of our Situation Survey  
with respect to radical and racial propaganda and  
activities during the week ending November 5, 1919.

Very truly yours,

M. Churchill,  
Brigadier General, General Staff,  
Director of Military Intelligence.

By

*Wrisley Brown*  
Wrisley Brown,  
Lieut. Colonel, U. S. Army.

1 encl.  
bap



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Meeting Held at the Office of the New Majority, Chicago, 1919 Nov. 12 / [Agent] No. 7 [Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 2 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Agent No. 7 explains that the Communist Labor Party, of which he is an honorary member-at-large, will conduct propaganda for the persecuted Communist Party and the Union of Russian Workers. He notes that Goldman and Berkman have approved its platform.

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

## REPORT

*Emmeline*  
10110-124/121  
32  
WAR DEPARTMENT

PERSON	REPORTED BY	No. 7
SUBJECT	Meeting Held at the Office of The New Majority, Nov. 11, 1919.	PLACE November 12, 1919.
OFFENSE CHARGED	DATE	

At a meeting which lasted nearly all night held at the office of the New Majority and which was attended by all the officers of the Communist Party except Fraind and Ruthenberg, all the local officials of the Communist Labor Party, all the I. W. W. Secretaries, but Haywood, and Whitehead, who were afraid of being shadowed, all the Officials of the Lettish, Finnish and German Communists and Communist Labor party branches, and some of the leading Russian Reds - the following plan of propaganda was decided upon:

On account of the country-wide prosecutions against the Communist Party, and the Union of Russian Workers - The Communist Labor Party shall function as the propaganda agency to bring about the Revolution in America. The Communist Party, Union of Russian Workers and some of the extreme radical publications, shall publish articles which on the face of it shall appear hostile towards the Communist Labor Party. The speakers of the extreme radical organizations shall in their lectures condemn the platform of the Communist Labor Party. That the following publications shall be used as the official propaganda organs for the Communist Labor Party: - The Voice of Labor, The Class Struggle, The Liberator, The Ohio Socialist, The Truth, The Workers World, The Forge, The Oakland World, The Red Bird, Elora, Das Echo and Die Volkszeitung. New York City shall be the Central Headquarters of the Communist Labor Party. Every effort shall be made to win the owners of the New York Call and the Jewish Worker to the Communist Labor Party, and if necessary, money shall be spent for that purpose. To raise a large propaganda fund the initiation fee of the Communist Labor Party shall be \$1.00 and each new member shall be compelled to pay six months' dues at the rate of 50 cents per month in advance.

That Charles Baker from Hamilton, Ohio, Mrs. Margaret Provoy from Akron, Wagonmeyer and Katterfield from Cleveland, Ohio, Max Bodacht now in New York, Arthur Proctor from Chicago, Jack Carney from Duluth, Minn., Mrs. Ella R. Bloor from New York, Robert Minor from San Francisco, and John Snyder from Oakland, California, shall be carried on the payroll as organizers. That Eugene Dobs, H. the G. Hare, Bill Haywood, Robert M. Buck, Santori Mortova, Mother Jones, Fred Alford, Tom Mooney, James Maurer, Doctor Elizabeth Baor, Jim Larkin, and Informant shall be accepted as Honorary Members at large.

That all propaganda for the present shall be carried on amongst the farmers and the members of the American Legion.

That Wagonmeyer and Katterfield shall have charge of the New York Headquarters of the Communist Labor Party.

That the I. W. W. shall be the recognized labor Union. (Buck and Ferguson were opposed to mentioning the I. W. W. or any other labor organization at this time, but they lost out.)

D. I. O. FILE NO.

2 Y TO

610 10 17

5508/56

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Meeting Held at the Office of the New Majority, Chicago, 1919 Nov. 12 /  
[Agent] No. 7 [Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 2 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Agent No. 7 explains that the Communist Labor Party, of which he is an honorary member-at-large, will conduct propaganda for the persecuted Communist Party and the Union of Russian Workers. He notes that Goldman and Berkman have approved its platform.

## DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

### REPORT

PERSON	REPORTED BY	No. 7.
SUBJECT	PLACE	November 12, 1919.
OFFENSE CHARGED	DATE	

Page 2.

That a Bail and Bond Committee shall be organized to get all arrested "Comrades" out of jail at once if possible.

That competent attorneys shall be engaged in most of the large cities.

That no direct correspondence shall be carried on between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party, Union of Russian Workers or any of the Anarchist groups. That all important business between these organizations, shall be transacted by trusted messengers.

And that the nationwide General Strike propaganda shall be one of the main issues to demand the release of all the political and industrial prisoners, and to stop the fight against the Soviet Republic.

Millions of leaflets, headed "Hands off Russia" will be distributed throughout the United States during the coming week.

Most of the men who attended were foreigners, but Mr. Stollar acted as spokesman for most all of them. Those whom informant knew by name were Back, Proctor, Wicks, Ferguson, Shinman, Simon, Abrahamson, Walsh, Hardy, Lewis, Holman, Cook, Pankin, Marcy, Rebin, Friedrich, Thomas, Gallagher, Fox, Baker, and many others. Informant only heard of the meeting about midnight from Proctor who had spoken at a north side Communist Labor Party meeting and came to informant for booze, and when Proctor and informant arrived at the special meeting all names had been called.

The Communist Labor Party movement requires very close watching, as the leaders have great things in store. John Reed is expected to return to America with plans worked out by Lenine and Proctor and with large funds to carry the Bolshevik propaganda into the White House of Washington, D.C., and all other legislative agencies of this country - unlimited sums of money are expected to be spent by Russian Agents in all parts of the world to buy politicians and brains for the purpose of promoting Bolshevik propaganda, but the propaganda will be christened with a better sounding name and camouflaged enough to appear harmless. Every effort should be made by the decent people of California to get to Judge Brady who recently defeated Mr. Fickert for District Attorney of San Francisco. Judge Brady has been playing into the hands of the radicals for the last two years, and it was Ed. Nolan, Secretary of the International Workers Defense League of San Francisco who first suggested to have Judge Brady run against Fickert. If Tom Mooney is freed at this time it will have a disastrous effect on decent government.

Bill Haywood, Emma Goldman, Alx Beckman and many other skunks have approved the platform of the Communist Labor Party, which means that all the extremists forces will in a short time be combined into the Communist Labor Party.

TO

D. I. O. FILE No.

5508/56

O. 17

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 12, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Byrne H. Uhl, Assistant Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
 Summary: Uhl informs Weinberger that if he wants to submit a brief in Goldman's deportation case, he must do it by November 20, 1919.  
 Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 850712316. For reply, see 850712317.

ADDRESS ANSWER TO  
 "COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION"  
 AND REFER TO NUMBER

98713/52

## U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR IMMIGRATION SERVICE

OFFICE OF  
 COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION  
 ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.  
 November 12, 1919

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
 261 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Sir:

This is to inform you, as Attorney for Miss Emma Goldman, that the hearings in her case under the warrant which issued for her arrest, have been closed. You have stated that you desired to submit a brief to accompany the record to Washington. Please submit the same in duplicate to this office on or before November 20th.

Respectfully,

AJB

*Byrne H. Uhl*  
 Assistant Commissioner.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 12, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Weinberger asks Caminetti to decide his request for time to prepare evidence of Goldman's citizenship. Weinberger protests the government's refusal to put his objections at the hearing in the record.

Notes: For reply, see 830214035.

*Attorney and Counsellor at Law*

*261 Broadway*

*Telephone 5037  
5038 Barclay  
5039*

*New York* November 12, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:-

In the matter of deportation proceedings against Emma Goldman the Government put all its evidence in and at the end I requested that I be given one month's adjournment for the purpose of obtaining evidence, proving the citizenship of Miss Goldman, as it is necessary to find witnesses, produce affidavits, etc., and the same cannot be done in anything less than four or five weeks at least.

I desire also at this time to specifically file my objection to a hearing wherein my objections as attorney for Miss Goldman are not noted and the stenographer is told what to take and what not to take. I believe that if there is a hearing it is just the same as any court proceeding and whatever takes place at the hearing must be noted by the stenographer, and where objection is made to testimony whether the objection is overruled or not the objection should be taken and exception noted. I state this not only because of Miss Goldman's hearing but because it may be important in all other hearings.

Will you advise me as soon as possible as to your decision in reference to this adjournment which I feel is absolutely necessary for the preparation of our side of the case.

Very truly yours,

*Harry Weinberger*

HW/ICW

114

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 12, Chicago [to] E[dward] J. Brennan, Div[ision] Sup[erintenden]t, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].—  
1 p.; 36 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett tells the Bureau of Investigation where Goldman and Berkman are speaking on November 29, 1919.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. For related documents, see 810331065 through 810331069.

81-04-0221

CHIEF OF STAFF  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
10110-267  
170  
102

DIC-II  
5508/51

November 12, 1919.

From: The Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.  
To: Mr. E. J. Brennan, Div. Supt., Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice, Federal Bldg., Chicago Ill.  
Subject: EMMA GOLDMAN-ALEXANDER BERKMAN MEETING Nov. 29th. 1919.

1. Information has come to this office to the effect that  
an Emma Goldman-Alexander Berkman meeting will be held at  
Street Car Men's Hall, Chicago, on November 29th, 1919.

2. This meeting was first scheduled to be held at the  
Aryan Crotto Temple.

Thomas B. Crockett,  
Major, Infantry.

CEB  
SMB

cc Incl.

cc to DEI

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 12 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke instructs Brennan to locate Jacob Kersner.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For reply, see 880606236.

671:KID

November 12, 1919.

Brennan,  
Federal Building,  
Chicago, Illinois.

✓  
CONE

Endeavor locate Jacob Kersner. If successful wire for  
further instructions. Stop, five.

BURKE,

Chief.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 12 [Washington, D.C. to M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Buffalo, N.Y. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke instructs Blackmon to look for Jacob Kersner.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For reply, see 880606206.

672:133

November 12, 1919.

Blackmon,  
Federal Building,  
Buffalo, New York.

COPIE

Instruct competent agent proceed Rochester immediately  
and endeavor locate Jacob Kersner. If successful wire  
for further instructions. Stop, Five.

BURKE,

Chief.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchists Held for Deportation, New York, 1919 Nov. 12 / John L. Haas [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Haas reports that Harry Weinberger provided Goldman and Berkman's bail.

Notes: Reply to 880606194.

Report Form No. 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>J. L. Haas.</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>New York City.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Nov. 12, 1919.</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 11.</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OUTLINE CHARGES OR STATE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>IN RE: EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN ANARCHISTS HELD FOR DEPORTATION.</b>			
SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.  <p>Having been assigned by Special Agent McGee to Special Agent Soullly's Department and acting under his instructions and pursuant to a letter from Chief Burke, dated November 1, 1919 and initialed J.B.H.-G.F.O., Agent called up Mr. Schell of the Law Division, Department of Emigration at Ellis Island and was informed that the only cases on record at present where Liberty Bonds were furnished as bail in cases of anarchists being held for deportation by the Emigration Authorities, were in the cases of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. One Harry Weinberger, an attorney furnished \$15000.00 in Liberty Bonds for each of these subjects and that said Liberty Bonds were now filed in Washington.</p> <p>Concluded.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>John L. Haas</i></p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Mr. Soullly.</b>			

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 12, Philadelphia [to A. Mitchell] Palmer, Attorney General  
[Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / H.S.J. Sickel. — 1 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
Summary: Sickel notifies Palmer of a meeting to honor Goldman and Berkman, which he believes is an insult to the government and its citizens.  
Notes: For reply, see 891216032.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

LAW OFFICES OF  
H. S. J. SICKEL  
COMMERCIAL TRUST BUILDING  
16 SOUTH BROAD STREET

LAW  
REAL ESTATE  
COLLECTIONS

ESTATES SETTLED  
TRUSTS EXECUTED  
NOTARY PUBLIC

PHILADELPHIA. November 12th, 1919.

Attorney General Palmer,  
Washington,  
D. C.

Dear Sir:-

According to recent publications of newspapers in this City there is proposed to be held in the course of the next few days an assembly, with the feature of a banquet associated therewith, to be given Emma Goldman and the renown Berger, who is of her class, and whose term of imprisonment has just about expired. said meeting is scheduled to take place at the Continental Hotel, 9th and Chestnut Streets, and I understand the Superintendent of our Police - Mr. Robinson has issued a permit allowing same. To me, as a citizen of the United States, such a gathering and occasion is not only an insult to the intelligence of the citizens but it constitutes an offense and insult to the dignity of the laws of our Country and sovereignty of our Government. If you do not know of this proposed meeting I think you should be advised of it and treat this information in such a way as you think best.

Personally, without any criticism, I beg to say that I feel that the liberties of this County in many respects are being abused to such an extent that the intended merit of them is gradually becoming lost and many people allowed to do as they please, while entertaining the thought, Government or no Government. In conclusion I beg to add that I heartily endorse your policy of exporation of undesirable and dangerous people to our Government and I believe that such a policy is approved by all sober minded people who have the interest of their country and its Government at heart.

Yours very truly,

*H. S. J. Sickel*

186233-13-215

NOV 23 19

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner—Alleged Husband of Emma Goldman, Syracuse, N.Y., 1919 Nov. [13?] / James C. Tormey, Special Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Having interviewed Jacob Kersner's father, Agent Tormey reports that Kersner died in Chicago in December 1918.

Notes: Reply to 880606203. For Creighton reports mentioned, see 880606162 through 880606164.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY: James C. Tormey PLACE WHERE MADE: Syracuse, N. Y. DATE WHEN MADE: Nov. 10, 1919 PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Nov. 13, 1919.

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION

In re Jacob Kersner.  
Alleged Husband of Emma Goldman.

NOTED  
G.P.R.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

At Syracuse, N. Y.

After completing my work at the Buffalo office today I was instructed by Agent in Charge Blackmon to proceed to Rochester, N. Y. in order to locate Jacob Kersner pursuant to a telegram received by Agent Blackmon which read as follows: "Instruct competent agent proceed Rochester immediately and have locate Jacob Kersner. If successful wire for further instructions. Five".

From reading over Special Agent Creighton's reports in re Emma Goldman I found that Detective Sergeant Nagle of the Rochester Police Department was very familiar with the history of Emma Goldman and Kersner's family. I interviewed Detective Sergeant Nagle and he stated that he has not seen or heard from Jacob A. Kersner for several years and does not know where he is located at the present time except that he heard a report that Kersner was dead.

I next interviewed Mr. Wright who has an office with Attorney Taggart in the Powers Building and he advised me that he accompanied Special Agent Creighton to the home of Abram Kersner who is the father of the subject and the old gentleman stated that his son died last year but did not say where.

I next proceeded to the Bureau of Vital Statistics in Rochester in order to verify the report of Kersner's death but found that they have no record of his death and they would not have a record of it unless he died in the city of Rochester.

I then interviewed Abram Kersner, the father of the subject, at his residence 64 Weld St., and found him to be a very intelligent and active man of about seventy years. He appeared to be very frank with me and stated that his son wrote to him when he was in Russia stating that he had married Emma Goldman and later the son stated that he obtained a divorce from Emma Goldman and there is no record of a divorce in the city of Rochester. However, the old gentleman stated that his son left Rochester about twelve years ago and during that time has been in Chicago except for a comparatively short time when he was in Canada. In December 1918, some attorney in Chicago wrote the father to the effect that the son died of influenza in some hospital in Chicago, the name of which the father could not recall. This letter also stated that the son had about one hundred and fifty dollars and the attorney asked the father what disposition he wanted to make of this money and the father wrote to the attorney and told him that he did not want any of the money and to pay all the funeral expenses and if there was anything left to place a stone on his son's grave. The father stated that his son, who was about fifty four years of age, has not been home in twelve years and he nor any other member of his family did not go to Chicago for the funeral because they did not know about the death until they received a letter from the attorney which was some time after Christmas 1918, and while he could not give me the exact date, because the letter which he received from the attorney has been lost, he stated that it was approximately three weeks after the death of his son that they received the notice.

BY THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Washington, Buffalo, Syracuse.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner—Alleged Husband of Emma Goldman, Syracuse, N.Y., 1919 Nov. [13?] / James C. Tormey, Special Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Having interviewed Jacob Kersner's father, Agent Tormey reports that Kersner died in Chicago in December 1918.

Notes: Reply to 880606203. For Creighton reports mentioned, see 880606162 through 880606164.

Page 2.

In re Jacob Kersner.  
Alleged Husband of Emma Goldman.

CONTINUED.

I then sent the following telegram to the Chief of the Department:

"Five stop refer wire to Agent Blackmon twelfth Jacob Kersner died Flu Chicago Hospital December or November 1918 age fifty four."

Respectfully submitted,

*Tormey*  
Special Agent.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 13, Rochester, N.Y. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t [of] Justice, Wash[ingto]n, D.C. / [James C.] Tormey [Special Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Tormey wires that Jacob Kersner died in Chicago in late 1918.

Notes: Reply to 880606203. For related document, see 880606213.

72 W Bu 27 Collect & R 6157

Rochester NY Nov 13 1919

Burke

Dept Justice Washn DC

Five stop Refer wire to Blackmen twelfth Jacob Kersner died Flu  
Chicago hospital Dec or Nov nineteen eighteen age fifty four  
Tormey

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Lawyer Seeks Verdict Delay — 22 cm. In [New York Call (Nov. 13, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The New York Call describes Goldman's deportation hearing proceedings, including Harry Weinberger's comments to the press.

Notes: Portions illegible.

New York Call

Nov 13-1919

## EMMA GOLDMAN LAWYER SEEKS VERDICT DELAY

Withholding of Decision in  
Exile Proceedings Asked  
to Prove Anarchist's  
Citizenship.

Defendant Refuses to An-  
swer Questions at Hear-  
ing Upon Her Per-  
sonal Beliefs.

Maintaining that the government had no right to inquire into the personal beliefs of citizens, Emma Goldman, anarchist, refused to answer questions asked during the deportation proceedings begun against her yesterday at Ellis Island.

Miss Goldman persistently refused to tell whether she was an anarchist, she believed in the over-throw of the government by force and violence or the destruction of property. Harry Weinberger, counsel for Miss Goldman, requested a month's adjournment of the rendering of decision in order to obtain an opportunity to prove her citizenship.

Weinberger declared that the cancellation of her husband's citizenship had been deliberately "framed" against a defendant whose it was revoked in a United States District Court at Chicago in 1909.

Notice Served, Claim.  
The anarchist, he continued, had never been served with notice at the time and had been given no opportunity for defense.

Weinberger said that the hearing in the case of Alexander Berkman had been closed. He expects to send a letter on the case to Washington, the report said.

Good hygienic conditions on Ellis Island were bad. There are no baths, and the food and drink are

## Goldman Lawyer Seeks Delay

(Continued from page 1.)

hour's exercise a day. Relief is promised, however, Weinberger declared.

Mollie Steimer, who has been sentenced to 10 years in Jefferson City (Mo.) prison, is still on Blackwell's Island serving six months' sentence for disorderly conduct.

Weinberger announced that he would try to obtain a writ of habeas corpus for Miss Steimer's release from the island on the ground that the Federal conviction under the Gag Act made her immune from state prosecution.

Hyman Lachowsky, who was with Miss Steimer under the war-time statute, has come out of the hospital on Ellis Island, where he had been taken for deportation after the Russian People's House at 133 East 18th street was raided last Friday night. His head is swollen as a result of Department of Justice methods and is in bandages.

Weinberger said the Russians were being held for deportation in order to make the arrests "legal."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 13 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].  
— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger insists that Caminetti give him a chance to present testimony at Goldman's deportation  
hearing.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For enclosures, see 850712315 and 850712317. For reply, see  
850712318.

HARRY WEINBERGER  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

November 13, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:-

I send you herewith a copy of a letter  
this day received from Assistant Commissioner of  
Immigration, Ellis Island and my reply thereto.

When the hearing is finally closed after  
we have submitted our testimony, then I will file a  
brief. I presume that a hearing means that we can put  
in our testimony as well as listen to yours.

Very truly yours,

HW/ICW

Enclosure.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 13 [New York to Byrne H. Uhl, Assistant] Commissioner of Immigration [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger emphatically protests the Bureau of Immigration's handling of Goldman's deportation hearing, especially its refusal to record his objections or allow him to present evidence at a later date.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 850712316. Reply to 850712315.

HARRY WEINBERGER

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

November 15, 1919.

Commissioner of Immigration,  
Ellis Island,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:-

In answer to your letter of November 12th stating that Miss Goldman's hearing has been closed, I beg to state very emphatically that the hearing in Miss Goldman's case has not been closed. The Government closed this case and I then stated that I desired one month's adjournment for the purpose of submitting evidence as to her citizenship.

I object to the high-handed method of taking testimony as you do, in refusing to allow the stenographer to take my objections and assertions or my motions as I desired to make them. I sent a letter to that effect last night to the Commissioner General of Immigration's office. I was further to be advised by your office as to their ruling on my application for a month's adjournment, which I think it would have to be passed on by Washington. I always took it that a hearing was a hearing and not merely an inquisition.

Very truly yours,

HW/ICW

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 14, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caminetti argues that the Bureau of Immigration gave Goldman a fair hearing. He refuses to allow Weinberger any more time to present evidence and expects his brief within a week.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 830214036. For same telegram in a different format, see 850712319.

Form 1229

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L
If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.	

WESTERN UNION  
NOV 14 PM 11:27  
TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L
If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.	

RECEIVED AT

3BRAFG 168 GOVT GOVT

BR WASHINGTON DC 111 PM NOV 14 1919

HARRY WEINBERGER ESQ

261 BROADWAY NEWYORKCITY..

REPLYING YOUR LETTER TWELFTH BUREAU IS ADVISED THAT UNUSUAL CARE WAS EXERCISED TO SEE THAT EMMA GOLDMAN WAS GIVEN FULL AND FAIR HEARING AND EVERY OPPORTUNITY WITHIN REASON TO SUBMIT SUCH EVIDENCE AS SHE MIGHT WISH TO OFFER ALSO THAT YOU HAVE ALREADY BEEN GRANTED SEVERAL EXTENSIONS WHICH NOW TOTAL MORE THAN THREE WEEKS IN WHICH TO PRESENT YOUR EVIDENCE THAT YOU PROMISED TO PRESENT SAME NOT LATER THAN TWELFTH INSTANT AND THAT APPARENTLY YOU HAVE TAKEN NO STEPS SO FAR TOWARD SECURING ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE NOTWITHSTANDING YOU WERE ADVISED THAT CASE WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY BE CLOSED ON TWELFTH INSTANT BUREAU IS ALSO ADVISED THAT CASE WAS FORMALLY CLOSED ON TWELFTH INSTANT THAT YOU WERE DULY ADVISED TO THAT EFFECT AND THAT ONE CLEAR WEEK WOULD BE ALLOWED YOU FOR PREPARATION AND PRESENTATION YOUR BRIEF ACCORDINGLY THEREFORE BUREAU WILL EXPECT YOU TO HAVE YOUR BRIEF IN HANDS ACTING COMMISSIONER ELLIS-ISLAND NOT LATER THAN THE MORNING OF TWENTY FIRST INSTANT .

CAMINETTA

120P



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 14, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.  
— 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: For same telegram in a different format, see 850712318.

Form 11

## CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM

62410/43

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

November 14, 1919.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

Replying your letter twelfth, Bureau is advised that unusual care was exercised to see that Emma Goldman was given full and fair hearing and every opportunity within reason to submit such evidence as she might wish to offer; also, that you have already been granted several extensions, which now total more than three weeks, in which to present your evidence, that you promised to present same not later than twelfth instant, and that apparently you have taken no steps so far toward securing additional evidence, notwithstanding you were advised that case would in all probability be closed on twelfth instant. Bureau is also advised that case was formally closed on twelfth instant, that you were duly advised to that effect, and that one clear week would be allowed you for preparation and presentation your brief. Accordingly, therefore, Bureau will expect you to have your brief in hands Acting Commissioner Ellis Island not later than the morning of twenty first instant.

CAMINETTI.

Attest:

Commissioner General.

WJP:REM

\* \* \* \* \*

The above is an official copy of telegram sent this day.

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General.

14-468

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 14, Chicago [to] Maclay Hoyne [United] States Attorney [Department of Justice], Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].— 1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett tells Hoyne where Goldman and Berkman are speaking on November 29, 1919.

Notes: Broken type; light copy.

DIO-11  
6508/51

NOV 18 1919  
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20  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
102X  
NOV 19 1919  
RECEIVED M.I. 2  
November 14, 1919.

From: The Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.

To: Hon. Maclay Hoyne, States Attorney,  
W. Austin Ave. and E. Dearborn St.,  
Chicago, Ills.

ATTENTION: MR. GEORGE PERREY

Subject: EMMA GOLDMAN-ALEXANDER BERKMAN MEETING NOVEMBER 29th, 1919 at CHICAGO.

1. Information has come to this office to the effect that an Emma Goldman-Alexander Berkman meeting will be held at Street Car Men's hall, Chicago, on November 29th, 1919.

2. This meeting was first scheduled to be held at the Ayran Grotto Temple.

Thomas B. Crockett,  
Major, Infantry.

DVB  
SMH

No Incl.

CC to DMI without incl. ✓

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Hotel Cancels the Anarchist Reception — 22 cm. In [Philadelphia Record (Nov. 14, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Philadelphia Record reports that a local hotel backed down from hosting a reception for Goldman and Berkman. The Bureau of Investigation is trying to link a New Jersey anarchist with bombings.

Philadelphia, Record

Nov. 14 - 1919

## HOTEL CANCELS THE ANARCHIST RECEPTION

Affair Was Scheduled for This Evening in Honor of Goldman and Berkman.

### EXPLOSIVES IN RED'S ROOM

Federal Agents Think He May Have Been Implicated in Local Bomb Outrages.

Unless another meeting place is secured, the proposed reception for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, scheduled for tonight in the Continental Hotel, is doomed. The hotel management announced yesterday the demonstration in favor of the radicals would not be permitted.

The Goldman woman and Berkman were recently released from a Federal prison. They were to be brought to Philadelphia under the auspices of a "Committee of Friends and the Ferrer School."

Federal agents made a determined effort yesterday to corner Roman Moseychuk, of Trenton, with explosives in Eastern munition plants during the war, and also threw out a hint that he may have been implicated in bomb outrages in this city. While he was undergoing a searching examination in the Federal building, Moseychuk burst into tears, and protested against charges that he is an anarchist or a believer in violence.

With seven other men being held from the Government raids of last week, Moseychuk faces deportation. The agents declared they have sufficient evidence to definitely place him in the category of undesirable aliens. When he was arrested at Trenton, Moseychuk endeavored to throw the agents off his trail by leading them to a room other than his own.

#### Powder and Bombs in His Room.

When he was taken into custody he gave his address as No. 113 Lambertson street, Trenton. A search of this building failed to reveal anything of an incriminating character. Later, however, the agents learned that he really lived at No. 100 Lambertson street. At that address, in the room said to have been occupied by him, they found, not only radical propaganda, but fuses, wire, powder and several partially-finished bombs.

Todd Daniel, chief of the Federal agents here, said yesterday that Moseychuk at various times was employed as a blacksmith in munition plants. For months he worked in a big plant at Morgan, N. J., and while there several buildings were destroyed by mysterious explosions.

When arrested he carried a card showing membership in the Federation of Russian Unions of the United States and Canada, the organization that Government officials describe as a hot bed of radicalism.

Under the guise of an automobile school, the Federation maintained at Trenton an institution where "Red" agitators were educated in the principles of anarchy, according to the agents. Moseychuk is said to have been an instructor in this "school."

Among the books found in his room was one entitled "The Drama of Chicago," in which was described the Haymarket riots of 1886 and the hanging of several anarchists. Another was called "The Moral Basis of Anarchism." A third bore the title of "How the Priests Enslave the People by the Teaching of Christ." A fourth, issued by the Federation, was on "Five Questions of Communism."

#### Went at Thought of Going Back.

Moseychuk wept bitterly when Immigration Inspector Herkner intimated that he might be sent back to Russia. "America is good enough for me," he wailed. In John Kosey, another prisoner, the Government authorities found one man who is satisfied to return to Russia, in spite of its upset conditions.

He said he doesn't believe in anarchy, but is satisfied to return to his native land as soon as possible. He will probably be accommodated. His mother and two brothers live in Kiev, he said.

Frank Yaroboy and Peter Yerkewsky were also arraigned before the Immigration Inspector yesterday. Yaroboy asserted he was not a member of the union, and for a time Yerkewsky uttered his protest against deportation on similar grounds. Finally he admitted membership.

The testimony in all the cases will be forwarded to Washington for final disposition. It will be two weeks or more before final decisions will be rendered on the question of deporting the men.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 15, Philadelphia [to] Wrisley Brown [Chief, Military Intelligence 4, War Department], Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Intelligence Officer?] Military Intelligence [Division, War Department]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Philadelphia office of Military Intelligence submits a report on radical activities in Philadelphia, including the Ferrar School's proposed dinner for Goldman and Berkman which was never held.

Notes: Dark copy.

OFFICE OF  
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE  
ROOM 2082  
COMMERCIAL TRUST BUILDING  
PHILADELPHIA

JSC-7032

WAR DEPARTMENT

November 15, 1919.

Attention: Lieutenant-Colonel Wrisley Brown.

LIEUT. COL.  
M.I.

From: Office of M.I.D., 2034 Commercial Trust Building, Philadelphia, Pa.  
To: Brigadier-General M. Churchill, Director of Military Intelligence, Washington, D.C.  
Subject: Radical Activities in Philadelphia territory for week ending November 15, 1919.

1. A complete list of the members of the Union of Russian Workers arrested in this city during the recent raids by Federal agents shows that nine, as follows, were taken: Michael Lestchuk, Fred Yurzovoi, Peter Yurkewicz, Paul Jukanov, John Kozzy, Wassili Wasihul, Nikato Ikmasko, Nikato Ivenenko, and Mataway Pershtman. It has developed from correspondence and letters found in the possession of these prisoners that they were emissaries who paid frequent visits to the anthracite and bituminous coal mining fields in Pennsylvania recently to organize the miners into radical groups, although the majority are regarded as rank Bolshevists. The captives represent every shade of ultra-radical thought and action, and some of these men have been identified as those who were recently active among the longshoremen, who were lately on strike. The majority are believed to have served prison sentences in the West.

2. Another arrest during the past week was that of Jacob Marchak, Franklin Street near Brown, this city, who is said to be a Bolshevist. He was arrested on the charge of assault at a meeting of the Ukrainian Society, where the prisoner and several of his friends, representing an alleged radical socialist element, sought to gain control of the organization that had already elected members of the opposing faction. He was given a sentence of six months in prison.

3. On Thursday night, November 13th, the police permitted William Z. Foster, Secretary of the Pittsburgh strike of miners to speak here, under the auspices of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, despite announcements that such would not be permitted. Foster's address was a general attack on capital and a defense of his recent conduct in labor union matters. He charged that the State administration of Pennsylvania had "prostituted the best name of America". He charged that Governor Spraul in his course had been "cheek and jaw" with the steel barons. He said that the whole injunction proceeding instituted by Judge Anderson at Indianapolis to prevent the coal strike was "rotten", and charged that the State Police of Indiana were hired murderers. He stated that the recent strike of the police

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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MILITARY INTELLIGENCE  
ROOM 2022  
COMMERCIAL TRUST BUILDING  
PHILADELPHIA  
-2-

JSC-7032

Nov. 15, 1919.

Attention: Lt.-Col. Wrisley Brown.

To: Director of Military Intelligence, Washington, D.C.

Subject: Radical activities in Philadelphia territory for week ending November 15, 1919.

force of Boston was not a movement against American institutions and said that it was a mere dispute in which the police were organized to secure better wages. Foster stated that the Clothing Workers of America had pledged the striking steel workers at Pittsburgh \$250,000.00, and that a check was received by Frank Morrison, General Secretary of the A.F. of L., last Saturday, for \$100,000.00. The speaker was very dramatic in his reference to his early boyhood in Philadelphia. He stated that as a boy he was knocked around in the gutters of South Street, and that he learned that a man had to fight for everything that he secured in this world; and that as a boy, passing in front of Independence Hall, he learned that America stood for freedom, first, last, and always. Foster claimed that the steel strike is not broken and said that strikers are not being paid any benefits on the strike, owing to the large number involved, namely 400,000. He stated in regard to the recent refusal to permit him to speak in Johnstown, Pa., that he was driven from the town by hired agents and pliant tools of the Steel Corporation, instead of by local officials, as had been reported.

4. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, just out of Federal prison, were to have been given a dinner at the Hotel Continental, Philadelphia, by "a committee of friends and the Ferrer School", Joseph Berman being Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements. Bowman lives on north 31st Street, this city, near Lehigh Avenue, and is a dealer in Jewish newspapers. He has been very active in the sale of tickets to this banquet. The Ferrer School, mentioned in the application for a permit to give this banquet, at which speeches were to be made by Emma Goldman and Berkman, is an institution of "philosophical anarchists". This is the first knowledge made public that the Ferrer School, which was founded in 1901 in Spain, had a branch in Philadelphia. You will recall that it was founded by Professor Francisco Ferrer, who taught children to despise the Church and State, and who preached the abolition of rulers, the police and the courts. Ferrer was court martialed and shot in Spain in 1909.

5. Investigation here during the week, as to the character of the members of the Union of Russian Workers under arrest, developed that all are in constant fear of being deported and sent to Russia. Matway Ferstman, aged 31, is one of the men whose case is to be disposed of first. He was formerly a student at the University of Pennsylvania, and is a man of considerable ability. Ferstman is the son of wealthy and influential parents in Southern Russia. His

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Nov. 15 / M.F. Blackmon, Special Agent in Charge [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Blackmon reports that Jacob Kersner died in Chicago last December.

Notes: Reply to 880606203. For Tormey report mentioned, see 880606213.

Report Form No. 1

Page 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>M. F. Blackmon</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Buffalo, N.Y.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Nov. 15, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 13, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In Re - Emma Goldman - Anarchist.</b>			
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.: <b>At Buffalo, N.Y.</b>  Referring to previous reports made in regard to the above named case, the following wire was received at this office on November 13th, 1919, from the Chief of the Bureau, in code:-----  "Instruct competent Agent proceed Rochester immediately and have locate Jacob Kersner. If successful wire for further instructions Five"  Agent Tormey of Syracuse, N.Y. was in Buffalo on matters pertaining to the Union of Russian Workers, and was assigned to this case and directed to make the necessary investigation at Rochester, N.Y. and to communicate direct with the Chief of the Bureau, by wire.  On November 13th, the following wire was received from Agent Tormey,  "At Syracuse Jacob Kersner died Chicago last December. Wired Chief report."  Respectfully Submitted,  <i>M. F. Blackmon</i> Special Agent in Charge.			
COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Buffalo</b>			

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 16, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / A.F. Sherman, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor. — 1 p.; 32 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.  
 Summary: Sherman forwards a list of aliens arrested and held at Ellis Island under the political provisions of the immigration law.  
 Notes: For enclosed list, see 870625000.

## U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR IMMIGRATION SERVICE

98524/125

1919  
 OFFICE OF  
 COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION  
 ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

November 16, 1919.

235  
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Commissioner-General of Immigration,  
 Washington, D. C.

In response to your telegram I transmit herewith a list of cases of aliens arrested under the anarchistic and kindred provisions of the immigration Act and now receiving attention at this station. This list is believed to be self-explanatory. I have nineteen warrants of arrest of aliens not yet apprehended. These warrants were sent here in connection with alleged anarchists, many of whom have been recently apprehended and are now detained at Ellis Island, and to whom preliminary hearings have been given.

A. F. Sherman  
 Acting Commissioner.

H  
 Inc. 2407

mail previous to see  
 in 235-36

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from  
 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
 Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
 Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932  
 File Number 54235/36

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Status of Anarchist Cases, Ellis Island, N.Y., 1919 Nov. 16?] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 7 p.; 36 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration lists the status of all aliens held for deportation as anarchists.

Notes: Handwritten notes update status. Enclosed with 810807023.

## STATUS OF ANARCHIST CASES, NOVEMBER 16, 1919

- - - 0 0 0 - - -

E. I. NO.	NAME	BUREAU NO.	STATUS
98749/564	Peter Bianky	54616/115	Before Department awaiting decision; record forwarded Sept. 27, 1919. Detained Ellis Island.
98749/563	Arthur Ketzus	54616/115	Before Department awaiting decision; record forwarded Aug. 25, 1919, Detained Ellis Island.
98749/562	Marcus Oradovsky	54616/115	Before Department awaiting decision; record forwarded Sept. 27, 1919. Detained Ellis Island.
98753/390	Jose Grau	54616/211	Deportation warrant on file. Case pending in U. S. Court on writ of habeas corpus; alien detained at Ellis Island,
98743/45	Kasis Maskalunas	54379/101	Before Department awaiting decision; referred to Bureau Aug. 25, 1919; released on bond July 22, 1919,
98753/63	Josef Kunosinski	54616/175	Before Department awaiting decision; record forwarded July 21, 1919; released on bond Aug. 11, 1919.
98747/169	Hyman Lachowsky	54517/74	Before Department awaiting decision; record forwarded Oct. 25, 1919. Detained Ellis Island.
98747/167	Jacob Abrams	54517/79	Before Department awaiting decision; record forwarded Oct. 25, 1919; paroled to Attorney Weinberger 3/21/19.
98747/168	Samuel Lipman	54517/72	Before Department awaiting decision; additional information forwarded 11/6/19; paroled to Attorney Weinberger 3/21/19.

*Handwritten notes:*

- 98749/564: St/D to Russia 12/8/19. Def may be deferred pending criminal action. 12/3/19 - alien acts that wife advised to send notification 12/10/19.*
- 98749/563: St/D. not issued. See E.I. letter 12/11/19.*
- 98749/562: St/D to Russia issued 12/13/19.*
- 98753/390: St/D to Spain issued 12/11/19.*
- 98743/45: Production for deportation now directed.*
- 98747/169: On appeal in N.E. proceedings 11/24/19. St/D to Russia issued 11/24/19.*
- 98747/167: St/D issued 12/3/19.*
- 98747/168: 12/20/19, Russian, sentenced to 20 yrs for violation of Espionage Act. Released on 10,000 bond pending appeal. The evidence of conspiracy is very doubtful and, decision withheld pending investigation.*

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98725/104	Anaum Stepanuk	✓ 54248/20	Before Department awaiting decision. DETAINED Ellis Island.
<i>2nd to Russia issued 11/23/18. Ret to Ellis Island Nov. 8/19.</i>			
98725/105	Ivan Tarasky	✓ 54235/157	Before Department awaiting decision; deportation recommended July 10, 1919; released on bond 4/28/19
98753/140	Robert Parsons	✓ 54616/163	Before Department awaiting decision; deportation recommended July 2, 1919; released on bond 5/14/19.
98747/356	Pawel Kreczin	✓ 54235/158	Before Department awaiting decision; deportation recommended July 10, 1919; released on bond 4/28/19
<i>(?) 2nd to Russia issued 11/23/18</i>			
98755/170	Frank Rack	54616/255	Deportation warrant on file; unable to deport to Hungary at present; released on bond 7/8/19.
98747/357	Leo Haskewicz	✓ 54235/159	Before Department awaiting decision; record forwarded July 10, 1919. Detained Ellis Island.
<i>(?) 2nd to Russia issued 11/23/18</i>			
98747/166	Malke Stimer	54517/73	Case re-opened; see your letter Sept. 27, 1919; further hearing pending here; alien serving term of imprisonment Blackwell's Island Workhouse, N.Y.C.
<i>Russians</i>			
98749/487	Nicholas Mihaeloff	54616/106	Deportation warrant on file; native of Russia; released on bond 3/17/19.
<i>at Ellis Id. OK</i>			
98737/100	Giovanni Guerra	54379/359	Before Department awaiting decision; record forwarded Sept. 18, 1919; released on bond 7/25/18.
98737/98	Andrea Ciafalo	54379/400	Deportation warrant on file; paroled to custody Atty. Winberger Apr. 14, 1919. Atty. unable to produce alien here for deportation. Whereabouts unknown.

*For record for  
Atty. Winberger  
Sept. 18, 1919  
Ellis case for  
hearing was referred  
made by Winberger  
War Bureau  
before day.  
Nov. 8/19*

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Notes: Handwritten notes update status. Enclosed with 810807023.

E.I.NO.	NAME	BUREAU NO.	STATUS.
98747/379	Solomon Ehrlich ✓ <i>St/D to Russia issued 12/4/18.</i>	54379/12	Deportation warrant on file; native of Russia; Released on bond 4/21/19.
98747/374	Alex Kisil ✓ <i>St/D to Russia issued 12/3/18.</i>	54379/425	Deportation warrant on file; released on bond July 23, 1919; native of Austria. Alien at present in Seattle, Washington, P.O.Box #365.
98747/345	Charles Bernat ✓ <i>St/D to Russia issued 1/26/18</i>	54379/491	Deportation warrant on file; native of Russia; released on bond 7/23/19.
98747/371	Martin de Wal	54517/16	Deportation warrant on file; unable obtain passport to date; no proof nationality; released on bond Sept. 30, 1919.
98749/72	Frank Mihalik	54379/186	Deportation warrant on file; alien escaped from immigrant hospital night October 6, see my letter October 7; whereabouts unknown.
98749/467	Vasilus Szhuchrix <i>deported</i>	54616/22	Deportation warrant on file; ticket purchased for S.S. "President Wilson, sailing Nov. 8, 1919.
98737/95	Ruggiero Baccini <i>Italy</i>	54379/349	Department warrant on file; bondsmen failed to produce alien May 12, 1919 proceedings instituted to recover on bond. Whereabouts unknown.
98737/96	Luigi Beduschi <i>Italy</i>	54379/346	Final action deferred one year by Dept. Jan. 22, 1919. alien released on bond June 7, 1918.
98711/184	Giovanni Baldazzi <i>Italy</i>	54235/39	Warrant on file; Italy; January 7, 1919 U.S. Attorney advises alien sentenced ten years Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans.

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E.I. NO.	NAME	BUREAU NO.	STATUS.
98737/108	Michael Stuppiello	54379/319	Department decision held in abeyance pending cancellation U.S. Citizenship; (Bureau letter Oct. 1, 1918) Man now at Rochester, N.Y.
98737/104	Nicola Palmiotti <i>Italy</i>	54379/372	Final action deferred— one year by Dept., Dec. 2nd, 1918; alien released on own recognizance 12/9/18; Alien at 303 Wilkin St., Detroit, Michigan.
98733/165	Wasily Andreyeff	54414/8	Department warrant on file; Russia; released on bond Nov. 22, 1918.
98749/93 <i>12/20/19</i> <i>Def. awaiting Finnish passport.</i>	Peter W. Merta & wife, Elsie	54379/134	Department warrant on file; unable to obtain passport (Finland); Merta released on bond Sept. 5, 1919, his wife released on own recognizance Sept 5th, 1919.
98747/307	Magnus A. Otterholm	54/517/33	Deportation warrant on file; released on own recognizance Apr. 22, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98749/179	Aaron Slutzker	54235/112	Deportation warrant on file; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920. (Russian)
98749/267	Arthur J. Smith	54379/68	Deportation warrant on file; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920. (English).
98747/358	Mike Elick	54235/160	Deportation warrant on file; released on own recognizance Mar. 23/19; whereabouts unknown; Call to Bureau's attention Jan 1, 1920; (Russia)

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E.I. NO.	NAME	BUREAU NO.	STATUS.
98749/261	Joe Martin ✓	54379/5	Deportation warrant on file; Russia; released on own recognizance Mar. 17/19; Whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98747/326	Jens B. Peterson, al. ✓ John Berg	54379/185	Deportation warrant on file; Denmark; released on own recognizance Mar. 17/19; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98747/373	Jalmar Holm ✓	54379/76	Deportation warrant on file; Sweden; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown.
98749/265	Christian L. Johnson, al. ✓ Christ Johnson	54379/50	Deportation warrant on file; Norway; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98749/263	John Leibo ✓	54379/28	Deportation warrant on file; Finland; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98749/201	Gustav Lipkins ✓	54379/205	Deportation warrant on file; Russia; released on own recognizance Mar. 23, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98747/478	Epham Listkoff, al. ✓ Kertz Ephim	54235/102	Deportation warrant on file; Russia; released on own recognizance Mar. 25, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98749/264	James Lund ✓	54379/44	Deportation warrant on file; Sweden; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.

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E. I. NO.	NAME	BUREAU NO.	STATUS
98749/266	August Bostrom ✓	54379/53	Deportation warrant on file; Sweden; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98749/262	Edwin Flogaus ✓	54379/23	Deportation warrant on file; Poland; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98749/269	Alex A. Hendrickson, al. Alex Henderickson	54517/93	Deportation warrant on file; Finland; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98749/177	William Longfors ✓	54379/182	Deportation warrant on file; Denmark; released on own recognizance Apr. 22, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98747/372	John Morgan ✓	54379/18	Deportation warrant on file; England; released on own recognizance Apr. 22, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98747/390	McGregor Ross ✓	54379/183	Deportation warrant on file; Scotland; released on own recognizance Mar. 17, 1919; whereabouts unknown; call to Bureau's attention Jan. 1, 1920.
98749/148	Andrei Dmytryshyn	54616/9 ✓	Before Department awaiting decision; record forwarded Sept. 27, 1919; released on bond Aug. 26, 1919.

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932  
File Number 54235/36

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Status of Anarchist Cases, Ellis Island, N.Y., 1919 Nov. 16?] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 7 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration lists the status of all aliens held for deportation as anarchists.

Notes: Handwritten notes update status. Enclosed with 810807023.

E.I. No.	Name		
98713/52	Emma Goldman f12	52410/43.A	Hearing incomplete, case adjourned pending call of Government. Released on bond.
98747/231	Frank Lopez ✓	54379/511	Deportation warrant on file. Spain. On bond pending appeal to Supreme Court on Habeas Corpus decision dismissing writ.
98749/561	Adolph Schnabel OK	54616/29	Deportation warrant on file. Russia. Detained Ellis Island.

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EXPLANATORY NOTE  
REPORT ON THE INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF THE  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, NOVEMBER 17, 1919

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In the fall of 1919, the United States Congress grew impatient with the perceived inability of the government to respond forcefully against radicals. They were particularly incensed by delays in the deportation of Goldman and Berkman, who were free on bail and planning a speaking tour. On October 17, 1919, the Senate passed a resolution asking Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer to explain what measures he had taken to arrest, imprison, and deport, if appropriate, those who had preached anarchy and sedition and advised the defiance of law and authority.

On November 17, 1919, Palmer submitted his reply, *Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice*. The majority of the report presents the Justice Department's evidence against Emma Goldman (Exhibit 6: pages 35-137) and Alexander Berkman (Exhibit 7: pages 137-144).

Exhibit 6 discusses Goldman's citizenship status, advocacy of violence, and writings on anarchy. The Department of Justice might have originally prepared this report on Goldman as a deportation brief, since it strongly advocates her deportation. The only signature which appears on the printed report is that of Attorney General Palmer, but the writing style is that of J. Edgar Hoover. In 1919, Hoover was a special assistant to the attorney general.

The files of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, the Bureau of Investigation in the Justice Department, and the Bureau of Immigration in the Department of Labor contain typed, unlabeled drafts of this report. These draft versions follow the printed report.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice [excerpt] / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161 ; 22 cm. In Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919).

Obtained from the United States National Archives.

Summary: Palmer reports to the Senate on the Justice Department's investigation of anarchists. The report emphasizes the prosecution and deportation of Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Eighty-two shots of 160 pages. For typed draft of pages about Goldman, possibly used as deportation brief, see 830214183 and 830214184. For typed draft of pages about Berkman, see 800321004.

66TH CONGRESS : : : 1ST SESSION

MAY 19-NOVEMBER 19, 1919

# SENATE DOCUMENTS

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66TH CONGRESS  
1st Session

SENATE

DOCUMENT  
No. 153

### INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#### LETTER FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

TRANSMITTING

IN RESPONSE TO A SENATE RESOLUTION OF OCTOBER 17, 1919, A REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AGAINST PERSONS ADVISING ANARCHY, SEDITION, AND THE FORCIBLE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT



NOVEMBER 17, 1919.—Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
1919

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### LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,  
Washington, D. C., November 15, 1919.

SIR: I have the honor to send you, herewith, a report upon the activities of the Bureau of Investigation of this department, in response to the Senate Resolution No. 213, of October 14, 1919, adopted October 17.

Very respectfully,

A. MITCHELL PALMER,  
Attorney General.

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE,  
Washington, D. C.

3

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### INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

NOVEMBER 14, 1919.

To the SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

I hereby acknowledge receipt of, and make response to, Senate resolution No. 213 of October 14, 1919, adopted October 17, 1919, which said resolution reads as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Attorney General of the United States is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal proceedings, and if not, why not, and if so, to what extent, for the arrest and punishment of the various persons within the United States who during recent days and weeks and for a considerable time continuously previous thereto, it is alleged, have attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States; who, it is alleged, have preached anarchy and sedition; who, it is alleged, have advised the defiance of law and authority, both by the printing and circulation of printed newspapers, books, pamphlets, circulars, stickers, and dodgers, and also by spoken word; and who, in like manner, it is alleged, have advised and openly advocated the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property in pursuance of a deliberate plan and purpose to destroy existing property rights and to impede and obstruct the conduct of business essential to the prosperity and life of the community.

Also, the Attorney General is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal proceedings for the arrest and deportation of aliens who, it is alleged, have, within the United States, committed the acts aforesaid. And if not, why not; and if so, to what extent.

As I understand this resolution, you request the history of my activities against persons who, it is alleged, have:

1. Attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States.
2. Preached anarchy and sedition.
3. Advised the defiance of law and authority (a) by printing and circulating literature, etc.; (b) by spoken word.
4. Advised and openly advocated the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property, in pursuance of a deliberate plan and purpose to destroy existing property rights and to impede and obstruct the conduct of business essential to the prosperity and life of the community: (a) By printing and circulating literature, etc.; (b) by spoken word.
5. Being aliens, committed the acts aforesaid.

In order that I may respond fully to your resolution as above analyzed, I beg to discuss the subject from the standpoints as follows:

1. The condition of our legislation.
2. The deportation of aliens.
3. General activities of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

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### THE CONDITION OF OUR LEGISLATION.

#### ESPIONAGE ACT.

The espionage act (being an act entitled "An act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," approved June 15, 1917, as amended by an act of May 16, 1918) might possibly be invoked against seditious utterances and acts, but I have felt that it was limited to acts and utterances which tended to weaken the waging of actual hostilities. This view seems to be generally accepted, even by Senator Poindexter, who introduced this resolution, and who, in Senate bill 3090, introduced by him, seeks its repeal. Four other bills, to wit, House bill 238, introduced by Mr. La Guardia; Senate bill 81, introduced by Senator La Follette; House bill 1697, introduced by Mr. Voigt; and Senate bill 1233, introduced by Senator France, all seeking the same repeal.

Nevertheless, I have caused to be brought several test prosecutions in order to obtain the final ruling of our courts as to the espionage law and its application to acts committed since the cessation of the activities of our armed forces.

Our general statutes as to treason and rebellion, in my opinion, do not apply to the present radical activities.

The only remaining existing statute possibly applicable is section 6, Federal Penal Code of 1910, as follows:

SEC. 6. If two or more persons, in any State or Territory, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the Government of the United States, or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than six years, or both.

This act, of course, does not cover individual activities and it is incumbent upon the Government to prove conspiracy to use force against the Government as such, and this practically destroys its usefulness in dealing with the present radical situation, even under its most favorable interpretation. However, I caused the following test case to be brought in order to obtain an interpretation of the extent of the usefulness of this statute.

The El Ariete Society was an anarchistic organization in operation in Buffalo, N. Y. Three of its members were indicted there under section 6, for circulating a manifesto in Spanish, a translation of which is hereto attached and marked "Exhibit 2."

Said manifesto, as a whole, clearly constitutes an appeal to the proletariat to arise and destroy the Government of the United States by force and substitute Bolshevism or anarchy in place thereof. It calls for "the proletariat of all countries to unite to precipitate the revolution." "For all of us who suffer the evils of servitude join in the conflict." "To attack the State directly and assail it without hesitation or compunction." It threatens the officers of the Government as follows:

Caunibals, your hour of reckoning has arrived. You have fattened before having your throats cut like hogs. You haven't lived and consequently can

not die decently like men. You are at your wits' end at the prospect of millions of human beings everywhere rising and not only asking but demanding and executing vengeance for the promotion of your usurped interests. Yes, they will overwhelm you. We are convinced that rebellion is the noble vindication of slaves; that from generation to generation the shameful reproach of slavery has now come. Make way for Bolshevism, for the department of labor, mines, railways, fields, factories, and shops. Let the Soviets be organized promptly. The ideal is not converted into fact until it has come to consciousness, after having been acquired by the sacrifice of innumerable voluntary victims. Dear reader, man or woman, whoever you may be, the era of social vindication has arrived; do not remain passive; root out once for all superstition; forward, forward, at once, for the time for parleying with wolves of the chamber and the amphibious creatures of the swamps has passed.

Proclaim yourself openly an anarchist. Let the revolution come. Hail to the immaculate and redeeming anarchy.

On July 24, 1919, the case came before Judge Hazel, of the western district of New York, on motion to dismiss the indictment. After hearing counsel, the court dismissed the case and discharged the defendant. A copy of the court's opinion is hereto attached and marked "Exhibit No. 3."

In his opinion the court, after citing section 6, said:

I do not believe that the acts and deeds set forth in the indictment and the evidence given in support of it establish an offense such as this section which I have just read contemplates.

This provision of the law was proposed in 1861, when this country was in strife with the Southern States, and when it was sought to put down conspiracies in various States of the Union to overthrow the Government and put it down by force—it was then this statute was passed, and Congress in passing it did not have in mind, in my judgment, the overthrowing of the Government, putting it down, or destroying by force by the use of propaganda such as we have been considering here.

The manifesto in evidence contains many objectional phrases—phrases of disloyalty, phrases which are seditious—but it also contains much reading matter prefatory to the objectional passages, which are not in violation of any statute to which my attention has been called.

The manifesto contains a dissertation on historical wrongs asserted to have been committed by kings, monarchs, and other potentates against the workingman, first, in the pagan period, and later under the guise of Christianity, and seems to dwell upon revolutions in the field of labor brought about by inventions in the arts and sciences; in sarcastic terms and scornful allusions belittle our democracy and form of government; claims that capital in this country oppresses labor; is abusive of the officials of the Government; advocating a soviet government; that is, a government by class, commonly known as the workers or proletariat of the country as distinguished from middle or property-owning class, and at the end of the document, and other places, it advocates anarchy, and advocates the destruction of the institutions of society, but there is nothing contained in it that advocates the destruction of society by the use of violence, and it is open to the construction that it was designed to be sent out for the purpose of bringing about a change in the Government by propaganda—by written documents.

Of course, the manifesto is to be highly condemned. In this country we believe in democracy, we have been successful under it, and we are thoroughly satisfied with it; we are opposed to anarchy—and by that term is meant a Government without a ruler—no Government at all.

In the Century Dictionary we find the definition of anarchy to be, "the state of society in which there is no capable supreme power, and in which the several functions of the State are performed badly, or not at all; social and political confusion."

An anarchist is defined to be, "one who advocates anarchy, or absence of government as a political ideal; a believer in anarchic theory of society."

In the popular use—that is, the manner in which the term was used in this case—it is meant, "one who seeks to overthrow by violence or external force the institutions of society and government, all law and order, and seize property with the purpose of establishing another system of government in the place of that destroyed."

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Huxley defines the term and says, "Anarchy is a term of political philosophy and must be taken in the proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or crime."

In this case we have to deal with anarchy that has to do with disorder and crime, and my view is that this provision of the statutes under which indictment was found does not make it an offense to circulate or distribute literature of this kind.

A penal statute ordinarily is to be strictly construed. The rule of the law on that subject is that a strict construction is required, except where it can be fairly ascertained what the intent of Congress was in enacting the law.

I do not think that Congress, when it enacted this law, had in mind such situation as that—had in mind the circulation of literature such as this; I do not think, giving the provisions a fair interpretation, that it embraces any such offense as this at all. There may be a statute of the United States which makes it a crime for any person to conspire for the circulation of literature of this character, but my attention has not been called to it.

I might state, however, that upon the failure of the prosecution under this decision, the entire record was placed by me before the Commissioner of Immigration and that deportation of the individuals involved therein, who happened to be aliens, was recommended.

Taking up and considering the different classes of alleged radical activities as set forth in the resolution in the light of existing criminal statutes (exclusive of the espionage act) I beg to advise you:

1. Those who have "attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States" have committed no crime unless their acts amount to treason, rebellion, or seditious conspiracy. This is defined in sections 1, 4, and 6 of the criminal code above quoted.

2. The preaching of anarchy and sedition is not a crime under the general criminal statutes of the United States.

3. Advising the defiance of law is not a crime under the general criminal laws, whether the same be done by printing and circulating literature or by the spoken word.

4. Nor is the advising and openly advocating the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property a crime under the United States general statutes.

I might state that this opinion has been formed by me only after consultation with and advice from the leading criminal lawyers of the country.

On June 14, 1919, I appeared before the Judiciary Committee or subcommittee thereof, at its request, and outlined the conditions that confronted us. I then recommended that legislation be passed which would make sedition and seditious utterances and publications a crime, whether committed by an individual or by two or more in conspiracy. Such legislation has never been enacted by Congress.

I felt, however, that Congress was fully aware of the condition in the country, and that this was shown by the introduction of some 70 bills bearing upon the situation, which are now pending undisposed of by Congress. They are as follows:

Senate bills 33, 156, 1216, 1327, 3206, 3090, 2896, 2604, 2549, 2524, 2430, 2321, 2099, 2098, 2097, 2096, 1720, 1686, 1567, 1515, 1472, 1444, 1443, 34, 69, 81, 106, 159, 28, 204, 3222, 3233, 3297.

House bills 9782, 9779, 9623, 9594, 9416, 8572, 7877, 6750, 6557, 6545, 6514, 5642, 5645, 5644, 5643, 5640, 5212, 4643, 3473, 1440, 1106, 1240,

1347, 1107, 563, 405, 61, 9949, 9975, 10010, 10066, 10210, 10234, 10235, 10379, 10155.

House resolution 365.

I hesitate to add to the number of these bills, but your resolution seems to imply a request that I submit a proposed draft of a bill which in my judgment is adequate to cover the situation without infringing upon the constitutional rights of freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

I therefore submit for your consideration a proposed bill, to be entitled "A bill defining sedition, the promotion thereof, providing punishment therefor, and for other purposes," a copy of which is hereto attached, marked "Exhibit No. 1."

I venture to suggest that the Congress of the United States recommend to the several States the enactment of similar statutes, so that the services of the law-enforcing machinery of the several States may be availed of to meet the present intolerable situation.

Many States, however, have already passed such acts, namely, California, Indiana, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, and West Virginia.

Copies of these States' laws are hereto attached and marked "Exhibit No. 4."

The several States through their law-enforcing machinery have at their command infinitely greater forces than the United States Government for detecting and punishing these seditious acts. For example, New York City alone has over 12,000 policemen, all of whom are charged with the duty of investigation, and the district attorney of New York County has a force of over 50 prosecuting attorneys, while under the appropriation granted by Congress to the Department of Justice the maximum number of men engaged in the prosecution of the violation of all United States laws by the Department of Justice is limited to about 500 for the entire United States.

### DEPORTATION.

In the second paragraph of your resolution of October 14, 1919, I am requested to advise and inform you whether or not this department has taken any legal proceedings for the arrest and deportation of aliens who, it is alleged, have within the United States committed the acts set forth in the first paragraph of your resolution.

The sections of the immigration law applicable to the deportation of aliens committing acts enumerated in paragraph 1 of your resolution are to be found in the act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, amending the immigration laws of the United States:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That* aliens who are anarchists; aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; aliens who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or that entertains or teaches disbelief in or opposition to all organized government, or that advocates the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States, or of any other organized

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## 10 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Government, because of his or their official character, or that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property shall be excluded from admission into the United States.

Sec. 2. That any alien who, at any time after entering the United States, is found to have been at the time of entry, or to have become thereafter, a member of any one of the classes of aliens enumerated in section 1 of this act, shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the Immigration act of February 5, 1917. The provisions of this section shall be applicable to the classes of aliens mentioned in this act irrespective of the time of their entry into the United States.

The administration of this law is entirely within the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor.

However, under the existing conditions of our laws, it seemed to be the only means at my disposal of attacking the radical movement and, as Congress had seen fit to refuse appropriations to the Department of Labor for its enforcement, I have cooperated with the immigration officials to the fullest extent.

My appropriation became available July 19, 1919.

Detailed instructions were immediately issued to all agents of my department, setting forth the requirements necessary to satisfy the Immigration Bureau in a deportation case, and much has been accomplished under such instructions.

I annex hereto a copy of these instructions, marked "Exhibit No. 5," in order that you may understand that under the immigration law each deportation case must be established and proved as in any criminal prosecution.

The accused is entitled to hearings, to be admitted to bail, writs of habeas corpus, and to appeals even to our highest courts, so that it may well be a matter of months before any specific case can be completed.

As examples of the detailed preparation necessary in these cases, I am attaching hereto copies of the evidence prepared by the Department of Justice in the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman cases.

Since the organization of the radical division, a more or less complete history of over 60,000 radically inclined individuals has been gathered together and classified, and a foundation for action laid either under the deportation statutes or legislation to be enacted by Congress. I should, of course, communicate to you but little of this information. However, it is at the disposal of Congress for proper and confidential use. The record in the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman cases is marked "Exhibit No. 6" and "Exhibit No. 7."

One of the first matters receiving the attention of the radical division after its organization was the various societies in the United States adhering to anarchistic doctrines. Principal among these was the organization known as the Federation of the Union of Russian Workers. The investigations made by this department soon led it to the conclusion that this organization was formed for the sole purpose of destroying all institutions of government and society. It was necessary, however, in order to prove the anarchistic nature of this organization, to secure copies of its constitution as well as copies of documents and literature published and circulated by it. It is impossible for me to set forth the methods by which same were secured owing to the extremely confidential nature of these investigations. After definitely establishing the fact that this organization

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 11

was anarchistic in tendency and in teachings it then became necessary to locate the officers of each of the locals and to establish their membership to this society. Again this department experienced great difficulty in establishing membership, as the members had been advised to carefully guard against information connecting them with the organization.

After thorough investigation in this matter the cases of the persons, who were actively identified with the Union of Russian Workers were submitted to the Department of Labor and that department issued warrants for the arrest of these persons. On November 7, 1919, simultaneous arrests of over 250 officers and members were made in 12 different cities of the United States upon the warrants issued by the Secretary of Labor charging these persons with advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

I am attaching hereto, marked as "Exhibits Nos. 8 and 9," two translations of publications issued by the Federation of the Union of Russian Workers, one entitled "Manifesto of Anarchists-Communists," and the second "Fundamental Principles," which clearly indicate the purpose of this organization and which justify the drastic action taken by this department in the matter.

### PUBLICATIONS.

One of the most potent and far-reaching influences in stirring up discontent, race prejudice, and class hatred in this country is the large number of radical newspapers and other publications which are given wide circulation. Many of these publications frankly urge the overthrow of the Government. The editors of these papers and the writers of these books have a subtle way of placing this propaganda before their readers. But the reader understands what is meant.

There are 222 radical newspapers published in foreign languages in this country at the present time, and 105 radical newspapers published in the English language. In addition, 144 radical newspapers published in foreign countries are received and distributed to subscribers here. This number does not include the hundreds of books, pamphlets, and other publications which also receive wide circulation, many of them published in foreign languages. The number of these radical publications and the language in which they are printed follows:

Armenian	1
Bohemian	9
Bulgarian	3
Croatian	4
Danish	4
Estonian	1
Finnish	11
French	1
German	21
Greek	2
Hungarian	23
Italian	27
Jewish	20
Lettish	11
Portuguese	1

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## 12 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Roumanian	16
Slovenian	8
Spanish	8
Lithuanian	15
Polish	7
Swedish	8
Ukrainian	8
Yiddish	15
Total	222
Papers published in foreign countries	144
English papers in the United States	106
Total	240
Grand total	471

All of these radical publications are read and translated by the Department of Justice in cooperation with the Post Office Department. A force of 40 translators, readers, and assistants is employed for this purpose, and daily reports are received on the radical articles that appear. It may be interesting to point out here that the I. W. W. now circulates 13 papers printed in the English language and 19 papers printed in foreign languages.

These newspapers and publications, more than any other one thing, perhaps, are responsible for the spread of the Bolshevik, revolutionary, and extreme radical doctrines in this country. Every effort is made to get them into the hands of persons who it is believed will be swayed by their teachings. The reader or subscriber of a radical newspaper uses his paper not only for his own information but as a means of propaganda to educate his fellow workman and inculcate him with the doctrine of anarchism, communism, and radical socialism, and thus enlist his services in the revolution.

The radical foreign language press during the war was kept in check by means of the espionage act, approved June 15, 1917, and amended May 16, 1918, the purpose of which was to protect the interests of the United States in prosecution of the war. While the Post Office Department, through a rigid enforcement of this act, was able to prevent the dissemination of propaganda directed against the Government through the mails, the publishers of these newspapers and publications found other ways to get this propaganda into the hands of their readers.

This act, however, was essentially a war legislation and was not drawn with the present radical movement in contemplation, nor is there any existing law to-day which provides an effective means to prevent the dissemination of radical publications by means of which it is sought to create a social and industrial revolution and forcibly overthrow the Government of the United States and establish, if possible, a so-called dictatorship of the proletariat.

The radical press has adopted the expedient of using the express companies for the transmission of their papers. These papers are being sent in bulk to cities all over the United States to be distributed by hand. From the date of the signing of the armistice, a wave of radicalism appears to have swept over the country which is best evidenced by the fact that since that date approximately 50 radical newspapers have commenced publication. A large number of these papers openly advocate the destruction of the United States

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 13

Government and encourage and advise their readers to prepare for the coming revolution. It is also a noticeable fact that a great many of these publications are practically devoid of advertising matters which indicates that they are receiving money from outside sources to further their propaganda.

Section 19 of the trading with the enemy act, approved October 6, 1917, provided that—

It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, corporation, or association, to print, publish, or circulate, or cause to be printed, published, or circulated in any foreign language, any news item, editorial, or other printed matter, respecting the Government of the United States, or of any nation engaged in the present war, its policies, international relations, the state or conduct of the war, or any matter relating thereto: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to any print, newspaper, or publication where the publisher or distributor thereof, on or before offering the same for mailing, or in any manner distributing it to the public, has filed with the postmaster at the place of publication, in the form of an affidavit, a true and complete translation of the entire article containing such matter proposed to be published in such print, newspaper, or publication, and has caused to be printed, in plain type in the English language, at the head of each item, editorial, or other matter, on each copy of such print, newspaper, or publication, the words "True translation filed with the postmaster, etc."

This section of the law was rigidly enforced. This act is also war-time legislation and expires upon the termination of the war. It has given an insight into the character of the foreign language press that could not possibly have been obtained by any other means.

Upon the expiration of this act the foreign language press will no longer be put to the necessity of filing translations and will be given the long-sought opportunity to publish radical propaganda of a more violent character, without being held accountable for its publication or distribution. The Government of the United States will therefore be confronted with an extremely difficult and serious problem in dealing with this propaganda upon the expiration of these laws unless some effective means are found to prevent the publication and distribution of matter of this character aimed at the destruction of the Government itself.

Practically all of the radical organizations in this country have looked upon the Negroes as particularly fertile ground for the spreading of their doctrines. These radical organizations have endeavored to enlist Negroes on their side, and in many respects have been successful. Attached will be found a report recently made to me by my bureau of investigation upon this branch of radical activity. The report is marked "Exhibit No. 10."

A few copies of radical and Negro newspapers taken from our files with cartoons and articles marked, are appended, in order that you may understand their general trend. They are marked "Exhibit No. 11."

I have caused a number of other lines of activities to be pursued by my department which from the confidential nature thereof I can not disclose at this time.

Respectfully submitted.

A. MITCHELL PALMER,  
Attorney General.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### 14 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

#### EXHIBIT No. 1.

A BILL Defining sedition, the promoting thereof, providing punishment therefor, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:* Sedition: Whoever, with the intent to levy war against the United States, or to cause the change, overthrow, or destruction of the Government or of any of the laws or authority thereof, or to cause the overthrow or destruction of all forms of law or organized government, or to oppose, prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or the free performance by the United States Government or any one of its officers, agents or employees, of its or his public duty, commits, or attempts, or threatens to commit, any act of force against any person or any property, or any act of terrorism, hate, revenge, or injury against the person or property of any officer, agent, or employee of the United States, shall be deemed guilty of sedition, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$10,000, or by imprisonment for a period not exceeding twenty years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 2. Promoting sedition: Whoever makes, displays, writes, prints, or circulates, or knowingly aids or abets the making, displaying, writing, printing, or circulating, of any sign, word, speech, picture, design, argument, or teaching, which advises, advocates, teaches, or justifies any act of sedition as hereinbefore defined, or any act which tends to incite sedition as hereinbefore defined, or organizes or assists, or joins in the organization of, or becomes or remains a member of, or affiliated with, any society or organization, whether the same be formally organized or not, which has for its object, in whole or in part, the advising, advocating, teaching, or justifying any act of sedition as hereinbefore defined, or the inciting of sedition as hereinbefore defined, shall be deemed guilty of promoting sedition, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$10,000 or by imprisonment of not exceeding ten years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 3. Aliens to be deported: Any alien who shall be convicted under any of the provisions of this act shall, at the expiration of his sentence, be taken into custody under the warrant of the Secretary of Labor and deported in the manner provided by the immigration laws of the United States then in force, and said alien shall forever thereafter be debarred from again entering the United States or any Territory or possession thereof.

Sec. 4. Denaturalization and subsequent deportation: The conviction, under any of the provisions of this act, of any naturalized citizen shall be deemed sufficient to authorize the cancellation of his or her certificate of naturalization in the manner provided by section 15 of the naturalization act of June 29, 1906. It shall be the duty of the United States attorney in the district where said naturalized citizen is held in custody or resides to institute and conduct such proceedings immediately upon the entry of final judgment of conviction. Upon the cancellation of the certificate of naturalization, the alien shall become subject to the provisions of section 3 of this act.

### INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 15

Sec. 5. The Department of Justice shall furnish the Secretary of Labor such data as will enable him at the proper time to effect the deportation of those made subject thereto by the provisions of this act.

#### EXHIBIT No. 2.

##### MANIFESTO.

Let us go forth to meet it.

The moment for the settlement of accounts has come. Let the proletariat of all countries unite to precipitate the revolution and obtain by its own forces what it has so long desired.

We all know that we all have a right to the banquet of life and we propose to take our place without the permission of those who without any right have made themselves masters of the social edifice.

The conflict which has been carried on since remote ages between capital and labor is the war of the classes, the warfare of hunger against affluence, the struggle of the slave against the master, that of the weak against the strong; and all of us who suffer the evils of servitude should join in the conflict.

Neutrality in these moments of sublime abnegation is the denial of our claim to civilization. We all know our common enemy; it is the league formed of the three elements, state, bourgeoisie, and religion; its support is the state, and we should attack the state directly and assail it without hesitation or compunction whatever.

The life of the governments is soiled with the blood of the proletariat, and they are destined to go to the tomb bathed in the same blood, driven by canine hydrophobia. Oh, governments! Associations of corruption, dens of assassins, adulterers of purity, deformers of angelic innocence, sensibility, virtue, and honesty; I demand of the spirits of light for culture, art, literature, and science, the solidarity of the human ideal, mutual support among all human beings, without distinction of races or frontiers, as international as are the principal elements of life—air, sun, the sea, and the earth \* \* \*

Sacred redeeming ideal, which illuminates the clouds, and sheds its fecundating rays like the sun's generous heat; sublime ideal which offers a prosperous and infinite robustness to life, dignified and purified by the balm, the fragrance, the delight of free love, saturated and fortified by its germs of maternity, which is pure liberty, product of the needs procreated by the evolution of marvelous nature itself. Yes; you know it already, functionaries of the State, directors and pompous, officious asses, wind-bag rhetoricians, lackeys of the needy, vicious, frivolous, and lascivious lineages of wretches, selected castes of gentlemen swindlers, counts, marquises, princes, etc., mad plague of executioners, you who form the aristocracy, controllers, and monopolizers of other peoples' rights, rights which nature, the common mother, conferred upon the whole human race for the normal life and development of every human being. Miserable cut-throats, all gentlemen and lackeys, fed and refreshed by the blood of the peoples! Cannibals, your hour of reckoning has arrived. You have fattened before having your throats cut like hogs. You haven't lived and consequently can not die decently like men. Crazy by

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the horrible guilt for so many crimes, your last hour impends over you. You are already aware that the social question besets you, besieges you, and in your offices you are at your wits' ends at the prospect of millions of human beings everywhere rising and not only asking but demanding and executing vengeance for these holocausts of assassination which you have committed for the promotion of your usurped interests. Don't you suppose that so many thousands of martyrs whom you sacrificed for the only fault of thinking freely and the millions of youths whom you caused to be slaughtered in Europe will be witnesses of your abominable crimes and will bear down upon you and crush you? Yes; they will overwhelm you. We are convinced that rebellion is the noble vindication of slaves, that from generation to generation the shameful reproach of slavery has come to its last days which we can now count; but the strife between capital and labor has never been so intense as now, and we are indeed certain that capital will be defeated, for the simple reason that it has no independent basis of existence, and all that is without its own source of vitality and has become decrepit dies.

In Europe capital has fallen, never to rise; the capitalists themselves confess it, because they can not deny it. We in America also have our hopes (and those stand who do not die of fear) that the renovating and regenerating ideas will be welcomed and will soon produce the desired fruit, rich and luxuriant fruit, for the circumstances are propitious for obtaining the success of the just desires of the great culmination of human liberation.

We can not believe that the American proletariat, in spite of the deep roots which the political teachings have thrown into its mind, will remain indifferent to the transcendental occurrences which are shaking the tranquillity of all that is old, routinary, and anachronistic, to which as unjust and useless we wish everlasting subversion.

We can not believe that they will consent to live longer like cowards and imbeciles under the yoke of barbarity, injustice, confusion, and pillage, of sleepless nights, vigils, and burdens for arbitrary and deceptive religions and interests of fatherlands, which for the workers, in spite of the latter forming the armies and the producers, have no existence.

Make way for Bolshevism. For the departments of labor, mines, railways, fields, factories, and shops. Let the soviets be organized promptly. Between Bolshevism and anarchy there is as much difference as between the yard and the meter.

*The revolution.*—The ideal is not converted into fact until it has come to consciousness, after having been acquired by the sacrifice of innumerable voluntary victims.

E. RECLUS.

(From Man and the Earth.)

From the time of the first social injustices, which had their origin in the first brutality of the strong against the weak, politics gave their sanction whenever the strong and astute combined together to form a government.

It was the principle of the herd, superiors and inferiors, those who commanded and those who obeyed. From that time the ambition has continued to develop for power and property over the tribe or class.

The pride of the chieftain has led to the development of arbitrary and egotistical impositions; in proportion as the contingents increased, the States became great, and as a greater misfortune, the chieftains, acquiring power over the majorities, to obtain greater prestige, invented the fiction of religions and made them respected willingly or by force. In proportion as the power of the chieftains, becoming ever more imperialistic, increased in strength, the religious mythology became more and more positive and mandatory, inculcating the worship of fetiches of stone as being deities with capacity to provide the means of life and to give victory in battles.

In the course of time the accursed ambition of the chieftains, now called kings, became ever more unrestrained. But rebellions arose against these cruel tyrannies, and when the different regions became independent of one another, each region or tribe took a colored piece of cloth, called a flag, as symbol of its common honor.

We may say common honor in the plural sense, or the collective sense, in the national sense, as at present it is used in the patriotic sense.

But the advantages gained, whether of extensions of territory and inhabitants, were always for the profit of the orders, and became the property of the chief, and the herd, without any personality, possessed only the right of being obedient to the orders of the chief and devoted to the fetiches which they had made it believe were the representatives of the deity which sent the light of the sun, and bestowed the food, and inspired valor to be victorious in battle, as history relates of Charlemagne, the restorer of the Roman Empire of the West. Twenty centuries before Christ there had appeared Mithras, who, like Christ, was represented as a worker of miracles, although in reality they never saw him perform any; likewise Mahomet, and Buddha; in short, there have been a great number of religions, each with its omnipotent god, maker of the sky and earth, punisher and rewarder of men. In reality God never punished any sinner for the very good reason that the only sinners in the world have been His ministers. In His name they have laid hands on the government of the earth and of the fortune of the unfortunate herds, which have always formed phalanxes of toiling slaves, the producers of social wealth.

From these remote times down to our era there has been a never-ending change of Governments, and in spite of the fact that the Governments have separated from the church, they have understood perfectly well that they could not live long without the support of religion, and to-day it may be affirmed that the Government is the body of society, capitalism is the stomach, and religion is the soul.

Throughout the 25 or 30 centuries down to our days humanity has passed through a veritable Calvary of inexpressible vicissitudes without having had the advantage of a revolution to emancipate the crucified people. The people, deprived of the right of a scientific and rational education, has submitted like a flock of sheep to the orders of tyrants masquerading with the designations of honor and nobleness. It is true that intellectuals like Gutenberg, with the invention of printing; Copernicus, with the discovery of the rotation of the earth, denying the tradition that Joshua made the sun stand still; Newton, with the discovery of the law of gravitation; Kepler, Galilei;

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Christopher Columbus, with the discovery of the New World; Fulton, with the invention of the steam engine; and many other intellectual workers whom it is not necessary to name, have created a veritable revolution for the good of humanity.

Machinery has directly benefited the economic usurpers, throwing every time more laborers in the street. Now, as in the Middle Ages, bands of laborers, ragged and hungry, without shelter, falling from faintness, literally dying of hunger and cold, naked, in the great cities, in the midst of the enormous accumulations of wealth of every description, the product of the labor of these herds of unfortunates, we are the victims of the unjust laws, which stamp upon our foreheads the seal of inferiority, as though we were an amorphous and inorganic mass. Let the people continue believing in the laws. They are the crueble in which iniquity is east, the bulwark protecting all the vampires that feed on the blood of the producers of social wealth.

In speaking of the legal rights incorporated in the law and the liberty conceded by the Governments, we are face to face with the consequences of the policy which has brought us to the apex of the conclusions.

In the United States of America the great democratic Republic rules.

Democracy means government of the people and by the people. The people is sovereign, then; let us see. Here the primary schools are obligatory; the fathers of families are driven by the lash of exaggerated exploitation and are gradually used up by misery and weariness; while the children with wasted countenances go to school to learn only to read the vulgarities of corrupt society. There awaits them at the school a school mistress prepared to inculcate Catholic mythology, military exercises, and the homage due to the flag, etc. This, forsooth, is democracy!

There is no liberty of speech or press here or of anything else worthy of mention; autoeracy alone reigns; it is the true condition of modern slavery. Against freedom of thought there are formed inquisitorial processes with their torments, as in autocratic Russia under the Tsars and in inquisitorial Spain; the five prosecuting attorneys ask the tribunals to shut their eyes to reason and pronounce judgment without pity. This is the so-called democracy!

Those shut up in the prison houses of the tyranny of democracy are employed in forced labors, and thousands of the condemned are turned over to feudal proprietors.

Is this democracy? It is the democracy of 29 tigers with religious scapularies hung about their necks; 29 tigers with human forms are the masters of the United States. Upon their inhuman instincts depend the fate of millions of human beings condemned to the monotonous and systematic life of living exclusively for work. This is democracy. Augustus, Theodosius, and Nero, governors of the Roman Empire; Queen Isabella, the Catholic, and her successors, the Philips—all those fateful types have been disinterred and here in America exercise authority under other names. Oh, if these are now terrified by their abominable and cruel deeds, they know perfectly well that all their institutions have reached their limit. They with their egotism have raised the wrath and fired the torch of the revolution of vengeance of the humble and enslaved classes against the power of the unjust Roman dogma and code.

Dear reader, man or woman, whoever you may be, the era of social vindication has arrived; do not remain passive, overthrow popular errors, root out once for all superstition; forward, forward; at once; for the time for parleying with the wolves of the chamber and the amphibious creatures of the swamps has passed.

Proclaim yourself openly an anarchist; make your brain a formidable battering ram, capable of destroying all the institutions of society with all the tyrants who sustain them with their Machiavellian policies.

The great social revolution is already under way; it is the apocalyptic call proclaiming for all the unfortunate and disinherited of the universal patrimony a place in the academy, in the university, and at the banquet of life for all, with equal rights and equal duties. To work! Every day's delay is a link added to the chain of slavery. Let the revolution come. Hail to the immaculate and redeeming anarchy. Courage high!

For the anarchistic group (battering-ram or butting group):

ARIETE.

NIAOARA FALLS, N. Y.

NOTE.—Every intellectual may collaborate with the people, and if he so desires, he may be admitted as a master, but not to become a chief, because all the delights of chieftainship only lead to tyrannies.

### EXHIBIT No. 3.

RULING OF THE COURT ON MOTION TO DISMISS THE INDICTMENT, IN  
THE CASE OF UNITED STATES v. JOSE ASO, ET AL., TRIED AT THE CITY  
OF JAMESTOWN, N. Y., JULY 17 TO 24, 1919. (EXHIBIT B.)

By the court: There is always a grave responsibility resting upon the court before a case is finally submitted to a jury. The jury, true enough, are the determining factors of the evidence; it is their duty to ascertain what the truth is, and when the witnesses have testified diametrically opposite to each other, the responsibility rests upon them to determine who has testified to the truth, and this, oftentimes, is a very difficult thing to do. Jurors are not mind readers, and the only way they have of ascertaining whether a witness has testified to the truth fully, or not, is to take into consideration the interest which he has in the outcome of the controversy or in its prosecution, the manner of testifying—whether clearly or hesitatingly and with embarrassment. These are the earmarks by which a jury may obtain some idea as to the truthfulness of the narrative.

Primarily the duty rests on the court to explain and expound the law to the jury, and also to determine at the close of the case whether sufficient evidence had been adduced to justify submitting the case to the jury. The court is not a mere moderator to see that both sides properly conduct the proceedings, but the responsibility rests upon it to determine whether sufficient evidence has been adduced in the prosecution on the part of the Government to submit the controversy to the jury for its decision.



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It may be that when the Government finished its side of the case, and the motion was made by defendants to direct a verdict in their favor, it should have been acceded to. I did not accede to it at that time, because I thought it would not be improper to ascertain the attitude of these different defendants, who are charged with a grave offense, and furthermore to give opportunity for ascertaining their state of mind at the time it is claimed by the Government this conspiracy in question was formed and overt acts committed in carrying it out.

Now both sides have rested, and a motion is made by defendants on two grounds: The first is, that there can be no conviction, under any circumstances, of these defendants, simply because the statute under which the indictment was found does not include the specific offenses with which they are charged. Second, that the evidence adduced on the part of the Government is insufficient to prove a conspiracy such as the indictment alleges.

I will pass on the ground first stated.

The statute reads as follows:

If two or more persons in any State, or Territory or any other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down or destroy by force the Government of the United States, or levy war against them, or oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take or possess any property of the United States, contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined not more than five thousand dollars, or imprisoned not more than six years, or both.

I do not believe that the acts and deeds set forth in the indictment and the evidence given in support of it establish an offense such as this section which I have just read contemplates.

This provision of the law was passed in 1861, when this country was in strife with the Southern States, and when it was sought to put down conspiracies in various States of the Union to overthrow the Government and put it down by force—it was then this statute was passed, and Congress, in passing it, did not have in mind, in my judgment, the overthrowing of the Government, putting it down, or destroying by force by the use of propaganda such as we have been considering here.

The manifesto in evidence contains many objectionable phrases, phrases of disloyalty, phrases which are seditious, but it also contains much reading matter prefatory to the objectionable passages, which are not in violation of any statute to which my attention has been called.

The manifesto contains a dissertation on historical wrongs asserted to have been committed by kings, monarchs, and other potentates against the working man, first, in the pagan period, and later under the guise of Christianity, and seems to dwell upon revolutions in the field of labor brought about by inventions in the arts and sciences; in sarcastic terms and scornful allusions belittle our democracy and form of Government: claims that capital in this country oppresses labor; is abusive of the officials of the Government; advocates a soviet government—that is, a government by class, commonly known as the workers or proletariat of the country as distinguished from middle or property-owning class, and at the end of the document, and other places, it advocates anarchy, and advocates the destruction

of the institutions of society, but there is nothing contained in it that advocates the destruction of society by the use of violence, and it is open to the construction that it was designed to be sent out for the purpose of bringing about a change in the Government by propaganda—by written documents.

Of course, the manifesto is to be highly condemned. In this country we believe in democracy, we have been successful under it, and we are thoroughly satisfied with it; we are opposed to anarchy—and by that term is meant a government without a ruler—no government at all.

In the Century Dictionary we find the definition of anarchy to be:

The state of society in which there is no capable supreme power, and in which the several functions of the state are performed badly, or not at all; social and political confusion.

An anarchist is defined to be:

One who advocates anarchy, or absence of government as a political ideal; a believer in anarchic theory of society.

In the popular use—that is, the manner in which the term was used in this case—it is meant:

One who seeks to overthrow by violence or external force the institutions of society and government, all law and order, and seize property with the purpose of establishing another system of government in the place of that destroyed.

Huxley defines the term and says:

Anarchy is a term of political philosophy and must be taken in the proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or crime.

In this case we have to deal with anarchy that has to do with disorder and crime, and my view is that this provision of the statutes under which the indictment was found does not make it an offense to circulate or distribute literature of this kind.

A penal statute ordinarily is to be strictly construed. The rule of the law on that subject is that a strict construction is required, except where it can be fairly ascertained what the intent of Congress was in enacting the law.

I do not think that Congress, when it enacted this law, had in mind such situations as that—had in mind the circulation of literature such as this. I do not think, giving the provisions a fair interpretation, that it embraces any such offense as this at all. There may be a statute of the United States which makes it a crime for any person to conspire for the circulation of literature of this character, but my attention has not been called to it.

In my judgment, the second ground upon which it is moved to dismiss the indictment must prevail, and would have prevailed, at the close of the Government's case, if it had then been urged. The indictment was demurred to, true enough, but did not specifically bring out that point. It was argued that the indictment was defective and insufficient, because it failed to allege the overthrow or destruction of the Government by force; and it was the view of the court at that time that, inasmuch as certain overt acts were set forth which implied force, that the evidence should be taken, reserving other questions until the close of the trial.

I think that the Government has failed to prove a conspiracy under the statute in question.



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Conspiracy is a combination by two or more persons to do some unlawful act, either by lawful or unlawful means, and I think the evidence is entirely insufficient to show that there was a concert of action between the alleged conspirators.

It is not shown that the defendants announced any of these anarchistic statements set forth in the manifesto. It was not shown that any of them read it or were aware of its contents before their arrest; it was not shown that they had predilections toward such a subject. It was not shown that there was any incitement by them or others to join them, or that they affiliated with persons having such views. They were not shown to have any direct or substantial connection with the printing of the manifesto, or with causing it to be brought to the house of this man Rodriguez; and, I think, in order to establish the claim of conspiracy under this statute, assuming it applies it was necessary for the Government to go further than it did, and, gentlemen of the jury, in my opinion, there is nothing to be submitted to you. These defendants were indicted under a statute which does not embrace this particular offense.

The indictment is dismissed and the defendants are discharged.

### EXHIBIT No. 4.

STATE LAWS OF CALIFORNIA, INDIANA, MICHIGAN, NEW YORK, OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, WASHINGTON, AND WEST VIRGINIA.

[Assembly bill No. 435, chapter 125.]

AN ACT To amend sections 182 and 184 of the Penal Code relating to criminal conspiracy.

*The people of the State of California do enact as follows:*

SECTION 1. Section 182 of the Penal Code is hereby amended to read as follows:

182. If two or more persons conspire (1) to commit any crime; (2) falsely and maliciously to indict another for any crime, or to procure another to be charged or arrested for any crime; (3) falsely to move or maintain any suit, action, or proceeding; (4) to cheat and defraud any person of any property by any means which are in themselves criminal, or to obtain money or property by false pretenses or by false promises with fraudulent intent not to perform such promises; (5) to commit any act injurious to the public health, to public morals, or to pervert or obstruct justice, or the due administration of the laws, they are punishable as follows:

When they conspire to commit any felony, or to commit any act injurious to the public health, or to public morals, or tending to pervert or obstruct justice, or the due administration of the laws, they shall be punishable in the same manner and to the same extent as in this code provided for the punishment of the commission of the said felony or act, respectively.

When they conspire to do any of the other acts described in this section they shall be punishable by imprisonment in the county jail or State penitentiary not exceeding two years, or by a fine not ex-

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 23

ceeding five thousand dollars, or both, and cases of such conspiracy may be prosecuted and tried in the superior court of any county in which an overt act tending to effect such conspiracy shall be done.

Sec. 2. Section 184 of the Penal Code is hereby amended to read as follows:

184. No agreement amounts to a conspiracy unless some act, beside such agreement, be done within this State to effect the object thereof, by one or more of the parties to such agreement, and the trial of cases of conspiracy may be had in any county in which any such act be done.

Approved May 5, 1919.

[Assembly bill No. 131, chapter 101.]

AN ACT To add a new section to the Penal Code, to be numbered 403a, prohibiting the use of a red flag in aid of anarchistic or seditious activities.

*The people of the State of California do enact as follows:*

SECTION 1. A new section is hereby added to the Penal Code to be numbered 403a, and to read as follows:

"403a. Any person who displays a red flag, banner, or badge, or any flag, badge, banner, or device of any color or form whatever in any public place or in any meeting place or public assembly, or from or on any house, building, or window, as a sign, symbol, or emblem of opposition to organized government or as an invitation or stimulus to anarchistic action or as an aid to propaganda that is of a seditious character is guilty of a felony."

Approved May 5, 1919.

CALIFORNIA.

[Senate bill No. 680, chapter 188.]

AN ACT Defining criminal syndicalism and sabotage, proscribing certain acts and methods in connection therewith and in pursuance thereof, and providing penalties and punishments therefor.

*The people of the State of California do enact as follows:*

SECTION 1. The term "criminal syndicalism" as used in this act is hereby defined as any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching, or aiding and abetting the commission of crime, sabotage (which word is hereby defined as meaning willful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property), or unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change.

SEC. 2. Any person who (1) by spoken or written words or personal conduct advocates, teaches, or aids and abets criminal syndicalism or the duty, necessity, or propriety of committing crime, sabotage, violence, or any unlawful method of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change; or (2) willfully and deliberately by spoken or written words justifies or attempts to justify criminal syndicalism or the commission or attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to approve,

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advocate, or further the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; or (3) prints, publishes, edits, issues, or circulates or publicly displays any book, paper, pamphlet, document, poster, or written or printed matter in any other form, containing or carrying written or printed advocacy, teaching, or aid and abetment of, or advising, criminal syndicalism; or (4) organizes or assists in organizing, or is or knowingly becomes a member of, any organization, society, group, or assemblage of persons organized or assembled to advocate, teach, or aid and abet criminal syndicalism; or (5) willfully, by personal act or conduct, practices or commits any act advised, advocated, taught, or aided and abetted by the doctrine or precept of criminal syndicalism, with intent to accomplish a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change, is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison not less than 1 nor more than 14 years.

Sec. 3. If for any reason any section, clause, or provision of this act shall by any court be held unconstitutional, then the legislature hereby declares that, irrespective of the unconstitutionality so determined of such section, clause, or provision, it would have enacted and made the law of this State all other sections, clauses, and provisions of this act.

Sec. 4. Inasmuch as this act concerns and is necessary to the immediate preservation of the public peace and safety, for the reason that at the present time large numbers of persons are going from place to place in this State advocating, teaching, and practicing criminal syndicalism, this act shall take effect upon approval by the governor.

Approved May 5, 1919.

### INDIANA.

[House bill 206.]

AN ACT Making it unlawful to display or exhibit any flag, banner, or emblem symbolizing and intended to symbolize a purpose to overthrow the Government of the United States, the State of Indiana, or all government, and making it unlawful to advocate or incite the overthrow of the Government of the United States, the State of Indiana, or all government, and providing a penalty for its violation.

Whereas while liberty within the reasonable restraints of law, and the right of free speech, are among the unalienable rights of the American citizen, and no encroachment upon either should ever be tolerated, the claim to those rights should never be allowed to cover treasonable acts or utterances, the advocacy of anarchy, the overthrow of government, or the abrogation of constitutional means for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of the lives and rights of persons, or the advocacy of or the practice of sabotage; and

Whereas recent occurrences in Russia and elsewhere warn us that the toleration of such unbridled license of speech and of such practices involves great danger to civilization and to organized society and threatens a possible lapse into barbarism: Therefore

*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:*

SECTION 1. Prohibiting the display of certain banners, emblems: That the display or exhibition at any meeting, gathering, or parade,

public or private, of any flag, banner, or emblem symbolizing or intended by the person or persons displaying or exhibiting the same to symbolize a purpose to overthrow, by force or violence, or by physical injury to personal property, or by the general cessation of industry, the Government of the United States or (of) the State of Indiana, or all government, is hereby declared to be unlawful.

Sec. 2. Prohibiting the inciting of violence: It shall be unlawful for any person to advocate or incite or to write or with intent to forward such purpose to print, publish, sell, or distribute any document, book, circular, paper, journal, or other written or printed communication in or by which there is advocated or incited the overthrow by force or violence, or by physical injury to personal property, or by the general cessation of industry, of the Government of the United States, of the State of Indiana, or all government.

Sec. 3. Penalty for violation: That any person or persons convicted of violating any section of this act shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

(Approved March 14, 1919.)

### MICHIGAN.

[Bill No. 422, introduced by Mr. Fitzgerald; House enrolled act 189.]

AN ACT Defining the crime of criminal syndicalism and prescribing punishment therefor.

*The people of the State of Michigan enact:*

SECTION 1. Criminal syndicalism is hereby defined as the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony punishable as in this act otherwise provided.

Sec. 2. Any person who by word of mouth or writing advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform; or prints, publishes, edits, issues, or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising, or teaching the doctrine that industrial or political reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism; or openly, willfully, and deliberately justifies by word of mouth or writing the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, spread, or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism; or organizes or helps to organize or becomes a member of or voluntarily assembles with any society, group, or assemblage of persons formed to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both, at the discretion of the court.

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## NEW YORK.

### ANARCHY.

160 P. L. Criminal anarchy: Criminal anarchy is the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of any of the executive officials of the Government or by any unlawful means. The advocacy of such doctrine either by mouth or writing is a felony.

161. P. L. Any person who, by word of mouth or writing, advocates, advises, or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of overthrowing or overturning organized government by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of any of the executive officials of the Government, or by any unlawful means; or (2) prints, publishes, edits, issues, or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any book, paper, document or writing or prints matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising or teaching, the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means; or (3) openly, wilfully, and deliberately justifies by word of mouth or writing the assassination or unlawful killing or assaulting of any executive or other officer of the United States or of any State or of any civilized nation having an organized government, because of his official character, or any other crime, with intent to teach, spread, or advocate the propriety of the doctrine of criminal anarchy; or (4) organizes or helps to organize or become a member of or voluntarily assembles with any society, group, or assembly of persons formed to teach or advocate such doctrine, is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

162. P. L. Assemblage of anarchists: Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrine of criminal anarchy, as defined in section 160, such an assembly is unlawful, and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid, or instigation, is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

OHIO.

[House bill No. 477.]

AN ACT Defining the crime of criminal syndicalism and prescribing punishment therefor.

*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:*

SECTION 1. That criminal syndicalism is the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage—which is defined as the malicious injury or destruction of the property of another—violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony, punishable as in this act provided.

SEC. 2. Any person who by word of mouth or writing advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing indus-

trial or political reform; or prints, publishes, edits, issues, or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising, or teaching the doctrine that industrial or political reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism; or openly, wilfully, and deliberately justifies by word of mouth or writing, the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, spread, or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism; or organizes or helps to organize or becomes a member of, or voluntarily assembles with any society, group, or assemblage of persons formed to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism, is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State penitentiary for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

SEC. 3. Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrines of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act such an assemblage is unlawful, and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid, or instigation is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State penitentiary for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

SEC. 4. The owner, agent, superintendent, janitor, caretaker, or occupant of any place, building, or room, who wilfully and knowingly permits therein any assemblage of persons prohibited by the provisions of section 3 of this act, or who, after notification that the premises are so used, knowingly permits such use to be continued is guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year or by a fine of not more than \$500, or both.

SEC. 5. This act is hereby declared to be an emergency act necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace and safety. The emergency necessitating the enactment of this act arises out of the fact that there are persons in, and also persons threatening to enter, the State for the purpose of teaching the doctrine of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act, and advocating such doctrine and the commission of the other acts and practices declared by this act to be unlawful, the tendency of which will be to destroy our institutions and Government, and put the people into a condition of unrest and terror.

CARL R. KIMBALL,  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*  
CLARENCE J. BROWN,  
*President of the Senate.*

Passed April 15, 1919.  
Approved May 7, 1919.

JAMES M. COX, *Governor.*

Filed in office of secretary of state May 7, 1919.

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## PENNSYLVANIA.

File of the House of Representatives. No. 1175. Session of 1910. Introduced by Mr. Flynn, Apr. 1, 1910. Mr. J. A. Walker, Judiciary general, Apr. 1, 1910. As rereported from the committee on Judiciary general, in the House of Representatives, June 4, 1910. Strike out in [], insert in italics.

AN ACT Defining sedition and prescribing the punishment therefor.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same:*

SECTION 1. That the word "sedition," as used in this act shall mean:

Any writing, publication, printing, cut, cartoon, utterance, or conduct, either individually or in connection or combination with any other person or persons, which tends—

[(a) To incite or arouse discontent against the Government of this State or of the United States.]

[(b)] (a) To make or cause to be made any outbreak or demonstration of violence against this State or against the United States.

[(c)] (b) To encourage any person or persons to take any measures or engage in any conduct with a view of overthrowing or destroying or attempting to overthrow or destroy by any force or show or threat of force the government of this State or of the United States.

[(d) To disturb the peace and tranquillity of this State or of the United States.]

[(e)] (c) To incite or encourage any person or persons to commit any overt act [of any character] with a view to bringing the government of this State or of the United States into hatred or contempt.

[(f)] (d) To incite any person or persons to do or attempt to do [any] personal injury or harm to any officer of this State or of the United States or to damage or destroy any public property [of any kind whatsoever] or the property of any public official because of his official position.

It shall also include—

[(g)] (e) The actual damage to or destruction of any public property or the property of any public official perpetrated because the owner or occupant is in official position.

[(h)] (f) Any writing, publication, printing, cut, cartoon, or utterance which advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of engaging in crime, violence, or any form of terrorism as a means of accomplishing [industrial or] political reform or change in government.

[(i)] (g) The sale, gift, or distribution of any prints, publications, books, papers, documents, or written matter in any form which advocates, furthers, or teaches sedition as hereinbefore defined.

[(j)] (h) Organizing or helping to organize or becoming a member of an assembly, society, or group where any of the policies or purposes there are seditious as hereinbefore defined.

[(k)] [(i) Knowingly or willfully renting by the owner, agent, superintendent, janitor, or occupant of any building, place, or room for any assemblage of persons for the purpose of engaging in any form of sedition as hereinbefore defined, or knowingly and willfully

permitting by any of the persons aforesaid any assemblage of persons for such purposes.]

SEC. 2. Sedition as defined in section 1 of this act shall be a felony, and any person convicted thereof shall be sentenced to a fine of not less than \$100 and not more than \$10,000 and to imprisonment not exceeding 20 years, either or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith be and the same are hereby repealed.

## WASHINGTON.

[Senate bill No. 264.]

AN ACT Defining the crime of criminal syndicalism and prescribing punishment therefor.

*Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Washington:*

SECTION 1. Criminal syndicalism is the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony punishable as in this act otherwise provided.

SEC. 2. Any person who (1) by word of mouth or writing advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform; or (2) prints, publishes, edits, issues or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written matter in any form containing or advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that industrial or political reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism; or (3) openly, willfully, and deliberately justifies, by word of mouth or writing, the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, spread, or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism; or (4) organizes or helps to organize, or becomes a member of or voluntarily assembles with any society, group, or assemblage of persons formed to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

SEC. 3. Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrines of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act such an assemblage is unlawful and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid, or instigation is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the State prison for not more than 10 years or by a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both.

SEC. 4. The owner, agent, superintendent, janitor, caretaker, or occupant of any place, building, or room who willfully and knowingly permits therein any assemblage of persons prohibited by the provisions of section 3 of this act, or who, after notification by the sheriff of the county or the police authorities that the premises are so used, permits such use to be continued is guilty of a misdemeanor



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### 30 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

and punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year or by a fine of not more than \$500, or both.

#### WEST VIRGINIA.

[Chapter 24, acts 1919.]

AN ACT To foster the Ideals, Institutions, and Government of West Virginia and of the United States, and to prohibit the teaching of doctrines and display of flags antagonistic to the form or spirit of their Constitutions and laws.

*Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Virginia:*

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person to speak, print, publish, or communicate, by language, sign, picture, or otherwise, any teachings, doctrines, or counsels in sympathy or favor of ideals, institutions or forms of government hostile, inimical, or antagonistic to those now or hereafter existing under the constitutions and laws of this State or the United States, or in sympathy or favor of the propriety, duty, or necessity of crime, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing economic or political reform, or in sympathy or favor of the overthrow of organized society, the unlawful destruction of property, or the violation of law.

SEC. 2. It shall be unlawful for any person to have in his possession or to display any red or black flag, or to display any other flag, emblem, device, or sign of any nature whatever indicating sympathy or support of ideals, institutions, or forms of government hostile, inimical, or antagonistic to the form or spirit of the constitution, laws, ideals, and institutions of this State or the United States.

SEC. 3. Any person violating any of the provisions of this act shall, for the first offense, be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, shall be fined not less than \$100, nor more than \$500, or imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding 12 months, or both, and, for the second offense, shall be guilty of a felony, and, upon conviction, shall be confined in the penitentiary not less than one nor more than five years.

Passed February 13, 1919. In effect 90 days from passage. Approved by the governor February 17, 1919.

#### EXHIBIT No. 5.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,  
Washington, August 12, 1919.

*To all special agents and employees:*

The bureau requires a vigorous and comprehensive investigation of anarchistic and similar classes, Bolshevism, and kindred agitations advocating change in the present form of government by force or violence, the promotion of sedition and revolution, bomb throwing, and similar activities. In the present state of the Federal law this investigation should be particularly directed to persons not citizens of the United States, with a view of obtaining deportation cases.

### INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 31

All aliens who fall in any of the classes hereinafter designated are subject to deportation by the Department of Labor upon a presentation in proper form of sufficient evidence showing liability to deportation. The fullest cooperation exists between the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor in the enforcement of the deportation laws, and in order that this cooperation may advantageously continue and confusion may be avoided you are instructed that all deportation cases originating by investigations conducted by this bureau will be presented by this bureau to the Commissioner General of Immigration in Washington.

While the fullest cooperation should exist between agents of this bureau and local immigration authorities, you will take no steps to obtain warrants for arrest in deportation cases without authority from the director or chief of this bureau.

Agents must make thorough investigation of all cases where they are credibly informed or have reason to believe that a specific individual is subject to arrest and deportation on warrant, with a view to securing proper evidence for such deportation.

While you are required to investigate particularly with regard to aliens, you should also make full investigation of similar activities of citizens of the United States, with a view to securing evidence which may be of use in prosecutions under the present existing State or Federal laws or under legislation of that nature which may hereafter be enacted.

(1) Aliens who fall within any of the following classes are subject to deportation (sec. 1, act of Oct. 16, 1918):

- (a) Anarchists.
- (b) Those found advocating or teaching anarchy.
- (c) Those who believe in or advocate or teach the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States.
- (d) Those who believe in or advocate or teach the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law.
- (e) Those who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government.
- (f) Those who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials.
- (g) Those who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property.
- (h) Those who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States.
- (i) Those who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law.
- (j) Those who are members of or affiliated with an organization that entertains or teaches disbelief in or opposition to all organized government.
- (k) Those who are members of or affiliated with an organization that teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals, or of officers generally of the Government of the United States or of any other organized Government because of his or their official character.

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(2) Those who are members of or affiliated with an organization that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property.

(2) The time when an individual became a member of any one of the classes of aliens above enumerated is immaterial. He is subject to deportation if he was such at the time of his entry into the United States or became such thereafter. (Sec. 2, act of Oct. 16, 1918.)

(3) Deportation laws apply to aliens only, and they must be sent back to the country from whence they came or to the country of their nativity. When any individual is thought to be within any of the classes enumerated, agents will first secure proper proof that the suspect is an alien, and, if so, the country from whence he came, the country of his nativity, the port of entry into this country, and the date of arrival. Usually individuals of this character will admit their alienship. In every instance inquiry must be made as to whether or not the subject is a citizen, and if citizenship is claimed, full information as to the time and place of naturalization must be obtained.

(4) In the investigation of all cases agents will report the evidence secured in form required by this bureau. In making daily or partial reports all information of every nature, whether hearsay or otherwise, shall be included. Inasmuch as gossip or said hearsay evidence is of no value in making technical proof, agents are hereby instructed to trace every piece of information to its source. The person knowing the facts must be seen, and, wherever possible, an affidavit or a transcript of a sworn statement containing the facts shall be obtained from such person. Where affidavit can not be obtained, corroborating witnesses should be used, and the statement of the person drawn up in writing and duly attested by the special agent and the corroborating witnesses.

MEMBERSHIP IN AN ANARCHISTIC ORGANIZATION OR IN ORGANIZATIONS THAT ADVOCATE OF TEACH THE OVERTHROW BY FORCE OR VIOLENCE OF THE PRESENT FORM OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OR OF ALL FORMS OF LAW OR OF THE UNLAWFUL DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.

(5) Generally speaking, those aliens embraced within the classes subject to deportation for radical activities will be found to be members of or affiliated with organizations of this nature. With the character of the society or organization definitely established, a general groundwork for deportation is furnished, affording in all instances deportable cases upon proof of alienship and membership in or affiliation with the organization.

(6) Investigations heretofore conducted have not disclosed instances of many bodies, associations, or groups of anarchists that can be regarded as organizations. Real anarchists are usually associated together, if at all, simply in groups or gatherings which have no constitution or by-laws and no officers other than a secretary-treasurer, whose duties usually consist more in handling voluntary contributions and in purchasing and distributing to the members of the group anarchistic and other literature.

(7) Some organizations, however, such as that known as the "Union of Russian Workers," have constitutions and by-laws containing distinctly anarchistic doctrines. Aliens who are members of or affiliated with the "Union of Russian Workers" and like organizations are subject to deportation.

(8) It will be found that many of the officers or members of the Industrial Workers of the World advocate, or teach, the unlawful destruction of property. Evidence has not yet been obtained, however, that the organization as such teaches or advocates that doctrine. Its constitution and by-laws have been adroitly drawn so as to avoid the possibility of construing it as teaching either anarchy or sabotage. In so far as members and officers of this and kindred organizations are concerned, deportation warrants will be based upon evidence showing that the particular individual concerned has either by action, word of mouth, or by distributing anarchistic or sabotage-teaching literature brought himself within some one or more of the clauses of section 1 of these instructions.

(9) The publishing house of the Industrial Workers of the World at Chicago, Ill., has issued different publications which have been distributed by many of the I. W. W., and especially by its organizers and delegates, which are regarded by the Department of Labor as teaching anarchy or the unlawful destruction of property. These publications are:

I. W. W. Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent. Editions of 1916 and 1917.  
Sabotage (by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn).  
The I. W. W., Its History, Structure, and Method (by Vincent St. John).  
Sabotage (by Emile Pouget).  
The New Unionism (by Andre Tiden).  
The Evolution of Industrial Democracy (by Abner E. Woodruff).  
The Revolutionary I. W. W. (by Grover H. Perry).  
Sabotage, Its History, Philosophy, and Function (by Walker C. Smith).

It will be found that many persons will admit that they have been distributing some, or all, of this literature. Where an admission can not be obtained their activities in this regard must be proved in other manner. Agents should endeavor to secure evidence of additional publications of this character, and particularly that one of the duties of the organizers, delegates, and secretaries, or other officers of the I. W. W. is to distribute literature of this nature.

(10) The character of an organization can be proved by its official organ. If the organization under investigation has an official publication which teaches anarchy or the unlawful destruction of property, this fact is evidence of the unlawful nature of the organization itself.

## NATURE AND QUALITY OF PROOF REQUIRED.

(11) If the charge is one of those relating to membership in, or affiliation with, any particular organization of the character herein indicated, evidence must be obtained showing: (a) That the organization is anarchistic or sabotage teaching, or one that advocates the destruction by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all forms of law; (b) that the particular alien is a member of, or affiliated with, the organization in question. The nature of the organization itself need only be proved once, as such proof is the foundation for proceedings against any particular one of its members. It is highly desirable, if not necessary, to show further that the subject had knowledge of the nature of the organization or took part in its activities. However, special agents must not relax their diligence as to the nature of these organizations as they change from time to time.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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tion brief, see 830214183 and 830214184. For typed draft of pages about Berkman, see 800321004.

(12) The character of the organization may be proven:

(a) By authentic copies of its charter, by-laws, or declaration of principles, official publications, and possibly by membership cards therein, if any. Proof may be made by the affidavit of anyone personally knowing the facts showing authenticity of the document referred to. The strongest proof possible should be obtained, and a number of affidavits from creditable persons should be secured.

(b) By affidavit stating in detail the facts upon which it is based of persons who are members of, or affiliated with, or who have attended meetings of, these organizations and can swear, from occurrences or things said or done at the meeting or meetings, that the particular organization believes in, teaches, or advocates any of the doctrines set forth in section 1 of these instructions.

(13) Mere proof that one may in general terms be said to be a Bolshevik, either by his own admission or by other evidence, is not sufficient. Additional facts must be secured bringing him within section 1 of these instructions.

(14) Membership in an organization may be shown by—

(a) Production of a membership card, together with proof and circumstances showing that it belongs to the person under investigation.

(b) Admission by the person under investigation that he is a member of such organization.

(c) Proof that the person under investigation, with more or less regularity, attended and participated in meetings of said organization.

(d) Assuming to act as officers or agents of such organization by seeking new members, collecting or disbursing money, or distributing its literature.

(e) Any other facts that would tend to prove or strengthen the proof of such membership.

(15) Special agents must not satisfy themselves with proof of membership in an anarchistic organization, but should seek further to establish against the individual himself a case under one of the clauses of section 1 of these instructions.

(16) Special agents will constantly keep in mind the necessity of preserving the cover of our confidential informants, and in no case shall they rely upon the testimony of such cover informants during deportation proceedings.

W. J. FLYNN,

*Director Bureau of Investigation.*

The following receipt to this letter of instruction shall be signed by the agent or employee receiving the same and returned to the Washington office of the Director of the Bureau of Investigation:

DIRECTOR BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,  
Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I hereby acknowledge receipt of letter of instructions dated August 12, 1919.

Agent (or employee).

EXHIBIT No. 6.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

BIRTH.

Emma Goldman, daughter of Abraham Goldman and Taube Goldman, was born at Popolan, county of Shavel, State of Kovno, Russia, on June 16, 1870, Russian date (American date, June 29, 1870). (This fact established in the investigation of Mr. S. G. Chambers, assistant United States attorney, Pittsburgh, and Mr. A. L. Zamosh, naturalization examiner, in March, 1908, by interviewing persons residing in Rochester, N. Y., who were intimate with the Goldman family.)

According to the statement made by Emma Goldman to the court in the case of *United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman*, on July 9, 1917, in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, she was born "about 1869." (Certified copy of minutes of pedigree taken in United States court, southern district of New York, on July 9, 1917, attached as Exhibit I.)

In the book entitled "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman, there is a biographical sketch by Hippolyte Havel, in which, on page 8, the following statement appears:

Emma Goldman was born of Jewish parentage on the 27th day of June, 1869, in the Russian Province of Kovno.

(This book was published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 226 Lafayette Street, New York City, of which Emma Goldman was the head. The publication contains the principal essays of Emma Goldman.)

PARENTAGE.

Abraham Goldman, father of Emma Goldman, was born at Shavel, county of Kovno, Russia, about 1847; lived in Kovno until his marriage, when he moved to Popolan, county of Shavel, State of Kovno, where he remained for about 9 years; he then moved to St. Petersburg, where he lived for about 10 years. In September, 1886, he came to the United States and went direct to Rochester, N. Y., which place he made his home. He declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States on September 28, 1892; in the Monroe County court, Rochester, N. Y., and was naturalized in the same court October 13, 1894. (It is to be noted that Emma Goldman by her own statement was 24 years of age at the time of her father's naturalization.) Petition for probate of the last will and testament of Abraham Goldman, who died on January 14, 1909, in Rochester, shows Emma Goldman to have been 24 years of age at time of her father's naturalization, in 1894. (Exhibit XIII.)

Mrs. Taube Goldman, wife of Abraham Goldman and mother of Emma, was born in Urberig, Russia, and is about 73 years of age. Abraham Goldman was her second husband, her first husband being one Labe Zodikoff. Her maiden name was Taube Binowitz. By her first husband she had two children, Lena and Helena. The former married Samuel Cominsky May 28, 1885, and the latter married Jacob Hochstein in 1888.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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Abraham and Tanbe Goldman had three children—Emma, the oldest; Herman, a machinist in Rochester; and Maurice, a physician in New York City.

### EARLY LIFE.

Emma Goldman remained in Popolan, the place of her birth, until she was about 7 years of age, when, according to the biographical sketch contained in the book *Anarchism and Other Essays*, she was sent by her parents to her grandmother at Konigsberg, in eastern Prussia, where she remained until she was 13 years of age, at which time she removed to St. Petersburg, where her father and mother had previously gone. She remained in St. Petersburg until December, 1885, at which time with her half sister, Helena Zodikoff, she left for the United States and arrived at the port of New York from Hamburg on the steamship *Gallat* on December 31, 1885. She was at that time 15 years of age. On arrival in New York they left the same day and arrived in Rochester on January 1, 1886, and went directly to the house of Mrs. Samuel Cominsky, another half sister of Emma Goldman and a full sister of Mrs. Hochstein. She obtained employment as a tailoress in Rochester, at which trade she worked for about one and one-half years. In the meantime Emma Goldman's parents had left St. Petersburg and arrived in the United States on or about September 18, 1886, and went immediately to Rochester.

### MARRIAGE.

Emma Goldman was married to Jacob Kersner in the spring of 1887. This ceremony was performed by Rev. Kalmon Bardin, who at that time lived at No. 12 Joiner Street, Rochester, N. Y. There is no official record in Monroe County of this marriage, nor of any license having been issued to these parties. It is further stated that the Rev. Bardin had no right to perform the marriage ceremony under the laws of New York, as he was not a regularly ordained minister or rabbi, but what is known as "shochet," a man who slaughters cattle for "kosher" meat according to the Jewish law.

In the latter part of 1888 or the early part of 1889 Emma Goldman and her purported husband were divorced according to the Jewish law by Rabbi Abe C. Levinson, at one time chief rabbi in Baltimore. After this divorce Emma Goldman and her husband lived together again for a few months until she fell in love with Alexander Berkman, with whom she has kept continued company except for the periods during which he has been incarcerated in penitentiaries and jails.

Jacob Kernser is the son of Abraham Kernser and was born in Niemirow, State of Kaminitz Podolsk, Russia, on the first day of the Jewish Easter in 1865, and came to the United States for the first time in the summer of 1882.

### CITIZENSHIP STATUS.

*Jacob A. Kersner, husband.*—On October 18, 1884, Jacob A. Kersner received a certificate of citizenship in the county court of Monroe

County, N. Y. It will be noted that at the time he obtained his certificate of naturalization he was but 19 years of age and had resided in the United States for only a period of two years.

As a result of an investigation made by the naturalization authorities, suit was instituted against Jacob A. Kersner, April 8, 1909, to have his certificate of naturalization canceled for the reason that Kersner was not at the time he was naturalized and procured such certificate of naturalization entitled thereto and was not entitled to admission as a citizen of the United States of America, and for that reason was not a duly naturalized citizen of the United States of America. Certified copies of the decree of the canceling certificate of naturalization of Jacob A. Kersner, together with a certified copy of the findings of the court rendering such decree, are attached hereto and marked "Exhibits II and III."

Prior to the institution of the suit for the cancellation of Kersner's naturalization certificate of American citizenship there was some discussion as to the advisability of making Emma Goldman a party to the suit. Mr. William R. Harr, Assistant Attorney General, in a memorandum to the Attorney General dated February 2, 1909, assumed that Emma Goldman was the wife of Jacob A. Kersner, but advised against making Emma Goldman a party to the suit. The question that arose at the time of the institution of denaturalization proceedings against Jacob A. Kersner was as to whether or not it would be necessary to join his wife, Emma Goldman, in order to affect her citizenship rights. The act of Congress approved February 10, 1885, section 1994, Revised Statutes, provides that "any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized shall be deemed a citizen." Prior to this act the courts had held that the naturalization of her husband did not confer citizenship upon the wife. The wife's citizenship, therefore, now depends entirely upon the rights given her under this act. If, therefore, the husband's citizenship be based upon fraudulent statements made at the time of its being procured (which is a fact in the Kersner case), it would seem that any superstructure such as the naturalization of a wife or children which might be based upon this fraudulently obtained citizenship would fall if the foundation should fall. Besides this, the act of naturalizing, being a proceeding in rem and the judgment granted thereon being a judgment in rem, it would seem that the action of a court which would denaturalize a party would inasmuch as this action also changes a status be a proceeding in rem. If it is a proceeding in rem, the judgment thereon would bind all parties interested, and, consequently, Emma Goldman.

In her case she acquired her status not by any act of her own, but merely by grant from the Government. This grant was based upon a condition that she married a citizen. In the eyes of the law it may be said that if her husband's certificate of naturalization was obtained by fraud he was never a citizen, and therefore his wife acquired no rights of citizenship. As pointed out above, the proceeding being one in rem, it is not necessary to join the wife in order for her to obtain the citizenship of her husband in naturalization proceedings. Consequently it would follow that it would be unnecessary to join the wife in a suit to set aside the husband's citizenship in order to affect her citizenship.

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To recapitulate, two claims may be advanced by Emma Goldman to American citizenship: (1) That obtained through her father's naturalization; (2) that obtained through the naturalization of her husband. In answer to the first claim, it will be noted as pointed out above that at the time of her father's naturalization Emma Goldman was 24 years of age, and consequently could not obtain any rights to the naturalization of her father. In answer to the second contention, the fact appears that her husband, Jacob A. Kersner, was denaturalized on the grounds of having obtained his original papers through fraud. It, however, may be advanced by the subject that the Government in failing to join her husband with her in the denaturalization proceedings thereby erred and did not succeed in denaturalizing the wife as pointed out above. However, such contention is fallacious, as the wife's status is obtained through marriage to the husband and under section 1994 of the Revised Statutes such status is dependent upon the fact of the wife marrying an American citizen, which, in the case of Emma Goldman, was not effected, as the husband had obtained his American citizenship through fraud.

### ACTIVITIES OF EMMA GOLDMAN.

#### ADVOCATION OF VIOLENCE.

*I. Explosion at New York, July, 1914.*—On July 4, 1914, there occurred in the apartment at 1626 Lexington Avenue, New York, a terrific explosion of dynamite, resulting in the complete destruction of the three upper floors of the house. This explosion occurred in the apartment of Carl Hanson and resulted in the death of Arthur Caron, Charles Berg, and Carl Hanson and Marie Chavez. It is conceded that the explosion was caused by dynamite, and that these three persons were in the act of preparing a bomb, and that through a premature explosion their plans for carrying out the details of their plot were frustrated. An examination of the copy of Mother Earth, volume 9, No. 5, July, 1914, gives an illuminating view of the connection of Caron, Berg, and Hanson with the Emma Goldman group. On page 130 appears an article entitled "The Lexington Explosion" and in which the three men referred to are spoken of as "comrades."

On page 133 appears a statement in which Alexander Berkman is stated to have announced that he regarded Caron, Berg, and Hanson as anarchists martyrs.

On page 135 it is stated that the ashes of the three comrades would be delivered to the offices of Mother Earth. It is to be noted that Emma Goldman was the proprietor of the Mother Earth organization at this time, such statement being contained on page 1 of the issue of Mother Earth for July, 1914.

On pages 136 to 137 are given the names of the various organizations represented at the Union Square demonstration, and it will be noted that the majority of them were organizations composed entirely of anarchists.

On page 138, Alexander Berkman, in his address at the Union Square demonstration, stated that the death of the three comrades might have been brought about either, first, through the agents of the capitalists; or, second, through the premature explosion of an infernal machine which the comrades intended to use. It is stated by

Berkman that he hopes the latter is the case, and he hopes the comrades themselves prepared the bomb intending to use it upon the enemy.

On page 143, Leonard B. Abbott, in his speech, states that if Arthur Caron and his friends decided to resort to violence they were not to be blamed, for they had exhausted all peaceable methods.

On page 144, Rebecca Eddlestone, in her speech, states that these persons died in the interests of the working class, and again, on page 145, she states that if their deaths were caused by a premature explosion, then it wasn't the comrades of which they must be ashamed but the society at large who would force the comrades to resort to such acts.

On page 145 the same speaker states that she believed in violence and would use violence whenever it was necessary; and again, on page 146, she stated that she hoped the day would not be far distant when the working class would say that they were in favor of using violence, for the real revolutionists are not afraid of the word "violence" nor even of the word "dynamite."

On page 153, Charles Robert Plunkett, in his speech, stated that he had often advocated the use of violence, and that he believed in the use of violence, not only "defensive violence" but "offensive violence," and that he was not afraid of proclaiming the probability that their comrades had met their death while preparing to strike a blow of terror at the hearts of the enemy, and in closing his speech he uses the following words:

To oppression, to exploitation, to tyranny, to jails, clubs, guns, armies, and navies there is but one reply—dynamite!

Immediately following this, on page 154, appears the following telegram signed "Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman," which was sent by these persons from San Francisco:

Our deepest sympathy with all oppressed of the world, of whom our dead comrades were the conscious and brave spokesmen. We honor the memory of our dead comrades, the victims of the capitalist system and the martyrs of labor.

It will be noted from the above that the Emma Goldman group which made its headquarters at the "Mother Earth publishing plant" heartily approved and sanctioned the theory that Caron, Berg, and Hanson had been killed by a premature explosion of dynamite. It will be further noted that throughout the speeches of the persons appearing at the Union Square demonstration open advocacy of violence was made and particular note is to be taken of the telegram from Emma Goldman, speaking of Caron, Berg, and Hanson as "dead comrades," and that she was "honoring their memory."

Another notation should also be made of the fact that these speeches openly advocating violence and the use of dynamite are contained in the publication of Mother Earth, of which Emma Goldman was proprietor.

On page 165 of the same issue of Mother Earth appears the following statement:

A large tenement house on Lexington Avenue was destroyed and three well-known anarchists—Arthur Caron, Charles Berg, and Carl Hanson—were killed. The ruin was evidently caused by a large quantity of dynamite exploding in the flat occupied by our comrades.

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This quotation is taken from an article entitled, "Dynamite," by Charles Robert Plunkett. In the same article, on page 166, appears the following statement:

Although we know nothing of the facts, we do not hesitate to admit the possibility nor fear to face the accusation that our comrades met their death in an attempt to retaliate upon the violence of the ruling classes in the only possible way—with violence.

If they did, we own them proudly and we honor them for their intelligence, their initiative, and their courage. They did the only logical thing, the only courageous thing, the only revolutionary thing under the circumstances. When free speech is suppressed, when men are jailed for asking food, clubbed for assembling to discuss their grievances, and stoned for expressing their opinions, there is but one recourse—violence. The ruling class has guns, bullets, bayonets, police, jails, militia, armies, and navies. To oppose all this the worker has only—dynamite.

In an article written by Alexander Berkman, entitled "A Gauge of Change," appearing on pages 167-168, are the following statements:

• • • I have publicly said in Union Square that I hoped that our comrades were not the victims of the enemy's conspiracy, but that they had planned to employ dynamite either in revenge for wrongs suffered or in the defense of the rights of themselves and their fellow workers, of labor at large.

Do you still ask me what the anarchists have accomplished in the last quarter of a century? Just this: They have taught the people that violence is justified, nay, necessary, in the defensive and offensive struggle of labor against capital.

On page 168 of the same issue of Mother Earth appear the following definitions:

*Direct action.*—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against or remedy social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

*Anarchism.*—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

*Anarchy.*—Absence of government; disbelief in and disregard of invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government.

The July, 1914, issue is typical of the issues of Mother Earth, and it will be noted that this publication was distributed and circulated through the instrumentality of Emma Goldman. The entire issue of July, 1914, is attached as Exhibit I.

II. *Los Angeles Times Dynamited.*—Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan are now serving sentences in the San Quentin Penitentiary, Calif., having been convicted of connection with dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times building.

It is interesting to note that Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan were both intimates of Emma Goldman and her group. Caplan and Schmidt were disclosed through the investigation of Donald Vose who, through close association with Emma Goldman, was able to obtain the information necessary to convict Caplan and Schmidt. The best exposition of the Caplan and Schmidt connection with Emma Goldman is expressed in her own words in the issue of Mother Earth, volume 10, No. 11, January, 1916, on pages 353 to 357 in which she gives expression to her views of Donald Vose, who obtained her confidence and met Matthew A. Schmidt in her own home.

In the issue of Mother Earth, pages 358 and 359, Schmidt and Caplan are pictured as martyrs to their cause.

On page 363 of the same issue of Mother Earth appears a list of the various anarchist publications appearing in the country, and it will be noted that these publications are ones which have advocated the extreme anarchist doctrines and that Albert Parsons, the publisher of the Alarm, was also the expositor of the use of dynamite as an equalizing influence in society.

On page 374 of the same issue in an article written by Ben Mandell appears the following:

And anarchism has for its champion in this country Emma Goldman.

This article by Mandell praises Emma Goldman and her various doctrines.

On page 375 of the same issue in the same article previously referred to reference is made to the great demand for anarchist books as a result of Emma Goldman's lectures in Chicago.

The issue of Mother Earth for January, 1916, is annexed and marked "Exhibit K."

III. *Inciting to riot, September 9, 1893.*—On September 9, 1893, Emma Goldman was arrested in the city of New York under an indictment charging her with inciting to riot and unlawful assembly. She was convicted as charged on October 16, 1893, and sentenced to one year on Blackwell's Island, New York, by Judge Martineau. A copy of the indictment by the grand jury is attached hereto and marked "Exhibit IV."

IV. *McKinley's assassination.*—On September 6, 1901, at Buffalo, N. Y., Leon Czolgosz shot and fatally wounded President William McKinley. Upon arrest Czolgosz was closely examined by the authorities and made a lengthy statement, giving in detail his history, together with the names of the persons with whom he had associated and the matter which he had read. Annexed hereto as Exhibit V is a certified copy of the statement made by Czolgosz at police headquarters in the presence of three witnesses—Frank Haggerty, a former court reporter, who is no longer living; John Martin, former chief of police of Buffalo; and M. O'Laughlin, a former officer connected with the district attorney's office at that time. The exhibit attached contains an affidavit of Mr. O'Laughlin stating that the statement to which his affidavit is attached is the statement made by Czolgosz at that time in his presence, and there is also attached to Exhibit V an affidavit of Miss Clara M. Ragan stating that the statement is a true and correct statement and a part of the files of the district attorney of Erie County. Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit VI is another statement made by Czolgosz to Mr. Penney, district attorney at that time, and to which an affidavit of Horace E. Story, the stenographer who took this statement, is attached; also an affidavit of Miss Clara M. Ragan stating that she did make a transcript and true and correct copy of the statement attached and referred to of Horace E. Story.

Referring to pages 4 and 5 of Exhibit V, being the confession of Czolgosz, it will be noted that Czolgosz stated that he frequented a club in Cleveland, at which place he had seen Emma Goldman. He further stated that she talked about government and said "she didn't believe in voting and didn't believe in government." He further



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stated that she had also made the remark that "government was tyranny," and that "she believed in anarchy." Czolgosz stated that he was an anarchist and that "anarchy," as he understood it, meant "self-government." It is to be further noted that Czolgosz states in his confession that the only time he saw Emma Goldman was in Cleveland. He further stated that Emma Goldman wrote for a newspaper in Chicago which he frequently read, entitled "Free Society." Referring to Exhibit VI, being the detailed statement of Czolgosz to the district attorney, attention is called to the following answers made by Czolgosz to questions put to him:

- Q. You believe it is right to kill if necessary, don't you?—A. Yes, sir. [P. 4.]  
 Q. Did you talk it [assassination] over with anyone or say it was something you had read that suggested it to you, or something else?—A. Yes, sir. [P. 5.]  
 Q. Something you had read, was it?—A. Yes, sir.  
 Q. Who was the last one you heard talk?—A. Emma Goldman. [P. 8.]  
 Q. What did she say or what did she say to you about the President?—A. She says—she didn't mention no Presidents at all, she mentioned the Government.  
 Q. What did she say about it?—A. She said she didn't believe in it.  
 Q. You got the idea that she thought it would be a good thing if we didn't have this form of government?—A. Yes, sir. [P. 9.]  
 Q. Can't you give us some idea what first put it into your mind?—A. I didn't believe in government. [P. 9.]  
 Q. What was the name of the papers you were reading?—A. Free Society. [P. 10.]  
 Q. And the reason for your intention to kill him was that you didn't believe in having rulers over us or in having Presidents?—A. Yes, sir. [P. 15.]  
 Q. Didn't believe in our form of government?—A. Yes, sir.

Particular attention is called to the fact that Czolgosz stated that he had heard Emma Goldman speak at the Cleveland club and that he had heard her state that she was an anarchist and didn't believe in any form of government. Czolgosz in his statement said that the time he heard Emma Goldman speak in Cleveland was the only time he had seen her. However, it appears that this statement is an absolute falsehood, for, when referring to the copy of Free Society for October 6, 1901, which is attached hereto as Exhibit V, there is found on page 3 an article written by Abraham Isaak, the editor of the paper, and headed "Why we consider Czolgosz a spy." In this article it is stated by Isaak that on July 12, 1901, the day of Emma Goldman's departure for Buffalo, Emma Goldman pointed Czolgosz out to Isaak at the station as being a young man who desired to speak to Isaak. It will thus be seen that, notwithstanding Czolgosz's statement that he personally didn't know Emma Goldman, it appears that Czolgosz was at the station at the time of Emma Goldman's departure from Chicago, July 12, 1901, and was pointed out to Isaak.

Attention is also to be called to the fact that Czolgosz's reason for assassinating President McKinley was that he didn't believe in this form of government. He stated that the same doctrines opposing this form of government were enunciated by Emma Goldman in her speeches and writings.

Czolgosz stated that he had read a great deal in the publication entitled Free Society. This is a publication originally issued under the title of "Fire Brand," and was published in San Francisco. It later moved its headquarters to Chicago and reference to its columns shows it to be the typical anarchist paper. The heading contains the statement that the paper is an exponent of "anarchist commun-

ism," and there is contained in every issue of it the following definition of anarchy, for which this paper stands:

Anarchy, a social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute, individual liberty.

In the issues of Free Society we find many articles by Emma Goldman. One of particular interest is that appearing in the issue of February 17, 1901, a photostat copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit VII. The article appears on page 3, and is headed "An open letter." In this article Emma Goldman states that she has been accused of being against force or propaganda by deed. She specifically states as follows:

I have never opposed force or propaganda by deed, either publicly or privately. I demand and acknowledge the right of an individual or a number of individuals to strike back at organized power and defend themselves against invasion; and I have and always will stand on the side of the one who has been courageous enough to give his own life in taking or attempting to take the life of a tyrant, whether industrially or politically. I am on the side of every rebel, whether his act has been beneficial or detrimental to our cause; for I don't judge an act by its result but by its cause; and the cause of each and every rebellious act has been organized despotism, robbery, and exploitation on the part of society, and the innate sense of justice and a rebellious spirit on the part of the individual.

If I stand on the side of the rebel or if I approve of an act of violence, it is only because I know that organized force—Government—leaves us no other method of propaganda; because we are the invaded and not the invaders.

I think I need say no more about my position toward individual or collective revolt; so I will only repeat that I am a revolutionist by nature and temperament and as such I claim the right for myself and all those who follow with me to rebel and resist invasion by all means, force included, consequently, a destructionist. But I am also an anarchist and as such a constructionist. In order to construct a new sanitary building fit for human beings to live in, I must, if I do not find clear ground, tear down the old, rotten, decayed obstacles which stand in the way of that beautiful and magnificent mansion called "anarchy."

The above is a sample of the literature read by Czolgosz and which apparently molded his ideas along the lines of determining to commit the act of murder.

Again, in Free Society for the issue of June 2, 1901, page 1, a copy of which issue is annexed as Exhibit VII appears a eulogistic article by Emma Goldman upon Gaetano Bresci, the anarchist who assassinated the King of Italy. In this article Emma Goldman makes Bresci a martyr to the cause.

In the article quoted from in the issue of February 17, 1901, we find that Emma Goldman openly admits that she believes in the use of violence and states that she not only is an anarchist but that she is likewise a destructionist. Czolgosz read and carefully perused, according to his own statements, the various issues of Free Society and, even though it be conceded that Emma Goldman was not a direct party to his crime in the assassination of President McKinley, yet she was instrumental in helping to form the unnatural ideas which Czolgosz held toward government and authority.

In the issue of Free Society for October 6, 1901, which appeared less than a month after the death of President McKinley, Emma Goldman wrote an article appearing on pages 1 and 2 of the issue

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice (excerpt) / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161; 22 cm. In Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919).

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Summary: Palmer reports to the Senate on the Justice Department's investigation of anarchists. The report emphasizes the prosecution and deportation of Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Eighty-two shots of 160 pages. For typed draft of pages about Goldman, possibly used as deportation brief, see 830214183 and 830214184. For typed draft of pages about Berkman, see 800321004.

## 44 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

referred to, entitled "The Tragedy at Buffalo." A copy of this issue is annexed as Exhibit IX. In this article she endeavors to justify the act of Czolgosz and closes her article with the following statement:

And my heart goes out to you in deep sympathy and to all those victims of a system of inequality and the many who will die the forerunners of a better, nobler, and grander life.

V. *Harlem River Casino speech, May 18, 1917.*—Under the heading of "Advocation of opposition to law" the activities of Emma Goldman in connection with the opposition to the selective-service act will be dealt with in detail, and under the same reference will be found to a speech delivered by the subject at the Harlem River Casino on May 18, 1917. In this speech the subject openly stated that she believed in violence and would use violence. Annexed hereto and marked as "Exhibit X" is an affidavit of Edward J. Caddell, who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the evening of May 18, 1917, and who took stenographic notes of Emma Goldman's speech.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit XI" is an affidavit of William H. Randolph, who was likewise present at the Harlem River Casino on the evening of May 18, 1917, and who took stenographic notes of Emma Goldman's speech. Both of these persons have sworn to the fact that the subject stated that she believed in violence and would use violence.

The enunciation by the subject of the fact that she was an advocate of violence at the Harlem River Casino, however, is not new, for we find the same advocacy in her writings in *Free Society*, particularly the issue of February 17, 1901, and referred to as Exhibit XII.

### ADVOCATION OF OPPOSITION TO LAW.

On June 15, 1917, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were arrested in New York for obstructing the draft. Through the medium of *Mother Earth*, *The Blast*, and literature of the No Conscription League Emma Goldman had carried on an extensive campaign for the purpose of blocking the effective administration of the draft act.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit XIII is a certified copy of the transcript of the record in the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, plaintiffs in error, v. The United States. This record contains all of the testimony in the trial of United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman in connection with their efforts to obstruct the draft.

The following are certain parts of the record, to which particular attention is called: Page 161, testimony of William H. Randolph, who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the night of May 18, 1917, and who took down in shorthand the speech delivered by Emma Goldman:

Q. Is there any question—

Will you look at your notes with me—

Is there any question that you heard her use these words, "We believe in violence, and we will use violence"?—A. No, sir. There is no question about that. [P. 161.]

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 45

On page 241, Mary Eleanor Fitzgerald, testifying relative to a letter written by Emma Goldman, gives the following as some of the contents of the letter which was referred to:

As an anarchist, I could not do that, because that would be taking the same position as the Government by telling some one to do this or that; I refuse to advise young men to refuse to register; it must be left to the individual.

On page 269, Pietro Allegra, testifying, stated that he had heard Emma Goldman at the Harlem River Casino state "as an anarchist."

Page 402, Jacob J. Lynn, testifying on behalf of the defendants, stated that he heard Miss Goldman make the following statement:

We will resist conscription by all means within our power.

On pages 409 to 411, Edward J. Caddell, who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the night of May 18, 1917, and who took stenographic notes of the speech delivered by Emma Goldman, testified that she used the words:

We believe in violence and we will use violence.

Again, on page 418, the same witness, testifying, stated that he distinctly recalled Miss Goldman's use of the phrase "I defy your law."

On page 154 in Government Exhibit No. 1, a circular issued by the No Conscription League, appears the terse statement, "Resist conscription." This circular was issued by the No Conscription League, of which Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were the principal organizers.

On page 456 in the Government's Exhibit No. 4 appears the following statement:

We will resist conscription by every means in our power and we will sustain those who for similar reasons refuse to be conscripted.

Exhibit 10-B contains the same statement as Exhibit 4 and is identical with Exhibit 4, except that it is signed by "Emma Goldman."

On pages 471 and 473 in the Government's Exhibit No. 25 appears an article by Emma Goldman which was originally published in the June, 1917, issue of *Mother Earth*. The whole article is one urging opposition to the law providing for the draft.

On pages 478 to 486 appears the Government's Exhibit No. 31, which is a transcript of the speech delivered by Emma Goldman in the Harlem River Casino on May 18, 1917.

On page 482 of the transcript in the same speech appears the statement made by the subject to the effect "We believe in violence and we will use violence."

On page 485 the subject states as follows:

Your answer to war must be a general strike and then the governing class will have something on its hands.

On page 494 in the Government's Exhibit No. 33, which is a transcript of the speech of Emma Goldman delivered at the Hunt's Point Palace June 4, 1917, the subject states as follows:

Therefore, I, as an anarchist, who became an American out of choice, protest.

On page 495 she states as follows:

My friends, the only reason prevents me telling you men of conscriptable age not to register is because I am an anarchist.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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emphasizes the prosecution and deportation of Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Eighty-two shots of 160 pages. For typed draft of pages about Goldman, possibly used as deportation  
brief, see 830214183 and 830214184. For typed draft of pages about Berkman, see 800321004.

On pages 499 to 501 appears the Government Exhibit No. 35, being a letter addressed by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to the Assistant United States Attorney, H. A. Content, in which the following paragraph appears:

Anarchism stands for individual liberty and social well-being. It is opposed to personal invasion as well as to the organized form of violence known as government. If the belief in anarchism or the holding of the opinions represented by the No-Conscription League (the principles of which you will find clearly stated on our letterhead) is a crime, then why are only unknown boys like Kramer and Becker prosecuted and not the more prominent men and women guilty of a similar "crime"? We hereby state in the most emphatic manner that we, the undersigned, are anarchists and firm believers in the principles enunciated by the No-Conscription League.

### WRITINGS OF EMMA GOLDMAN.

Emma Goldman has been a most prolific writer upon all subjects, varying from discourses upon "drama" to the "advocation of birth control" and the "exposition of 'anarchy'."

There are attached to this memorandum and marked as exhibits digests of various publications written by Emma Goldman, and in which her views are expressed. Particular attention is called in these exhibits to certain excerpts, but it is to be noted that these excerpts are merely the most flagrant parts of the publications, and each of the publications marked as exhibits are to be considered in connection with the case of this subject.

The following is a list of the exhibits attached:

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit A" is a copy of a pamphlet issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, containing the essay by Emma Goldman entitled "What I believe."

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit B" is a pamphlet by Emma Goldman entitled "Syndicalism, the modern menace to capitalism."

Annexed hereto as Exhibit C is a copy of her pamphlet, "Preparedness, the road to universal slaughter," written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit D is a pamphlet entitled "Patriotism, a menace to liberty," written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit E is a pamphlet entitled "Anarchism, what it really stands for," by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit F is a pamphlet entitled "The Psychology of political violence," by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit G is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XII, No. 4, June, 1917, containing articles for which Emma Goldman is responsible.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit H is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XII, No. 1, March, 1917, in which is contained an article by Emma Goldman upon the "War Mania."

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit I" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. IX, No. 5, July, 1914, containing the exposition of the "Lexington Street Explosion."

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit J" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. VIII, No. 12, February, 1914, containing articles written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit K" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. X, No. 11, in which is contained Emma Goldman's

article upon Donald Vose, relative to the Matthew A. Schmidt and Arthur Caplan case.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit L" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XI, No. 8, October, 1916, containing illuminating articles written by persons as anarchistically inclined as Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit M" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XII, No. 3, May, 1917, indicative of the type of publication issued by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit N," Vol. XII, No. 5, July, 1917, containing a recital of the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman trial.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit O" is a leaflet entitled "McKinley Assassination from the Anarchist Standpoint," by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit P" is a leaflet entitled "Anarchist Literature."

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit Q" is a copy of a letter written by Emma Goldman to Mr. H. A. Content, in which the doctrine of anarchism is set forth.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit R" is a copy of a publication issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, entitled "Anarchy on Trial," containing a detailed description of the Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman trial.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit S" is a copy of Mother Earth, Vol. XII, No. 4, June, 1917, being an issue upon which the prosecution in the Federal court of New York was based.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit T" is a copy of The Blast, Vol. I, No. 1, January 15, 1916, containing greetings to this publication from Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit U" is a copy of The Blast, Vol. II, No. 1, January 15, 1917, containing greetings from Emma Goldman to this publication.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit V" is a copy of a pamphlet entitled "The Truth About the Bolsheviks," by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit W" is a copy of the pamphlet "Philosophy of Atheism and the Failure of Christianity," being two lectures by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked as "Exhibit X" is a file of the Mother Earth Bulletin, being Vol. I, Nos. 1 to 7, containing articles written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit Y" is a copy of a leaflet entitled "Down with the Anarchists."

### EXHIBIT A.

#### WHAT I BELIEVE.

[By Emma Goldman.]

The above is a pamphlet issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York City, and is a reprint from the New York World, July 19, 1918. It will be noted that on the last two pages of the pamphlet are contained advertisements of works on anarchism, being principally those of Peter Kropotkin, the notorious Russian anarchist.

Pages 5 and 6: "I believe government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary only to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only. As a promoter of individual liberty, human well-

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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## 48 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

being, and social harmony, which alone constitute real order, government stands condemned by all the great men of the world.

"I therefore believe, with my fellow anarchists, that statutory regulations, legislative enactments, constitutional provisions, are invasive."

Page 11: "Religion is a superstition that originated in man's mental inability to solve natural phenomena. The church is an organized institution that has always been a stumbling block to progress."

"Organized churchism has stripped religion of its naive and primitive values. It has turned religion into a nightmare that oppresses the human soul and holds the mind in bondage. 'The Dominion of Darkness,' as the last true Christian, Leo Tolstol, calls the church, has been a foe of human development and free thought, and as such it has no place in the life of a truly free people."

Page 14: "Every institution to-day rests on violence; our very atmosphere is saturated with it. So long as such a state exists we might as well strive to stop the rush of Niagara as hope to do away with violence. I have already stated that countries with some measure of freedom of expression have had few or no acts of violence. What is the moral? Simply this: No act committed by an anarchist has been for personal gain, aggrandizement, or profit, but rather a conscious protest against some repressive, arbitrary, tyrannical measure from above."

Page 15: "Lastly, and the most powerful weapon, is the conscious, intelligent, organized, economic protest of the masses through direct action and the general strike."

"The general contention that anarchists are opposed to organization, and hence stand for chaos, is absolutely groundless. True, we do not believe in the compulsory, arbitrary side of organization that would compel people of antagonistic tastes and interests into a body and hold them there by coercion. Organization as the result of natural blending of common interests, brought about through voluntary adhesion anarchists do not only not oppose, but believe in as the only possible basis of social life."

### EXHIBIT B.

#### SYNDICALISM, A MODERN MENACE TO CAPITALISM.

[By Emma Goldman.]

The pamphlet was published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 58 West Twenty-eighth Street, New York City, in 1913. On the last pages are contained advertisements of the work Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, by Alexander Berkman and the anarchist works of Peter Kropotkin.

Page 4: "The revolutionary philosophy of labor, that is the true and vital meaning of syndicalism."

Page 5: "In fact it was this determined radical stand which eventually brought about the split in the revolutionary movement of that day and its division into two factions—the one, under Marx and Engels, aiming at political conquest; the other, under Bakunin and the Latin workers, forging ahead along industrial and syndicalist lines. The further development of those two wings is familiar to every thinking man and woman; the one has gradually centralized into a huge machine, with the sole purpose of conquering political power with the existing capitalist state; the other is becoming an ever more vital revolutionary factor, dreaded by the enemy as the greatest menace to its rule."

"On my return to America I immediately began to propagate syndicalist ideas, especially direct action and the general strike. But it was like talking to the Rocky Mountains—no understanding, even among the more radical elements, and complete indifference in labor ranks."

"In 1907 I went as a delegate to the anarchist congress at Amsterdam and, while in Paris, met the most active syndicalists in the confederation Generale du Travail—Pouget, Delesalle, Monatte, and many others. More than that, I had the opportunity to see syndicalism in daily operation, in its most constructive and inspiring forms."

Page 6: "It lies in the constructive and educational effect upon the life and thought of the masses."

"\* \* \* Syndicalism works in two directions—first, by undermining the existing institutions; secondly, by developing and educating the workers and

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 49

cultivating their spirit of solidarity, to prepare them for a full, free life, when capitalism shall have been abolished."

Page 7: "Syndicalism is, in essence, the economic expression of anarchism. That circumstance accounts for the presence of so many anarchists in the syndicalist movement. Like anarchism, syndicalism prepares the workers along direct economic lines, as conscious factors in the great struggles of today, as well as conscious factors in the task of reconstructing society along autonomous industrial lines, as against the paralyzing spirit of centralization with its bureaucratic machinery of corruption, inherent in all political parties."

Page 9: "Now, as to the methods employed by syndicalism—direct action, sabotage, and the general strike."

"Direct action: Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against or remedy social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers."

"Sabotage has been decried as criminal, even by so-called revolutionary socialists. Of course, if you believe that property, which excludes the producer from its use, is justifiable, then sabotage is indeed a crime. But unless a socialist continues to be under the influence of our bourgeois morality—a morality which enables the few to monopolize the earth at the expense of the many—he can not consistently maintain that capitalist property is inviolate. Sabotage undermines this form of private possession. Can it therefore be considered criminal? On the contrary, it is ethical in the best sense, since it helps society to get rid of its worst foe, the most detrimental factor of social life."

"Sabotage is mainly concerned with obstructing, by every possible method, the regular process of production, thereby demonstrating the determination of the workers to give according to what they receive, and no more. For instance, at the time of the French railroad strike of 1910, perishable goods were sent in slow trains, or in an opposite direction from the one intended. Who but the most ordinary Philistine will call that a crime? If the railway men themselves go hungry, and the 'innocent' public has not enough feeling of solidarity to insist that these men should get enough to live on, the public has forfeited the sympathy of the strikers and must take the consequences."

Page 11: "I think that the general strike will become a fact the moment labor understands its full value—its destructive as well as constructive value, as indeed many workers all over the world are beginning to realize."

### EXHIBIT C.

#### PREPAREDNESS, THE ROAD TO UNIVERSAL SLAUGHTER.

Page 4: "To uphold the institutions of our country—that is it—the institutions which protect and sustain a handful of people in the robber and plunder of the masses, the institutions which drain the blood of the native as well as of the foreigner, and turn it into wealth and power; the institutions which take from the alien whatever originality he brings with him and in return give him cheap Americanism, whose glory consists in mediocrity and arrogance."

Page 6: "I am no more pro-German than pro-Ally. As an anarchist I refute both, as the 'two thieves who are too cowardly to fight.'"

Page 9: "Those who appreciate the urgent need of cooperating in great struggles must oppose military preparedness imposed by the State and capitalism for the destruction of the masses. They must organize the preparedness of the masses for the overthrow of both capitalism and the State. Industrial and economic preparedness is what the workers need. That alone leads to revolution at the bottom as against mass destruction from on top."

### EXHIBIT D.

#### PATRIOTISM, A MENACE TO LIBERTY.

This pamphlet was published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 74 West One hundred and nineteenth Street, New York City.

150770—19—S. Doc. 153, 66—1—4

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## 50 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

The pamphlet is a reprint of the essay appearing in Emma Goldman's work entitled "Anarchism and other essays."

Page 134: "Patriotism, on the other hand, is a superstition artificially created and maintained through a network of lies and falsehoods; a superstition that robs man of his self-respect and dignity, and increases his arrogance and conceit."

Page 138: "The awful waste that patriotism necessitates ought to be sufficient to cure the man of even average intelligence from this disease. Yet patriotism demands still more. The people are urged to be patriotic and for that luxury they pay, not only by supporting their 'defenders,' but even by sacrificing their own children. Patriotism requires allegiance to the flag, which means obedience and readiness to kill father, mother, brother, sister."

Page 143: "While on a recent lecture tour in San Francisco. I visited the Presidio, the most beautiful spot overlooking the bay and Golden Gate Park. Its purpose should have been playgrounds for children, gardens, and music for the recreation of the weary. Instead it is made ugly, dull, and gray by barracks, barracks wherein the rich would not allow their dogs to dwell. In these miserable shanties soldiers are herded like cattle; here they waste their young days, polishing the boots and brass buttons of their superior officers. Here, too, I saw the distinction of classes: Sturdy sons of a free republic, drawn up in line like convicts, saluting every passing shrimp of a lieutenant. American equality, degrading manhood and elevating the uniform."

### EXHIBIT E.

#### ANARCHISM; WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR.

This is a pamphlet published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 20 East One hundred and fifth Street, New York City, in 1906.

Page 4: "I also shall begin with a definition, and then elaborate on the latter."

"Anarchism: The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence and are therefore wrong and harmful as well as unnecessary."

Page 6: "Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, the State, and society are nonexistent; that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination."

Page 7: "Religion, the dominion of the human mind; property, the dominion of human needs; and government, the dominion of human conduct, represent the stronghold of man's enslavement and all the horrors it entails. Religion! How it dominates man's mind, how it humiliates and degrades his soul. God is everything, man is nothing, says religion. But out of that nothing God has created a kingdom so despotic, so tyrannical, so cruel, so terribly exacting that naught but gloom and tears and blood have ruled the world since gods began. Anarchism rouses man to rebellion against this black monster. Break your mental fetters, says anarchism to man, for not until you think and judge for yourself will you get rid of the dominion of darkness, the greatest obstacle to all progress."

"Property is robbery," said the great French anarchist Proudhon. Yes; but without risk and danger to the robber."

Page 11: "Indeed, the keynote of government is injustice."

Page 13: "The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime. Aside from the fact that the State is itself the greatest criminal, breaking every written and natural law, stealing in the form of taxes; killing in the form of war and capital punishment, it has come to an absolute standstill in coping with crime. It has failed utterly to destroy or even minimize the horrible scourge of its own creation."

Page 17: "Anarchism does not stand for military drill and uniformity; it does, however, stand for the spirit of revolt, in whatever form, against everything that binds human growth. All anarchists agree in that, as they also agree in their opposition to the political machinery as a means of bringing about the great social change."

Page 19: "Anarchism therefore stands for direct action, the open defiance of, and resistance to, all laws and restrictions, economic, social, and moral."

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 51

But defiance and resistance are illegal. Therein lies the salvation of man. Everything illegal necessitates integrity, self-reliance, and courage."

Page 20: "Direct action against the authority in the shop, direct action against the authority of the law, direct action against the invasive, meddling authority of our moral code, is the logical, consistent method of anarchism."

Page 21: "Will it not lead to a revolution? Indeed, it will. No real social change has ever come about without a revolution. People are either not familiar with their history, or they have not yet learned that revolution is but thought carried into action."

"Anarchism, the great leap of thought, is to-day permeating every phase of human endeavor. Science, art, literature, the drama, the effort for economic betterment, in fact every individual and social opposition to the existing order of things, is illumined by the spiritual light of anarchism. It is the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual. It is the theory of social harmony. It is the great, surging, living truth that is reconstructing the world, and that will usher in the dawn."

Page 10: "Such free display of human energy being possible only under complete individual and social freedom, anarchism directs its forces against the third and greatest foe of all social equality, namely, the State, organized authority, or statutory law,—the dominion of human conduct."

Pages 11 and 12: "The State is the altar of political freedom and, like the religious altar, it is maintained for the purpose of human sacrifice."

"In fact, there is hardly a modern thinker who does not agree that government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary only to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only."

Page 15: "Anarchism aims to strip labor of its deadening, dulling aspect, of its gloom and compulsion."

"To achieve such an arrangement of life, government, with its unjust, arbitrary, repressive measures, must be done away with."

"In destroying government and statutory laws, anarchism proposes to rescue the self-respect and independence of the individual from all restraint and invasion by authority."

### EXHIBIT F.

#### PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE.

[By Emma Goldman.]

This is a pamphlet published by Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York City, 1911.

Page 1: "To the earnest student it must be apparent that the accumulated forces in our social and economic life, culminating in a political act of violence, are similar to the terrors of the atmosphere, manifested in storm and lightning."

Page 4: "Last, but not least, the man who probably better than anyone also understands the psychology of the attentat is M. Hamon, the author of the brilliant work, Une Psychologie du Militaire Professionnel, who has arrived at these suggestive conclusions:

"The positive method confirmed by the rational method enables us to establish an ideal type of anarchist, whose mentality is the aggregate of common psychic characteristics. Every anarchist partakes sufficiently of this ideal type to make it possible to differentiate him from other men. The typical anarchist, then, may be defined as follows: A man perceptible by the spirit of revolt under one or more of its forms—opposition, investigation, criticism, innovation—endowed with a strong love of liberty, egoistic or individualistic, and possessed of great curiosity, a keen desire to know."

Page 12: "Poor Leon Czolgosz, your crime consisted of too sensitive a social consciousness."

Page 13: "But, it is often asked, have not acknowledged anarchists committed acts of violence? Certainly they have; always, however, ready to shoulder the responsibility. My contention is that they were impelled not by the teachings of anarchism but by the tremendous pressure of conditions, making life unbearable to their sensitive natures. Obviously anarchism, or any other social theory making man a conscious social unit, will act as a haven for rebellion."

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Page 15: "Hundreds of voices raised in protest, calling on Frick to desist, not to go too far. Yes, hundreds of people protested, as one objects to annoying flies. Only one there was who actively responded to the outrage at Homestead—Alexander Berkman. Yes, he was an anarchist. He gloried in that fact, because it was the only force that made the discord between his spiritual longing and the world without at all bearable. Yet not anarchism, as such, but the brutal slaughter of the 11 steel workers was the urge for Alexander Berkman's act, his attempt on the life of Henry Clay Frick."

Page 19: "Will anyone say that Vaillant was an ignorant vicious man, or a lunatic? Was not his mind singularly clear, analytic? No wonder that the best intellectual forces of France spoke in his behalf, and signed the petition to President Carnot, asking him to commute Vaillant's death sentence."

"Carnot would listen to no entreaty; he insisted on more than a pound of flesh, he wanted Vaillant's life, and then—the inevitable happened; President Carnot was killed. On the handle of the stiletto used by the Attentater was engraved, significantly, Vaillant!"

Page 25: "He was garrotted. His body lay, sun-kissed, till the day hid in twilight. And the people came, and pointing the finger of terror and fear, they said: 'There—the criminal—the cruel murderer.'"

"How stupid, how cruel is ignorance! It misunderstands always, condemns always."

In pages 25 to 27 of the pamphlet the writer condoles the act of Gastano Bresci in endeavoring to assassinate King Umberto of Italy.

## EXHIBIT G.

### MOTHER EARTH.

[Vol. 21, June, 1917, No. 4.]

Page 102: "Apropos of the refusal of passports to the Socialist delegates to the Stockholm Conference, what a vindication for the Anarchists, what triumph of the logic of our attitude towards government. The war has pointed out the utter stupidity of expecting economic justice or human rights from the machinery of government or from centralized power. Our quarrel with the Socialists, which began in the International with Bakunin, Marx and Engels, to this day centers around the one issue: the Socialists clamor for more laws, greater political power in the hands of the State and more centralized machinery of the government; while we Anarchists, as federalists, insist upon the necessity of undermining the State through the economic solidarity and action of the workers, which alone is the greatest menace to the capitalist régime and to the ever growing tyranny of authority. And now it has all come to pass, even though at the terrible price of war."

"The various Socialists who for political ends compromise their ideals, curry favor with the government, and who waste the time and substance of the workers in political campaigns, are now made to feel the mailed fist of the newly constituted American autocracy. They have been denied passports, or better yet, they have been told to behave themselves as behooves law-abiding citizens. What else can those expect who move within the limited confines of the State and blind the workers to the arbitrary and coercive tendency of all government, to the utter waste of time and energy spent on political action."

### THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

Pages 112-114: "Conscription has now become a fact in this country. It took England fully 18 months after she engaged in war to impose compulsory military service on her people. It was left to free America to pass a conscription bill six weeks after war was declared."

"What becomes of the patriotic boast of America to have entered the European war in behalf of the principle of democracy? But that is not all. Every country in Europe has recognized the right of conscientious objectors—of men who refuse to engage in war on the ground that they are opposed to taking life."

"Yet this democratic country makes no such provision for those who will not commit murder at the behest of the profiteers through human sacrifice."

Thus the 'land of the free and the home of the brave' is ready to coerce free men into the military yoke.

"Liberty of conscience is the most fundamental of all human rights, the pivot of all progress. No human being may be deprived of it without losing every vestige of freedom of thought and action. In these days when every principle and conception of democracy and individual liberty is being cast overboard under the pretext of democratizing Germany, it behooves every liberty-loving man and woman to insist on his or her right of individual choice in the ordering of his life or action."

"The No Conscription League has been formed for the purpose of encouraging conscientious objectors to affirm their liberty of conscience and to translate their objection to human slaughter by refusing to participate in the killing of their fellow men. The No Conscription League is to be the voice of protest against war and against the coercion of conscientious objectors to participate in the war. Our platform may be summarized as follows:

"We oppose conscription because we are internationalists, antimilitarists, and opposed to all wars waged by capitalistic governments."

"We will fight for what we choose to fight for; we will never fight simply because we are ordered to fight."

"We believe that the militarization of America is an evil that far outweighs, in its antisocial and antilibertarian effects, any good that may come from America's participation in the war."

"We will resist conscription by every means in our power, and we will sustain those who, for similar reasons, refuse to be conscripted."

"The first important public activity of the No Conscription League took the form of a large mass meeting on May 18, attended by 8,000 people. The enthusiasm was so great that the uniformed patriots who came to break up the meeting soon slunk courageously away. A mothers' no conscription meeting has been arranged for June 4. Besides 100,000 no conscription manifestos have been circulated broadcast."

"We are not unmindful of the difficulties in our way. But we have resolved to go ahead and spare no effort to make the voice of protest a moral force in the life of this country. The initial efforts of the conscientious objectors in England were fraught with many hardships and danger, but finally the Government of Great Britain was forced to give heed to the steadily increasing volume of public protest against the coercion of conscientious objectors. So we, too, in America will doubtless meet the full severity of the Government and the condemnation of the patriotic fingoos, but we are nevertheless determined to go ahead. We feel confident in bringing out thousands of people who are conscientious objectors to the murder of their fellow men, and to whom a principle represents the most vital thing in life."

"Will you help us in this great undertaking? Will you enable us to carry on the fight? Send your contribution to me at once, to 20 East One hundred and twenty-fifth Street, New York. Send for manifestos."

"EMMA GOLDMAN."

## EXHIBIT H.

In the issue of Mother Earth, volume 12, No. 1, March, 1917, appears an article entitled, "The Promoters of the War Mania," by Emma Goldman. On page 11 of the publication including this article the following appears:

"I, for one, will speak against war so long as my voice will last, now, and during war. A thousand times rather would I die calling to the people of America to refuse to be obedient, to refuse military service, to refuse to murder their brothers, than I should ever give my voice in justification of war, except the one war of all the peoples against their despots and exploiters—the social revolution."

## EXHIBIT I.

Copy of Mother Earth for July, 1914, volume 9, No. 5, giving in detail the story of the explosion at 626 Lexington Avenue, New York City, on July 4, 1919, when Arthur Caron, Charles Berg, and Carl Hanson were killed. This matter is referred to under the activities of Emma Goldman in the attached memorandum.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice [excerpt] / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161; 22 cm. In Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919).

Obtained from the United States National Archives.

Summary: Palmer reports to the Senate on the Justice Department's investigation of anarchists. The report emphasizes the prosecution and deportation of Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Eighty-two shots of 160 pages. For typed draft of pages about Goldman, possibly used as deportation brief, see 830214183 and 830214184. For typed draft of pages about Berkman, see 800321004.

## EXHIBIT J.

In the issue of Mother Earth, volume 8, No. 12, February, 1914, on page 1 it appears that Emma Goldman was the sole proprietor of this magazine at the date of the issuance of this number.

On page 354 of the editorials the following statement appears: "If the unemployed would realize this, they would refuse to starve; they would help themselves to the things they need. But as long as they meekly wait for the governmental miracle, they will be doomed to hunger and misery."

Pages 358 and 359: "We extend our heartiest greetings and welcome to our brave Mexican comrades, Ricardo Flores Magon, Enrique Flores Magon, Anselmo Figueroa, and Librado Rivera, on their release from the Federal penitentiary at McNeil's Island, Wash."

"After serving over a year and a half in an American bastle for their devotion to the cause of the Mexican proletariat, our comrades are now again joining in the great struggle of the oppressed and exploited for liberty and well-being."

"Such men are not daunted by danger or broken by persecution and prison torture. The clear vision of the ideal gives them strength and courage to withstand all hardship and misery. To live, with them, means ceaselessly to fight the battle of the disinherited, with the devotion and spirit that knows no defeat."

"Hail, comrades! The example of men like you is ever the inspiration and hope of the social revolution."

From the above it will be noted that Mother Earth extended condolences through its editorial columns to persons who had violated the Federal laws of the United States and thereby encouraged such violators in their acts, endeavoring to make martyrs of them.

On pages 363 to 370 appears an article entitled, "Intellectual Proletarians," by Emma Goldman. On page 369 of this article the following is a quotation:

"Strikes, conflicts, the use of dynamite, or the efforts of the I. W. W. are exciting to our intellectual proletarians but, after all, very foolish when considered in the light of the logical, cool-headed observer."

On pages 379 to 380 appears correspondence showing the close association of the anarchist societies to Mother Earth organization.

In their issue of Mother Earth, February, 1914, is attached as Exhibit J and reference to the various articles containing the same in addition to the quotations set forth above show the extreme anarchist doctrines enunciated in its pages.

## EXHIBIT K.

The January, 1916, issue of Mother Earth, volume 10, No. 11, contains an article in which is set forth by Emma Goldman her own version of her association with Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan and the attack made by her upon Donald Vose for what she considered his traitorous action.

## EXHIBIT L.

The issue of Mother Earth, volume 11, No. 8, for October, 1916, contains on pages 625, 626 an appeal by Emma Goldman for subscriptions to these publications and, in offering inducements, she offers the book of Alexander Berkman entitled "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" or Voltaire de Cleyre's book, "Selected Works"; Kropotkin's timely book, "The Great French Revolution." It will be noted that the first of these books, namely, Alexander Berkman's work, "The Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," contains open advocacy of the use of the "attentat" which was invoked in the shooting of H. C. Frick by Berkman. This book, from the demands and offers contained in "Mother Earth," is being distributed through the instrumentality of Emma Goldman. At this point the meaning of "attentat" should be observed.

In the German Dictionary of Morwitz, the following definition appears: "Attentat, premeditated outrage; premeditated attempt on anyone's life."

The second of the books offered for sale, namely, Voltaire de Cleyre's book, "Selected Works," bears consideration likewise. This book contains the poems, essays, sketches, and stories by the writer, Voltaire de Cleyre. The titles of some of the essays are sufficient to indicate the type of works of Voltaire de Cleyre. "Anarchism"; "The making of an anarchist"; "Direct

Action"; "In Defense of Emma Goldman." The third work offered, namely, "The Great French Revolution," by Kropotkin, needs little or no reference, for it is well known that Kropotkin is probably the most famous of the Russian anarchists. The following are a few of the doctrines advocated by Kropotkin:

"1. Enacted law has become the hindrance to mankind's progress toward existence, as happy as possible."

"2. The State has become a hindrance to mankind's evolution."

"3. Private property has become a hindrance to the evolution of mankind."

On page 629 of the issue of Mother Earth for October, 1916, under "Observations and comments," appears a short eulogy upon Leon Czolgosz, who shot President McKinley on September 6, 1901, at Buffalo, N. Y.

On pages 643 to 648 appears a description of the Emma Goldman 1915-16 tour, written by Ben L. Reitman, her manager. Certain excerpts in this article are particularly interesting. On page 643 appears the following:

"We began the tour October 26 in Philadelphia, and almost every night until September 19, with the exception of 15 days spent in the Queens County jail, Emma Goldman was on some platform in America carrying the message of anarchy."

On page 644 there is a description of the reception given to her in the city of Washington, set forth in the following language:

"It was not an unusual occurrence to see at least 200 members of Uncle Sam's family at one of our meetings applauding the philosophy which says 'that all governments are wrong, harmful, and unnecessary.'"

On pages 650 to 652 appears a letter written by Enrique Flores Magon, who was convicted for a violation of the Federal laws in connection with Mexican intrigue and to whose aid Emma Goldman and her copartner, Alexander Berkman, came with articles endeavoring to paint him as a martyr. It is to be particularly noted that on page 652, in closing the article, Magon refers with great feeling to the great net of Czolgosz in assassinating President McKinley.

## EXHIBIT M.

In the issue of Mother Earth, volume 7, No. 3, for May, 1917, on page 70, under "Observations and comments," appears a short article relative to the suppression of certain anarchist periodicals in the United States, and the whole tenor of the article is one openly defying the Government and supporting the papers which had been excluded from the mails, owing to their anarchistic contents and their articles in opposition to war methods.

On page 89 of the same issue of Mother Earth appears an article entitled "Press censorship in India," by Ram Chandra, who, it will be recalled, was the Indian revolutionist who was arrested for a violation of the neutrality laws of the United States.

The above is indicative of the type of magazine which Mother Earth has been ever since its first issue, opening its pages to all malcontents, persons anarchistically inclined, and persons intent upon opposition to law and order.

## EXHIBIT N.

The issue of Mother Earth for July, 1917, volume 2, No. 5, contains the story of the trial and conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman referred to elsewhere in the memorandum upon this subject. Particular attention is called to the following excerpts from this issue:

Page 129: "The end of anarchism will only be in sight when liberty itself is dead or dying."

Page 132: "But they had decided that, as anarchists, it would be more consistent to go into court without a lawyer."

On page 139, in the speech of Alexander Berkman delivered to the jury on behalf of himself and Emma Goldman, the following appears:

"We stand here accused of being anarchists. A vain accusation. We are anarchists and I for one am proud of being an anarchist and I am sure I may say the same for my defendant, Miss Goldman."

Page 140: "We all believe in violence and we all disbelieve in violence; it all depends upon the circumstances. Under ordinary circumstances no one

# The Emma Goldman Papers.

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Summary: Palmer reports to the Senate on the Justice Department's investigation of anarchists. The report emphasizes the prosecution and deportation of Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Eighty-two sheets of 160 pages. For typed draft of pages about Goldman, possibly used as deportation brief, see 830214183 and 830214184. For typed draft of pages about Berkman, see 800321004.

## 56 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

wants violence, no one wants bloodshed; and yet certain circumstances arise when violence seems to be necessary in order perhaps to combat greater violence, in order to combat a great evil that may menace humanity."

Page 148: "And it is really anarchism that is on trial here, and I am glad it is, because it is well for you to know what anarchism is, since we are anarchists."

In the speech of Emma Goldman, on page 15, appears the following:

"What is a scrap of paper in the form of a search warrant, when it is a question of raiding the offices of anarchists or arresting anarchists?"

Page 154: "And what is the cause? Is it conditioned in the individual who commits an act of individual violence? It is not. An act of political violence at the bottom is the culminating result of organized violence on top. It is the result of violence which expresses itself in war, which expresses itself in capital punishment, which expresses itself in courts, which expresses itself in prisons, which expresses itself in kicking and bounding people for the only crime they are guilty of—of having been born poor."

Page 161: "Please forget that we are anarchists. Forget that we said that we propagated violence."

### EXHIBIT O.

A leaflet entitled "McKinley's Assassination" from the anarchist standpoint appeared, and it is said that the same was written by Emma Goldman, though there is no actual evidence to establish this fact. Attention is called to this leaflet, however, for the reason that at the top of it appears the significant question made by Voltaire de Cleyre: "Which was the martyr, McKinley or Czolgosz?" Voltaire de Cleyre was the notorious anarchist whose works were collected and published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, and as an inducement for subscriptions Emma Goldman offered copies of her works. It shows the attitude of mind adopted by Voltaire toward the assassination of McKinley and the approval of such attitude by Emma Goldman.

### EXHIBIT P.

This is a small leaflet entitled "Anarchist Literature," and contains a list of all the publications offered for sale by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, of which Emma Goldman is the head. In the leaflet, besides the offer of anarchist literature, there was contained definitions of "Anarchism," "Direct action," "Anarchy," and "Free communism."

### EXHIBIT Q.

Exhibit Q is a copy of a letter written by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to United States district attorney, Mr. H. A. Content, who prosecuted the case against these two persons in the United States court, southern district of New York, for obstructing the draft. Particular attention is called to the third and fourth paragraphs, where each of these subjects stated that they are anarchists and set forth their views upon anarchism.

### EXHIBIT R.

The Mother Earth Publishing Association issued a pamphlet entitled "Anarchy on Trial," containing a complete history of the trial of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman for obstructing the draft. The detailed statements set forth in these speeches are referred to in another exhibit, being an issue of Mother Earth. The present exhibit, however, is interesting from several viewpoints—first, the statement contained on page 11 by Miss Goldman that she stood for everything in Mother Earth because, as she added, she was the sole owner of the publication; second, on page 87 is a reprint from Mother Earth, volume 4, 1909-10, entitled "A new declaration of independence," written by

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 57

Emma Goldman. Particular attention is called to this article as being one setting forth principles and ideas entirely contrary to those upon which this Government was founded and upon which its present institutions exist.

### EXHIBIT S.

Exhibit S is an issue of Mother Earth for June, 1917, volume 12, No. 4, which is referred to in the transcript of record of the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, plaintiffs in error, v. The United States. Particular attention is called to pages 97, 98, and 112, which deal with the activities of Emma Goldman.

### EXHIBIT T.

The issue of The Blast for January 15, 1916, volume 1, No. 1, the anarchist publication issued by Alexander Berkman in San Francisco. There appears on page 2 "Greetings from Emma Goldman." Significant with this is the statement contained on page 1 as to the purposes of The Blast, one of which is, "Thus The Blast will be destroyed." Referring to the greetings received from Emma Goldman the following statement is to be noted:

"May The Blast tear up the solidified ignorance and cruelty of our social structure. Blast away."

### EXHIBIT U.

The issue of The Blast for January 15, 1917, volume 2, No. 1, contains on page 6 "Birthday Greetings From Emma Goldman" to The Blast, a publication which had moved its activities from San Francisco to New York in view of the energetic efforts of the California authorities to free the State of such publications. Examination of either of the issues of The Blast referred to a T and U will convince one of its nature.

### EXHIBIT V.

As Exhibit V, a pamphlet issued by Emma Goldman as her last contribution before going to the Jefferson City Penitentiary, is presented, entitled "The Truth About the Bolsheviks." The conclusion obtained from reading this publication is that the Bolsheviks was a justified element in the world and that their success has been both beneficial not only to Russia but through the example which they have set to the rest of the world will result in such movements in all parts of the world.

### EXHIBIT W.

This is a pamphlet entitled "Philosophy of Atheism and the Failure of Christianity," by Emma Goldman, issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1916, which deals with the typical anarchist doctrine of the non-necessity of God and the church.

### EXHIBIT X.

Following the publication of Mother Earth and its discontinuance after the conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the Mother Earth Publishing Association issued what was known as the Mother Earth Bulletin. Exhibit X contains the following numbers of this bulletin:

Volume 1, No. 1; volume 1, No. 2; volume 1, No. 3; volume 1, No. 4; volume 1, No. 5; volume 1, No. 6; and volume 1, No. 7.

Attention is particularly called to volume 1, No. 1, pages 1, 2, 3, and 8.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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## 58 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Volume 1, No. 2, pages 1, 3, and 8; volume 1, No. 3, pages 1 and 3; volume 1, No. 4, pages 1, 2, and 3; volume 1, No. 5, pages 1, 2, 3, and 5; volume 1, No. 6, pages 1, 2, and 3; and volume 1, No. 7, pages 1, 2, 3, and 4.

### EXHIBIT Y.

"Down with the Anarchists!" is a leaflet which was issued by The Blast Group, Group Freedom, Italian Anarchist Group Volonts, and Union of Russian Workers. As appears upon the last page of the leaflet, it will be noted that a demand for anarchist literature is set forth and it is stated that the same might be obtained from The Blast, published by Alexander Berkman, and the Mother Earth Publishing Association, headed by Emma Goldman. The contents of the leaflet was typical of those issued by anarchists.

Particular attention is called to the fact that the leaflet appears over the signature of the "Union of Russian Workers," which organization has been declared to be anarchistic by the Commissioner General of Immigration. The form of signature would lead one to believe that the names of the organizations affixed were signed "Per Emma Goldman-Alexander Berkman."

### EXHIBIT I.

[United States of America v. Emma Goldman and Alex Berkman. No. 9-474.]

MONDAY, JULY 9, 1917.

Present: Hon. Julius M. Mayer, J.  
Alex Berkman sums up.  
Emma Goldman sums up.  
Mr. H. A. Content sums up.  
Charge officer sworn. Jury retire and upon their return say they find the defendants guilty as charged.

On motion of United States attorney ordered sentence.  
Defendant Emma Goldman arraigned states to the court that she was born in Russia, town of Kovno, about 1869. Not married. Mother living in Rochester, N. Y.

Not a citizen of the United State by own application.  
Defendant Alexander Berkman arraigned and states to the court that he was born in Russia about 48 years ago, in St. Petersburg, single, parents dead, and that he is not a citizen of the United States.

Emma Goldman sentenced to be imprisoned for two years and to pay a fine of \$10,000, and to stand committed until fine be paid or she is otherwise discharged according to law.

Sentence to be executed in the Jefferson City Penitentiary, Jefferson City, Mo.

Alexander Berkman sentenced to be imprisoned for two years and to pay a fine of \$10,000, and to stand committed until fine be paid or he is otherwise discharged according to law. Sentence to be executed in the United States Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
Southern District of New York, ss:

I, Alexander Gilchrist, Jr., Clerk of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, do hereby certify that the writings annexed to this certificate, viz: Minutes of proceedings in court on July 9, 1917 in the case of United States of America v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, have been compared by me with the original minutes remaining of record in my office; that they are correct transcripts therefrom and of the whole of the said originals.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of the said court at the city of New York, in the Southern District of New York, this 1st day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 59

nine hundred and nineteen, and of the Independence of the said United States the one hundred and forty-fourth.

ALEX. GILCHRIST, JR.,  
Clerk.

[United States District Court, Southern District of New York (criminal branch). United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. Before Hon. Julius H. Mayer, J., and a jury. New York, July 9, 1917, 3 p. m.]

(Pedigree of defendant Emma Goldman, appearing at pages 812 and 813 of the official stenographic record of the trial.)

The CLERK. Miss Emma Goldman to the bar. Where were you born?  
Miss GOLDMAN. Russia.  
The CLERK. When?  
Miss GOLDMAN. 1869.  
The CLERK. Where, in Russia?  
Miss GOLDMAN. Town of Kovno.  
The CLERK. Are you married or single?  
Miss GOLDMAN. Single.  
The CLERK. Parents living?  
Miss GOLDMAN. Mother living.  
The CLERK. Where, may I ask?  
Miss GOLDMAN. Rochester, N. Y.  
The CLERK. Are you a citizen of the United States?  
Miss GOLDMAN. Not by my own application; from my father.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a correct and accurate transcript of that part or portion of the minutes of the proceedings which took place at the trial of the above-entitled case, and as appears at pages 812 and 813 of the official copy of the stenographic record containing the entire proceedings of the trial of the above-entitled case, as reported and transcribed under my supervision.

WM. J. FINERTY,  
Stenographer United States District Court  
for the Southern District of New York.

Dated, New York, October 1, 1919.

### EXHIBIT II.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
Western District of New York, ss:

I, Harris S. Williams, chief deputy clerk of the District Court of the United States for the Western District of New York, do hereby certify that I have compared the annexed copy of decree canceling certificate of naturalization with the original entered and on file in this office, and that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original.

And I further certify that I am the officer in whose custody it is required by law to be.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the said court to be affixed at the city of Buffalo, in said district, this 1st day of October, A. D. 1919.

[SEAL.]

HARRIS S. WILLIAMS,  
Chief Deputy Clerk.

[United States District Court, Western District of New York. The United States of America, complainant, v. Jacob A. Kersner, defendant. In equity.]

The above-entitled suit coming on regularly to be heard on default of the defendant before the court on the 8th day of April, 1909, and the court having heard the proofs of allegations on the part of the complainant and having heard the testimony of Abraham Kersner and Simon Goldstein, on due deliberation having made and filed its conclusions therein, whereby the court finds and decides as conclusion of law that the complainant, the United States of America, is entitled to judgment setting aside and annulling the citizenship of Jacob A. Kersner, and canceling the certificate of citizenship heretofore issued to Jacob A. Kersner, the said defendant, by the county court of Monroe County, on the

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Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161; 22 cm. In Senate Documents,  
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18th day of October, 1884, on the ground that the said citizenship and certificate of citizenship were illegally procured, and having ordered judgment accordingly; It is ordered, adjudged, and decreed that the citizenship in the United States, and the certificate of citizenship heretofore issued to Jacob A. Kersner, the defendant herein, by the county court of Monroe County, on the 18th day of October, 1884, be, and the same is hereby, set aside, annulled, and canceled on the ground that the said citizenship and certificate of citizenship were illegally procured, and the clerk of this court is hereby directed to transmit a certified copy of this order and judgment to the said county court of Monroe County, N. Y. Judgment signed this 8th day of April, 1909.

SIDNEY W. PETRIE,  
Clerk, United States District Court.

## EXHIBIT III.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
Western District of New York, ss:

I, Harris S. Williams, chief deputy clerk of the District Court of the United States for the Western District of New York, do hereby certify that I have compared the annexed copy of findings with the original entered and on file in this office, and that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original.

And I further certify that I am the officer in whose custody it is required by law to be.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the said court to be affixed at the city of Buffalo, in said district, this 1st day of October, A. D. 1919.

[SEAL.] HARRIS S. WILLIAMS,  
Chief Deputy Clerk.

[United States District Court, Western District of New York. United States of America, complainant, v. Jacob A. Kersner, defendant. In equity.]

The above-entitled suit having been commenced by the filing of a bill of complaint, notice of which was duly served by publication as required by law, as appears by the papers duly filed herein with proof of publication, and the defendant not having appeared and answered herein and being wholly in default, and the said suit being regularly reached for trial before the court on the 8th day of April, 1909, and the court having heard the proofs and allegations on the part of the complainant, the United States of America, and after hearing the testimony of Abraham Kersner and Simon Goldstein, for the complainant, and no one appearing for the defendant, and on due deliberation, the court finds and decides the following as:

## CONCLUSIONS OF FACT.

1. That the said Jacob A. Kersner, an alien and subject of the Czar of Russia, and formerly residing in Russia, Europe, was born in 1865; that he came to the United States for the first time in the summer of 1882.
2. That the said Jacob A. Kersner, the defendant, was naturalized and procured a certificate of naturalization declaring him to be a citizen of the United States from the county court of Monroe County, N. Y., a court duly authorized by law to naturalize aliens, on the 18th day of October, 1884. And as

## CONCLUSIONS OF LAW.

That the defendant Jacob A. Kersner was not at the time he was naturalized and procured said certificate of naturalization entitled thereto, and was not and is not entitled to admission as a citizen of the United States of America, and was not and is not a duly naturalized citizen of the United States of America, and that the complainant is entitled to a judgment setting aside the certificate of citizenship heretofore issued to the said Jacob A. Kersner by the county court of Monroe County, N. Y., on the 18th day of October, 1884, on the ground that said citizenship and certificate of citizenship were illegally procured.

Judgment is hereby ordered accordingly.

Dated April 8, 1909.

JOHN R. HAZEL,  
United States Judge.

## EXHIBIT IV.

[Court of General Sessions of the Peace of the City and County of New York. The People of the State of New York v. Emma Goldman.]

The grand jury of the city and county of New York, by this indictment, accuse Emma Goldman of a misdemeanor committed as follows:

The said Emma Goldman, late of the city of New York, in the county of New York aforesaid, on the 21st day of August in the year of our Lord 1893, at the city and county aforesaid, being an evil disposed and pernicious person, and of the most wicked and turbulent disposition together with divers other evil disposed and pernicious persons to the number of five hundred and upwards, unlawfully, wickedly, maliciously intending and contriving to disturb the public peace, and to excite discontent and disaffection, and to excite the good citizens of our said State and of the United States to hatred and contempt of the Government and Constitution of this State and of the United States and to raise and make insurrections, riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies within this State and throughout the United States and to obstruct and subvert the laws of the Government thereof, and to oppose and prevent their execution with force and arms, did unlawfully, wickedly, turbulently, and maliciously assemble and gather together; and being so then and there assembled and gathered together as aforesaid, the said Emma Goldman, and the said other evil disposed and pernicious persons, did then and there unlawfully, wickedly, turbulently, and maliciously threaten to raise insurrections and riots and unlawful assemblies in our said State and throughout the United States, and to kill and murder divers of the good citizens of the United States, and to commit larcenies, robberies, burglaries, and other offenses in this State and in the United States and to obstruct the laws and government thereof and of this State, and to oppose and to prevent their due execution, and to procure and obtain arms, ammunition, weapons, and the means wherewith to execute and consummate their said most wicked and unlawful threats; against the form of the statute in such case made and provided and against the peace of the people of the State of New York and their dignity.

DE LANCEY NICOLL,  
District Attorney.

## EXHIBIT V.

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
County of Erie, City of Buffalo, ss:

Clara M. Ragan being duly sworn deposes and says: That she is a stenographer in the office of the bureau of investigation, department of justice at Buffalo, N. Y.; that on October 3, 1919, in the office of the district attorney for the county of Erie, that she did make and transcribe a true and correct copy of statements hereto attached; that said statement is now bound with other statements, in volume marked, "Statements People v. Leon F. Czolgosz, volume 1, T. Penney, district attorney," which is now on file in said district attorney's office in Erie County, and forms part of the records of said office.

CLARA M. RAGAN.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of October, 1919.

[SEAL.]

GEO. E. CADY, Notary Public.

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
County of Erie, City of Buffalo, ss:

M. J. O'Loughlin being duly sworn deposes and says that he is now a detective sergeant in the city of Buffalo, and resides at 318 East Utica Street; that prior to and during the month of September, 1901, he was a detective sergeant in the police department of the city of Buffalo; that on or about the 6th day of September, 1901, he was present when Leon F. Czolgosz, the man who shot President McKinley, made a statement to him and to Frank H. Haggerty and John Martin, and signed a written statement of which the

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice [excerpt] / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161; 22 cm. In Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919).

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unacted is a part, and that Czolgosz made these statements in his presence, and signed same in his presence.

MATTHEW J. O'LOUGHLIN.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of October, 1919.

LOUISE FRANCES SMITH, Notary Public.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1901.

Fred Nieman says he has been in Buffalo a week to-morrow, September 7, 1901. I came from Cleveland, Ohio; been in Cleveland three or four years. Father used to live in Cleveland. Don't know where he is now. I am a blacksmith's helper by occupation and worked. I did not work in Buffalo. Lived on Broadway, No. 1025, room No. 8, I think. Saloon conducted there by a man whose name I don't know. I am 28 years old. I first thought of shooting President McKinley this morning. I was in exposition grounds yesterday afternoon. I did not try to see President then and don't know if I did see him or not. I stayed at grounds yesterday until about 6 o'clock. After that I went home to Broadway and to my room. After that I walked around town. I was born in Detroit, Mich. I lived on Fleet Street in Cleveland, Ohio. I think No. 99, near Ackley Street. I was living with myself.

In Detroit I used to live near Polish Catholic Church. It is so long ago I can't remember the street. It is over 20 years since I was in Detroit. Don't remember church. In Buffalo I lived on Broadway, opposite side of the street from Broadway. Market further out Broadway than the market. It is on the other side of Fillmore Avenue. I went out to exposition to-day, September 6, 1901, alone. I was out alone yesterday. I did not shake hands with my right hand with the President. I know the President was shaking hands with the people when I shot him. I am not left-handed. I did not shake hands with him at all. I don't remember if I put out my left hand to him. After coming from exposition yesterday I went home first, and then I went to a small square down town. There was a monument in it and grass and seats in it. I did not sit down. I went alongside of the square. It was late at night. I left exposition at 6 o'clock. I did not go home at once. I took car down town. Left exposition somewhere between 5 and 6. I got off the car near the monument. I stayed around monument 5 or 10 minutes. Walked then around town. I went in some barrooms; met a crowd of fellows; don't know their names. Walked around till 10 o'clock, then went home, reaching home close to 11 o'clock. I did not go out again. It is third building from the corner of the cross street on Broadway going out. I want a clean shirt. I do not see why they dirtied this one. I have some clothes in my room at Broadway. I spoke to my landlord on Broadway in English. I can speak Polish. My father was a Pole. My father's name was Paul. I think it is a good many weeks since I saw him. I was not drunk since I have been in Buffalo. I have got shoes and clothes in my room. I think Hotel Tupper is John Novak. My name is F. Czolgosz. I got off the car on Broadway when I came here and asked for lodgings. Never was in Buffalo before this year. I was in Buffalo about year ago. Stayed here two, three, or four nights. Came for fun, boarded that time down town. I did not know where I was going when I came this time. I got off at market house and asked for lodgings and was told to go there. I had a letter to him. He would have to destroy the letter. I had a letter to the Noble Chief of the Knights of the Golden Eagle Order, and he would have to destroy the letter. It was the order. I got that letter at the post office in Buffalo on the 27th or 28th of August, 1901, at —. I thought letter was dated August 23. The letter stated I was good in any lodge. The letter also said that the noble chief should destroy the letter. I had it in my pocket, and they took it away from me. The Knights of the Golden Eagle is the same as any other order.

I saw Emma Goldman. She writes for newspapers in Chicago, I think. I don't know for sure. I read the "Free Society" published in Chicago. I have been reading that for a long time. It is the anarchist paper published at Chicago. I have been reading it a good many months. It is published at 515 Carroll Street, Chicago. The editor is A. or A. J. Ezziak (Ezliak). Emma Goldman and a lot of men wrote articles for this paper. I used to get this paper at the same hall in Cleveland I have spoken of. This is No. 170 either Ontario or Superior Street. I heard Mrs. Bedford talk at the Cleveland hall. She lives out in the direction of Bedford, south of Cleveland, about 10 miles from Cleve-

land on trolley line. She made speeches on "free love." I believe in "free love." "Free love" means men and women living together without being married. Saw Mrs. Bedford three or four times. I knew a man named Baileu. I don't know where he lives. I knew a saloon keeper who belonged to the club. His place was on Tod Street near Fleet. His name was Mandrak, about four blocks from where I lived. This man did not belong to the club. My former statement that he did was a mistake. When I went to Chicago I went on passenger train and bought ticket on Lake Shore. I paid \$11.50 to come from Chicago to Buffalo. I got to Buffalo in the morning. It was on last Saturday. I walked to Broadway and took a car. I inquired for lodgings in saloons near Broadway market. Never knew any anarchist club in Buffalo. The last thing I worked at was in wire mill in Newburg, suburb of Cleveland, run by W. L. Hayes. I think it was in 1897 or 1898. In 1898, I think. Worked there good many years—about five or six years. I quit in 1899. I worked in the country as cook or anything that came along. Wire mill was last steady employment. I worked for farmer in Orange, Ohio, about 14 or 15 miles from Cleveland.

When I left Cleveland I went to Chicago. I stopped different places. I came from Chicago on the train direct, had a railroad ticket on passenger train. I worked for the money and had money myself. In Chicago I did not work. I stayed hotel Chicago two or three days. I saw boarding house advertised in paper. I read Polish papers. I said to the officer, I done my duty in shooting the President. I was working under my own instructions. I shot the President because I wanted to do it. I came here from Chicago. I saw it in the papers in Chicago that the President was to be here.

I have not worked as blacksmith's helper in about three or four years. I did not belong to any labor union. I came here from Chicago not purposely to shoot the President. I made my plans for shooting the President this morning. I saw President in the grounds yesterday in the afternoon. I am a citizen. I voted once about seven years ago. It was in 1894 when I was 21. I voted in Cleveland. I don't vote and have not voted since. I don't believe in voting. I have read paper books and pamphlets on the subject of voting. I don't believe in voting. It is my principle that I should not vote. I know others that don't believe in voting. They meet at hall in Cleveland on either Ontario or Superior street. They met on Sunday afternoon. It is called some kind of a club. They had some officer—forgot his name. One woman whom I saw at the Cleveland Club was Emma Goldman from Chicago. She talked about Government. She said she don't believe in voting and don't believe in Government. Said all Government was tyranny. She said she believed in anarchy. I am an anarchist. Anarchy, as I understand it, means self-government. That time in Cleveland was the only time I was on my father's farm. I worked for him on the farm two years—winter and summer. I have brothers and sisters older and younger than I. Some live with him. I had a quarrel with my father and stepmother. I didn't just quarrel with them. I didn't like their style and I left and went to Cleveland a few weeks. I did not work during time I was in Cleveland after I left farm. I was in this anarchist hall before I went to farm. My father was not an anarchist so far as I know. After I was in Cleveland that time I went to Chicago. I stopped at different places. I stopped at Fort Sheridan one night to rest, and then went to Chicago. I stopped Chicago three or four nights, and then came to Buffalo direct. I did not go to see anyone in Chicago. Got no money from father when I left farming or from anybody else. I have not worked at anything since I left farm.

The picture shown me is myself. It was taken in Cleveland. I had them taken when I was working on farm for my father, some seven or eight months ago, probably a year ago. I came to Cleveland often when I was on the farm, and stayed two or three days, and sometimes attended the anarchist meetings and I use to go there and get these papers that I spoke of.

I had the money to go to Chicago. I saved it when I worked in the mill \$300 or \$400, some I had in Stafford Savings Bank in Cleveland. I drew it out in 1894 and 1896 and carried it in my pocket and gave some to my father. He did not give it back.

Judson Davis in Cleveland belonged to the Golden Eagles. I belonged Forest City Castle in Cleveland. His address is 2270 Spafford street, Cleveland, Ohio. I know this box. Paid \$4.50 for the gun that was in it, this week some day in Buffalo here. I could not say what street. I think it was a big gun store day before yesterday. I think it was Thursday. I bought it before I went to Pan-American. I went to Exposition yesterday afternoon. The gun was in my room yesterday. They had rifles in the store window where I

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## 64 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

bought gun. I bought five cartridges, 32-caliber. I loaded the gun in my room yesterday in the evening and left in my room put it in my pocket loaded this morning. Left house 9 o'clock. I went to Niagara Falls. I didn't see President. Came back on street car. I went to Falls on trolley car. Went alone. I tried to find President there. I did not intend to shoot him there. I did not see anyone I knew. I owned a gun before. Somebody swiped it on me. I never was arrested before. I gave my father over \$100 of the money.

(Rest of statement missing.)

Witness:

FRANK HAGGERTY,  
M. J. O'LAUGHLIN,  
JOHN MARTIN.

### EXHIBIT VI.

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
County of Erie, City of Buffalo, ss:

Horace E. Story, being duly sworn, deposes and says that during the year 1901, and for some years prior thereto and some years thereafter, he was a grand jury stenographer in the district attorney's office of Erie County, and in addition to reporting the proceedings before the grand juries also took statements when required to do so in criminal cases; that on September 6, 1901, beginning at 10.20 p. m., he took a statement at police headquarters, in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., made by Leon F. Czolgosz, who was charged with shooting President McKinley; that said statement was subsequently transcribed by said Story, and is now bound with other statements taken in the same matter in volume marked "Statements People v. Leon F. Czolgosz, volume 1, T. Penney, district attorney," which is now on file in said district attorney's office of Erie County, and forms part of the records of said office; that said statement of the said Czolgosz was correctly taken and correctly transcribed by the said Story.

HORACE E. STORY.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of October, 1919.

GEORGE A. ECKHART,  
Commissioner of Deeds in and for the City of Buffalo, N. Y.

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
County of Erie, City of Buffalo, ss:

Clara M. Ragan, being duly sworn, deposes and says that she is a stenographer in the office of the bureau of investigation, department of justice, Buffalo, N. Y.; that on October 3, 1919, in the office of the district attorney for the county of Erie, that she did make and transcribe a true and correct copy of statements hereto attached and referred to in the attached affidavit of Horace E. Story; that said statement is now bound with other statements taken in the same manner in volume marked "Statements People v. Leon F. Czolgosz, volume 1, T. Penney, district attorney," which is now on file in said district attorney's office in Erie County, and forms part of the records of said office.

CLARA M. RAGAN.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of October, 1919.

[SEAL.] GEO. E. CADY, Notary Public.

STATEMENT OF LEON F. CZOLGOSZ, TAKEN AT POLICE HEADQUARTERS, 10.30 P. M., SEPTEMBER 6, 1901, BY MR. PENNEY.

The following parties present all or part of time statement was being taken: Mr. Cusack, Supt. Bull. Inspector Donovan, Inspector Martin, Dr. Fowler, Mr. Quackenbush, O'Loughlin, H. Q.

Mr. PENNEY. Is your face sore?

CZOLGOSZ. Where they punched me.

Dr. FOWLER. Let me see your tongue.

(Prisoner does so.)

Mr. PENNEY. Open your eyes.

Dr. FOWLER. Your head ache any?

CZOLGOSZ. Not at all.

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 65

Q. Are you subject to headache? Have headache much?—A. Sometimes.  
Q. Not lately?—A. No.  
Mr. PENNEY. Been feeling well lately?—A. Kind of tired.  
Q. How long have you been feeling tired?—A. Since they—  
Q. Since those fellows punched you?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. You were not tired before, you have not worked to-day?—A. No, sir.  
Q. Have you any trade, Fred?—A. Blacksmith's helper; blacksmith shop.  
Q. Did you ever work in Buffalo?—A. No, sir.  
Q. Ever been here before?—A. Before.  
Q. How long ago?—A. Probably about a year ago; somewhere around there.  
Q. How long did you stay that time?—A. I stayed here for three or four nights, I think.  
Q. Any relatives here?—A. No, sir.  
Q. You have got some friends?—A. No, sir.  
Q. What did you come here for that time?—A. Just to see the Falls.  
Q. Where were you living at that time?—A. Cleveland.  
Q. Is that your home, Cleveland?—A. Yes, sir; it is my home.  
Q. Have you any relatives there?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Who are they?—A. My father and stepmother.  
Q. Have you got any brothers and sisters?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. How many?—A. Six or seven brothers; and two sisters.  
Q. Are they older than you?—A. Some is older, and some is younger.  
Q. You live at home, when you are in Cleveland? Do you?—A. Yes; some of them live at home.  
Q. Do you live with your father and mother?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Are you married?—A. No, sir.  
Q. You have had a gun before, haven't you, Fred?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. What did you do with that?  
O'LOUGHLIN. Tell him; you said it was swiped on you.  
CZOLGOSZ. It was swiped on me.  
Mr. PENNEY. When?—A. A couple or three weeks ago.  
Q. What did you come to Buffalo this time for?—A. To strike something to do.  
Q. Come here to get work?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Did you go to school in Cleveland?—A. (Not heard.)  
Q. You were born in Detroit?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. What nationality were your parents?—A. (Not heard.)  
Q. Have you ever read any of the works of Prince Kapartkin?—A. Yes, sir; some of them.  
Q. You know what he writes about, do you know his theory of government; do you know what that means, Fred? Do you understand me? Is there anything the matter with your head?—A. No, sir.  
Q. Why don't you hold it up, so I can see; lean back in your chair, throw your head back, and open your eyes if you are not too tired? You say you have read some of Prince Kapartkin's writing? Keep your head up so I can see your face?—A. Not very much.  
Q. You don't believe in the republican form of government; do you?—A. No, sir.  
Q. You don't believe we should have any rulers?—A. No, sir.  
Q. You believe it is right to kill them; if necessary, don't you?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Was that your notion, when you shot the man to-day?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Was it for that reason?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. You went there with the intention of killing him, didn't you?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. How long had you been planning that?—A. Oh, for a couple—about two or three or four days ago.  
Q. Three or four days ago; days or weeks?—A. Days.  
Q. What first put it into your head to do that? Look up and tell me about that, will you? Was it after you came to Buffalo you made up your mind to do that?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Did you talk it over with anyone, or was it something you had read that suggested it to you, or something else?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Something you had read? Was it? Look up, Fred, give your answer. Was it some book you read that suggested the idea to you?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. What had you been reading that suggested that to you?—A. That paper.  
Q. What particular thing was it that suggested your killing the President? Did you believe it would be a good thing to get rid of him; good thing for the country?—A. Yes, sir.

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66 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Q. Did you tell the people down there where you have been rooming that you intended to use that gun that you had bought?—A. No, sir.  
Q. How was it you had the gun when you went in there this afternoon?—A. In my right hand.  
Q. Your handkerchief over it?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Just take your handkerchief and show me how you had it there?  
Witness indicates covering left hand with handkerchief.  
Q. Describe it? Hold it up about the way you had it on your hand there?  
Witness does as directed.  
Q. It was not hanging down over the slides that way?—A. Yes, sir; I had it fixed up this way.  
Q. Was the gun inside the handkerchief or did you have the gun in your hand and the handkerchief over your hand?—A. The handkerchief was over the gun.  
Q. Did you hold the gun outside the handkerchief?—A. No, sir.  
Q. You had hold of the gun, and the handkerchief over your hand and the gun?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Did you have it that way when you started in the line to go up toward the President?—A. No, sir.  
Q. Where did you fix it?—A. In the row.  
Q. While you were going up with the crowd?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. What pocket did you carry the gun in when you took it out in your hand? In your coat pocket or hip pocket?—A. Hip pocket.  
Q. As you were going up in the crowd, you took it out and fixed your handkerchief over it?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Did you say anything to the President before you shot him?—A. No, sir.  
Q. Did he shake hands with you?—A. No, sir.  
Q. He put out his hand to shake hands?—A. I don't think he did.  
Q. You were close to him?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. When you shot you fully intended to kill him; that was your intention when you started out; you thought it would be a good thing to get rid of him as President, didn't you? What do you say, Fred?  
Inspector MARTIN. Leo.  
Mr. PENNEY. What do you say, Leo? That is right?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. You fully intended to kill him when you shot? Answer the question. Yes, you say?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. And you have been intending to kill him for the last three days? That has been your plan?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. You followed him down to the Falls to-day for that purpose?—A. No, sir.  
Q. You were down to the Falls?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. You had your gun with you?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. And if you had the right opportunity, you would have shot him then?—A. No, I don't think I would.  
Q. Had you planned to shoot him this afternoon in the Temple of Music?—A. Yes.  
Q. That has been your plan, from the beginning?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Did you read the program in the newspapers?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. You knew he was going to be there, and have a public reception?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Do you belong to any societies?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. What kind of societies do you belong to?—A. Knights of the Golden Eagle.  
Q. Any other society?—A. No, sir.  
Q. What do the Knights of the Golden Eagle believe in, so far as government is concerned?—A. Nothing to do with government.  
Q. Fraternal organization?—A. Lodges.  
Q. Social?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Do you belong to any club, number of men, you gather together, and talk over these principles of government?—A. No, sir.  
Q. Haven't you ever met with men and talked that over?—A. Yes, sir; but I didn't belong to any society.  
Q. Have you ever taken any obligation or sworn any oath to kill anybody; you have, haven't you; look up and speak; haven't you done that?—A. No, sir.  
Q. But you have, haven't you, taken some obligation upon yourself, or taken some oath, that you would kill the President, have you?—A. No, sir.  
Q. What did she say?—A. She didn't like them.

INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 67

Q. Anything else did she say?—A. She said a good deal more, but I can't remember all.  
Q. You got the idea that she thought it would be a good idea if we didn't have this form of government?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. You wanted to help on in her work, and thought this was the best way to do it; was that your idea; or if you have any other idea, tell us what it was?—A. She didn't tell me to do it.  
Q. You thought it would be a nice thing; she would like to have you do it?—A. I didn't ask her whether she would or not.  
Q. You think she would approve of it?—A. Maybe she would.  
Q. You believed it was the proper thing to do; didn't you?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. Does your parents and your brothers and sisters believe the same way you do about these things?—A. I don't think so.  
Q. Did you ever talk with them about it?—A. No, sir.  
Q. How much did you pay for your gun?—A. \$4.50; I paid something like that.  
Q. When you bought that, you intended to use it on the President; didn't you; what do you say, Leo?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. That is what you came to Buffalo for?—A. To see if I could find something to do.  
Q. Was not one of your objects to shoot the President?—A. No, sir.  
Q. Not until you came out here?—A. Until three or four days ago.  
Q. What was it that suggested it to you three or four days ago? Can you remember?—A. No, sir.  
Q. Can't you give us some idea what first put it into your mind? Can you? What was the first thing that put this into your mind, you must have had some beginning about it; something must have started it in your mind?—A. I didn't believe in any government.  
Q. You don't believe in any rulers; you have not believed in that for a long time?—A. No, sir.  
Q. What was this that first put this into your mind; have you been reading something since you came to Buffalo that suggested it to you, had you? Speak up, Leo?—A. I read some of the papers.  
Q. What did you read?—A. I read something in the papers; I can't just remember what it was.  
Mr. O'LOUGHLIN. What was the name of the papers you were reading?—A. Free Society papers.  
(Superintendent Bull and Mr. Haller came in; also Detective Geary.)  
By Mr. PENNEY. Leo, will you draw up here a little closer, and I will read this statement to you slowly?  
(Mr. Penney reads statement taken by Mr. Haller.)  
Q. You said you thought of shooting President McKinley three days ago; you said you first thought of it three or four days ago—you planned to kill McKinley; is that right?—A. Yes, sir.  
Q. And you intended to do that all the time when you bought the revolver, and you intended to kill him when you fired it off; that is true, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.  
(Mr. Penney continues reading.)  
Q. "I walked around town"—A. I didn't go home after 6.  
Q. "I was living with myself?"—A. Yes; my folks live there.  
(Mr. Penney continues reading.)  
Q. You didn't work here at all?—A. No, sir.  
(Mr. Penney continues reading.)  
Q. Stayed around—A. He repented that twice.  
(Mr. Penney continues reading.)  
Q. "Renchlug home about 11 o'clock."—A. About half past 10 or 11 o'clock.  
(Mr. Penney continues reading.)  
Q. "I want a clean shirt."—A. Yes; they told me I should—  
(Mr. Penney continues reading.)  
Q. "It is a good many weeks since I saw him."—A. It is.  
(Mr. Penney continues reading.)  
Q. My name is Leon F. How do you pronounce last name?—A. Czolgos.  
(Mr. Penney continues reading.)  
Q. "Never was in Buffalo before this year."—A. That is wrong.  
By Mr. HALLER. That is changed.  
(Mr. Penney continues reading.)  
Q. I had a letter to him. Had you ever met Nowak?—A. No, sir.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice [excerpt] / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161; 22 cm. In Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919).  
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Q. What did you mean by that?—A. I had a letter from the lodge—to which I belong—Knights of the Golden Eagle, written to the Noble Chief; I think it was from the Noble Chief, notifying Noble Chief—

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I said to the officer I done my duty in shooting the President." Did you say that to the officer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Which one?—A. The one that brought me down.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I saw it in the papers in Chicago that the President was to be here." That is right?—A. Yes, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I made my plans for shooting the President this morning."—A. That is a mistake; that should be three or four days ago.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I don't believe in voting." Is that your idea?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You don't believe in the present form of government; is that the idea?—A. Yes, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

(Mr. Haggerty makes correction in written statement of prisoner; about place, "it is my principle; I don't believe in voting.")

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I am an anarchist." Is that right?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. PENNEY to Haggerty. Put in the words, "Am an anarchist."

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "About 10 miles from Cleveland on trolley line." You are watching this, are you? If there is not anything right about this, call my attention to this.—A. I don't know where she lives.

Q. I mean any of the substance of this that is not right.—A. That is not right; she lives 10 miles—village of Bedford.

Q. "I heard her talk in Bedford, Cleveland."—A. Whether she lives on the trolley line or in the village of Bedford, I don't know.

Q. It is in that direction?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. PENNEY. You better make that she lives out in the direction of Bedford, south of Cleveland; that is what you mean to say?—A. Yes, sir.

(Haggerty makes corrections as noted above.)

Q. "I believe in free love." That is true?—A. Yes, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I know a saloon keeper that belongs to the club."—A. They asked if I knew the saloon keepers in Cleveland; I told them I knew that fellow; he belonged to that club.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "This man did not belong to the club; my former statement that he did was not correct." That is true? That corrects that?—A. Yes, sir.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I didn't like their style."—A. That quarrel wants to be crossed off.

Q. "I had a quarrel with my father and stepmother"; do you want that, I didn't just quarrel with them?—A. I want—

Q. What you want to leave in there is—A. I didn't like their style, and left.

Q. That is the way you want that sentence to begin?—A. Yes.

Q. I will strike out, "I had a quarrel with my father and stepmother; I didn't just quarrel with them." I will strike it out down to there; how it reads, "I didn't like their style?"—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "And I left and went to Cleveland," etc.

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "After I left farm, I was in the anarchist hall."

(Correction made by Haggerty.)

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I had the money to go there; I saved it when I was in the mill; \$300 or \$400." Is that right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Read down here with me.

(Prisoner does as directed.)

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "I gave some to my father."—A. It says there I gave him \$300 or \$400.

Q. No; it says you saved \$300 or \$400; I will read it to you again.

(Does so.)

(Mr. Penney continues reading.)

Q. "The gun was in my room yesterday." Is that right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I went right in when he came."—A. When I went, he was in already.

Q. When you got to the building, the president was already there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you mean to say that the president got there before you did?—A. The president got in there before I did.

Q. Didn't you tell me a little while ago that you waited for him; that you got there about an hour before the president came?—A. On the ground, but I was not in the building.

Q. Did you get into the building before the president?—A. After.

Q. What you mean was that you got into the grounds before the President came?—A. It says that I was by the building.

Q. What you mean to say is that you got in on the grounds before the President came?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you didn't go into the building where the President was until after he was in there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I went right in when he came."—A. He was in there when I came.

Q. Did you see him go in?—A. They told me he was in.

Q. Did you see the President go in?—A. No, sir.

Q. "I wrapped gun in my handkerchief at boarding house." I thought you said you wrapped it in the building?—A. I could not carry it that way right along. I wrapped it up, and when I got to the building I pulled my handkerchief out.

Q. When you got into the building the gun was in your pocket?—A. It was in my hand.

Q. Not when you went in?—A. Not when I went in; but when I went in a little ways.

Q. But when you went in it was in your pocket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was the handkerchief around it?—A. Yes, sir; it was around; I believe I had two handkerchiefs if I am not mistaken.

Q. How did you fix it up; you fixed it up after you got into the building?—A. I had it fixed up; I stuck the hand under the revolver.

Q. "I didn't think one shot was enough."—A. When I shot twice, I was knocked down; that is what I wanted to say.

Q. "Tramped on and the gun taken away from you?"—A. Yes, sir; that is right; I got hit with a billy; some of the officers hit me twice over the head.

Q. If you had not been knocked down, would you have fired off more?—A. I don't know.

Q. That was your intention?—A. I don't know if I would fire any more shots or not.

Q. You planned three or four days ago to shoot the President?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And when you shot him you intended to kill him? That is what you told me a little while ago; that is right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the reason for your intention to kill him was that you didn't believe in having rulers over us, or having presidents?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't believe in our form of Government?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You fully understood what you were about?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You understood that you were taking the life of a person; that you were willing to do that; you understood that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you were willing to sacrifice his life to benefit the country?—A. Yes, sir.

(Detective Solomon present.)

Q. You were willing to sacrifice yourself to benefit the country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You realize that you are putting yourself in a serious position to do that, you fully understood that it was quite an undertaking?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Few men would have the courage to do anything of that kind?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You knew that, you felt that you had more courage than the average man to do a thing of that kind; that you were willing to take all of the responsibility?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Even though it might put your own life at stake? You were willing to take that chance, weren't you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had in these halls or clubs or meetings, you heard people talk about the duty of people who believe as you do, to—in these meetings you used to attend in Cleveland, you heard about the people, men and women, talk about the duty they were under to do great deeds for the benefit of the people?—A. And do you mean?

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70 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Q. For instance, like yourself, it was your duty?—A. I never heard them say that.

Q. Didn't you ever swear an oath?—A. No, sir.

Q. That you would take the life of any ruler, such as president?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have heard them talk about their duty to educate the people to this form of government?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And to do everything in their power to change the form of government; you have heard them say that, haven't you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You wanted to have it clear in here that what you meant to say in the former part of this statement was that you were on the grounds about an hour before the President arrived this afternoon?—A. Yes, sir; I was on the grounds.

Q. And that you didn't enter the Temple of Music, the building where the shooting occurred, until after the President went in; that is what you meant to say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Everything that I have read to you in these papers is absolutely true, isn't it?—A. Yes; but there is somewhere in the start, where you commenced to read, you said you would change it after a while.

Q. It was corrected later on; for instance, in the beginning of it, a statement is made, but as you did here, you say, I didn't mean to say that, but I meant to say this; so that the whole thing is explained; you understand that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You can read, yourself?—A. I can't read to-night.

Q. If that is right, just write your name there; right under there; put your handkerchief down, and write on that line in there; sign your name in there; sign your right name.

Prisoner does as requested.

Q. I will tell you what I would like to have you do. You can write pretty well; just take the pen there; the other hand; start up there on the line and say, write what you intended to do, and what you did do, in the Temple, this afternoon; start in: I arrived at the—A. Didn't I tell you I was—

Q. Write it yourself; so you will have it in the way you wanted to put it yourself.—A. I signed that paper there; it is in there.

Q. I understand it is in there; if you want to put it in your own way?—A. Didn't you have it there? I will put it in my own way; I said it, and I signed it. Isn't it just as good?

Mr. QUACKENBUSH. I thought he might want to have a statement published to the world showing what his views were.

Mr. PENNEY. Did you hear what that gentleman said? He said that perhaps you would want to write something that you would want the people to hear. You have done this great deed for their benefit; you want to say something to them that you have done this great deed, this courageous deed for their benefit; write something there that can be published in the newspapers. This won't be published. They won't publish anything unless you write it yourself. Write anything that you want to.—A. I don't want—

Q. You only need write a few words, simply telling the people that you intended to kill President McKinley and shot him because you believed you were doing your duty to the people. Is that your idea?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Take your pen and write that.—A. The reporter will write that.

Q. They won't publish it unless it is your writing.—A. I will sign it; he can put it on, and I will sign it. I don't see why, if he writes it; I will sign it. Q. It will only be two or three lines.

O'LOUGHLIN. Go ahead.—A. Can't the reporter write it over there?

Mr. PENNEY. No; we can not take his writing. Write whatever you please up there about what you did; get at it.—A. I could not. Could not the reporter write it, and I will sign it, just as good?

Mr. QUACKENBUSH. He might make a statement to the reporter in his own words.

Mr. PENNEY. All right; make it. Make your own statement to this man, so he will write it out.

(Haggerty writes at prisoner's dictation.)

"I killed President McKinley because"—

(Prisoner hesitates, and then)—

"Put on there that I killed President McKinley because I done my duty."

Mr. QUACKENBUSH. Do you want to say anything else to the people?—A. I don't believe one man should have so much service and another man should have none.

INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 71

(Detective Holmlund present, also Donovan.)

Mr. PENNEY. Do you know a man by the name of Vallette here, a shoemaker?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know a shoemaker in Buffalo?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have got some friends that you have been with since you have been here; been on the street talking with?—A. I have no friends.

Q. Acquaintances you have been walking around with?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't know a shoemaker by the name of Vallette?—A. No, sir.

Detective Solomon present.

(Prisoner puts date on last statement; writes his name.)

Mr. PENNEY. Put the year down; what is the year?

(Prisoner writes same in.)

Q. Now write your name. I suppose you planned this all out for two or three days; been thinking it over?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You knew there would be a big crowd there when the President would be around?—A. I didn't know.

Q. You thought there would be? Had an idea there would be a big crowd at the reception?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it your idea that you could in the confusion get away, after you had shot him?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did you intend to do, after you had shot him; what was your intention then? What did you expect to happen after you shot him?—A. I expected after I shot him that I would be caught at it.

Q. You expected to be arrested?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't you expect to get away in the crowd?—A. No, sir.

Q. You didn't intend to do that?—A. No, sir.

Q. Didn't you intend to try to get away?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were willing to sacrifice yourself to get rid of the President; was that the idea?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Fully realizing the consequences; did you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You realized that you might be electrocuted or hung for it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were willing to take that chance?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. QUACKENBUSH:

Q. You are not sorry now, are you?

By Mr. PENNEY:

Q. You are not sorry that you killed him now, are you, you are still willing to suffer for what you have done, aren't you? It is a great thing that you have done, people all over the country will be talking about it; you are willing to take that for the glory it will give you; speak up; aren't you?—A. What?

Q. You are willing to take the chance and consequences of what you have done; you are not sorry you did it, are you? You would do it over again, would you not?—A. I don't know whether I would or not.

Q. You are not sorry you did it, are you; just think what all your people will say of you up there in Cleveland in those meetings; the great savior of the country, don't you know that?

(Haggerty reads it:) "I was willing to take the chance of being hung if I killed the President; I was willing to take the consequences."

Mr. PENNEY. You realized what it meant, and you are willing to take the consequences, if you could accomplish your purpose?—A. Read it over.

(Haggerty reads:) "I planned this all out for two or three days; I had an idea there would be a big crowd at the reception; I expected I would be arrested; I did not intend to get away. I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung if I could kill the President; I am willing to take the consequences; I realize what it meant." Is that right?

Mr. PENNEY. That is correct?—A. Read it again.

Q. "I planned it all out for two or three days." That is right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I had an idea there would be a big crowd at the reception."—A. Yes, sir; that is right.

Q. "I was willing to take the chance"—A. No; only before that; I don't want any further than that.

Q. "I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung." You said you were?—A. No, sir; I want that changed. Just up to that.

Q. Up to where? If I could kill the President; you knew that when you shot him.—A. I just want to have—

Q. You knew that when you shot him that you would be arrested. You say that?—A. Yes, sir.

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Q. And you knew if you killed a man that you would be hung or electrocuted? You knew that was the penalty, didn't you; didn't you know that? You knew that the laws of this country provide if he kills another he is to suffer death. Didn't you know that? That is right, isn't it?—A. I would not want to have it in this—

Q. Well, I want to know whether that is true or not?—A. Up to here it is true.

Q. I want to know whether this part is true, "I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung." Were you willing to take that chance? You must have realized that was the consequence, if that was so then you did take the chance, didn't you? You understand that without meditating on it so long.—A. I don't want it that way.

Q. It is not a question whether it is what you want; it is a question whether it was right.—A. I knew—

Q. You knew if you killed a man you would be hung or electrocuted, didn't you? You know that is the law of this country, don't you? Speak, you know whether that is so or not?—A. I know the law does that—

Q. You knew if you killed a man you would have to suffer the penalty of the law, isn't that so?—A. Yes; have to suffer the penalty of the law.

Q. When you shot the man you knew you were taking that chance, didn't you; isn't that right, come now, speak up, isn't that correct? All I want to know is whether that is a true statement?—A. Some of it is true.

Q. Isn't it all true; didn't you when you shot this man take the chance of being electrocuted and hung, and didn't you know when you shot him that you were taking that chance?

Mr. O'LOUGHLIN. Somebody told you that you would not? (Mr. Penney leaves room; Detective Henafelt present; Detective Ireland, Secret Service, enters.)

Q. What do you say about that now?—A. Isn't that correct? Mr. PENNEY. Let me read this to you again. You say that "I planned this for two or three days." That is correct?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I had an idea that there would be a big crowd at the reception." That is correct, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I expected I would be arrested." That is correct?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "I did not intend to get away." That is correct?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have already said it is, is it right? "I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung." Is that right; you knew that you took that chance, didn't you? Say yes or no; you knew when you shot the President you were taking that chance? Speak up.—A. What is that?

Q. "I was willing to take the chance of being electrocuted or hung if I could kill the President." Is that right? Is it correct? You intended to kill the President?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You fully intended to when you shot him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And for all you know he is dead; you intended to kill him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are willing to take the consequences of your act, aren't you? How will that suit you, "I am willing to take the consequences of what I did"? Will that suit you? Do you want this last part, "I am willing to take the consequences"?—A. I want it struck out up to there. How far do you read?

Q. From there down?—A. I want this from here to here. (Prisoner indicates.)

Q. You want him to state on there that it is true, but you rather not have it in the statement?—A. No, sir. I want to have that out.

Q. That is true, isn't it? What do you say?

Mr. O'LOUGHLIN. Yes or no?—A. No, sir.

Mr. PENNEY. You don't mean to say that you didn't intend to kill the President?—A. Yes, I did.

Q. Well, put it your own way; I would like to have the last four lines stricken out.—A. No; I don't want to have that that way, at all—

Q. I was going to say that you wanted the last four lines stricken out?—A. No—

Q. You just want to have it stricken out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All right; strike it out.

(Haggerty does it.)

Mr. PENNEY. Sign it.—A. Read it.

Q. "I planned this all out for two or three days; I had an idea that there would be a big crowd at the reception; I expected I would be arrested. I did

not intend to get away." Sign on that line.—A. I would like to have fair trial put on there, too.

Q. You will get a fair trial, all right; write it there yourself, I would like to have a fair trial, and sign it.

(Prisoner writes, and partially strikes out portion.)

Mr. QUACKENBUSH. Where did you get the name Fred Nieman? Did your boss give it to you?

Detective HOLMLUND. Nieman is your English name; didn't you bring a recommendation from Mrs. Nowak's friends in Cleveland? Didn't they give you a writing to Mrs. Nowak?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They took you in and gave you a room?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Nieman is your English name?—A. No; just picked that up.

Detective O'LOUGHLIN. Who gave you the card?—A. I don't remember his name.

Detective HOLMLUND. Some people in Cleveland?—A. No; here in Buffalo.

Detective O'LOUGHLIN. Who gave you that card?—A. What?

Mr. HALLER. Recommendation; when you went out there; you told them some man in Cleveland, you mentioned his name, had been here at the Polish singing celebration; had recommended you to go there, to that place? You met a man in Toledo told you about Nowak's place?—A. No, sir.

Q. What was that bundle you took away with you this morning from the house?—A. Lots of letters and papers; no letters; common papers.

Q. What did you do with them?—A. Throw them in the water-closet.

Q. Over where?—A. In a saloon there somewhere.

Q. Where? Near Nowak's place?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Which saloon was that?—A. Why the street runs across from Broadway, and it runs north.

Q. Saloon on Broadway?—A. No—

Q. First street that crosses Broadway, after you leave Nowak's?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How far was the saloon from Broadway?—A. Just a few doors.

Q. On which side of the street that runs north from Broadway—on the other side or this side—east side or west side?—A. I think the east side.

Q. The side nearest Nowak's; on the downtown side?—A. Yes, sir; downtown.

Q. Left-hand side as you go up from Broadway?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was up from Broadway?—A. Toward the market—it is the left-hand side; I threw some of them there, and the rest outside.

Q. Did you open the bundle?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do that for?—A. Just common papers that I had saved up for a week or two.

Q. Why did you save them?—A. I saved them since Monday.

Q. What did you save them for?—A. They laid there, and I thought I would carry them away some time.

Q. You threw some in this water-closet in the saloon?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you throw the others?

By Detective Holmlund:

Q. This was not a water-closet; it was a s— house; it was out in the yard; behind the saloon?—A. They have no s— houses; they have sewer pipes out there.

By Mr. Penney:

Q. What part of Poland does your people come from; are they Russian or Austrian?—A. They come from the German Provinces; they are Polish.

Q. But there are Russian Poles and Austrian Poles; what part of the old country did they come from?—A. From Russia.

Q. Russia Poland?—A. Yes, sir.

(Dr. Fronczak comes in and speaks to prisoner in foreign language.)

Dr. FRONCZAK. He comes from Germany.

Mr. PENNEY. You told me Russia.—A. Yes; they come from Germany.

Dr. FRONCZAK (again talks to prisoner). They come from Inowroclaw, Province of Posen, about 3 miles from the eastern frontier of Russia.

Czolgosz (in English). I don't come from there, though.

Clerk Taggart, Detective Solomon, Quackenbush, Detective O'Loughlin, Inspector Donovan, Dr. Fronczak, Superintendent Bull, Detective Geary present.

By Dr. FRONCZAK (after talking with prisoner). I was born in Detroit; educated in Alpena, Mich.; father alive; mother dead; father lives at Warrenville.

Czolgosz (interrupting in English). Not Warrenville; Warrensville.



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## 74 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Dr. FRONCZAK (continuing). Ten miles from Cleveland; he says the reason why he killed the President is—

(Prisoner interrupts him; talking some other language than English).

Dr. FRONCZAK (continuing). The reason why he was killed is he doesn't believe one tyrant should rule all and everybody should bow to him or the poor man should look and applaud, and then consider it a great privilege even to do that, and he took three days ago the first notion of killing him, and I asked him didn't he see the parade yesterday; how he could take the idea three days ago; about bowing to him; he said his Government was pretty bad, and he didn't think it was proper that a tyrant of that kind should rule the people. (Talks further with prisoner.) He says I was reading various papers; and he names four socialistic papers, the Przedsit, of New York; the Robotnik [prisoner interrupts Dr. Fronczak] and American, Toledo.

By CZOLGOSZ. And the Free Society.

Dr. FRONCZAK (continuing). He says he never went to church; used to go to church once in a while, but there was some platonic nonsense, and he quit going to church. He went to public and Polish schools in Alpena.

### EXHIBIT VII.

[Free Society, formerly the Firebrand. Vol. VII, No. 3. Chicago, Ill., Sunday, Feb. 17, 1901.]

#### LINES AT THE TOMB OF A PLUTOCRAT.

Low was his aim—vile Mammon was his God;  
Bleak was his life, unholty and unblest;  
Low let him lie—low as the path he trod—  
Nor shed one tear to sanctify his rest;

The monarch sleeps; pass onward and away;  
Death has dethroned him and the grave is firm;  
All that he was—less than the reeking clay—  
Is now the feast of his superior worm;

Yet he was "great"—fools fawned and vassals served;  
The slave endured him and the world extolled;  
By wealth's green glamor was the nation swayed  
And earth lay blinded in the glare of gold.

He lived, he died; the earth from whence he came  
Received its own, and back into the dust,  
Dissolved the being whose unhallowed name  
Alone remains—the synonym of lust!

Of prostrate fools he made his stepping-stones!  
And climbed to fortune on the backs of slaves;  
He reared his throne of skulls and paupers' bones;  
And reached success upon the route of graves;

Unloved he lived, unmourned he could but die—  
A fallen knave, unpitied by his kind;  
Unwept his fate—unhonored let him lie—  
Starved was his soul and naked was his mind!

His greatest virtue was his smallest vice,  
His keenest pleasure was in other's pain;  
What was his wealth? More was the sacrifice,  
Since all his life—unlived—has proven vain.

T. SHELLEY SUTTON, in Brann's Iconoclast.

#### MORALITY AND PUBLIC OPINION.

Public opinion is a narcotic. Narcotics have the power of stupefying the cerebral faculties, of inducing sleep, of deadening the ordinary sensibility.

People who are addicted to the use of public opinion, people who live on it, who have no thoughts or desires save those which public opinion approves—such people display the same effects as are produced by other narcotics. They are more or less mentally stupefied; they are more or less asleep; their sensibilities are deadened.

If you go to the ordinary man or woman with a moral question, you will get such an answer as almost any other man or woman would have given.

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 75

They all have the same standard of what is right or wrong. They are conventionalized. They are under the hypnosis of what is customary. It is a form of control, a yielding to suggestion. It is the mind of the many exerting its influence upon the minds of each. It is a thinking with another's brain; a choice that is in fact a constraint; a movement, seemingly voluntary, but actually enforced. Public morality, I mean a morality based upon and guided by public opinion, is mechanical and heartless. It is so far from moral in the true sense that it is demoralizing in its tendencies.

I understand that the occasional use of narcotics produces a craving for their repeated use which, if indulged, becomes in time an almost resistless habit.

I understand the more one yields to suggestion and control—the more passive and submissive one becomes, until in time the personal will entirely disappears.

This seems true of morals, as well as in the other realms of thought and action. The soul that seeks its direction from outside, the heart that dare not trust its own impulses, the life that is conventional becomes subject to a fixed and almost resistless habit, and is actuated by a foreign will.

This morality of the crowd makes automatons of men. It is something put on, a mantle, a dress, a decoration subject to all the variations of fashion.

Now, let me affirm that it is good to have an agreement in society as to what is right and what is wrong. But that agreement must arise from the natural uniformity of human experience, and not be produced by conformity to any artificial standard.

There are traditions of the race which do inspire respect. It is possible for people to live in accordance with such traditions without doing any violence to their personal inclinations. But they are such traditions that, if they had not been previously established, the mind and heart of any normal individual would none the less instinctively realize the beauty and righteousness of that which they enforce.

Regard for the simple truth, respect for purity, reverence for old age, sympathy for the unfortunate, the helpless, the sorrowing—all these are none the less moral because adopted by society in general. It may be that it is conventionally proper and socially respectable to be truthful and pure and kindly disposed. Such high conduct might become fashionable. If so, such virtues would be no less excellent, because they are in themselves, regardless of social prestige, virtues such as the heart and mind instinctively accept and desire.

But were it not so, and did people become truthful and pure and kindly disposed, only because society expects it and it is proper, such conduct would cease to have moral value.

If the agreement of a given number of people as to what is morally right is a natural agreement—an agreement of ideas and desires to which each one has instinctively been drawn, so much the better. It is then a voluntary agreement; and people's views harmonize with that same spontaneity which we seen in the harmony of the wild flowers, the birds, the circling seasons, the landscape, and the sunset.

But if the agreement of a given number of people as to what is morally right be not a natural spontaneous agreement, but is produced through some sort of force or by an appeal to mere love of approbation or to the fear of criticism—then so much the worse.

Better no agreement at all than to have all men and women compelled to accept one moral standard.

There is a wrong way to do right. I care not how irreproachable a man's conduct may be, if he is actuated by mean motives he deserves contempt. On the other hand, I care not how far short of my ideas of excellence a man's conduct may fall, given an honest desire to do his best as he understands it, and his conduct possesses a moral value.

Better to be conscientiously and devotedly a fiend, than to be pretentiously and vaingloriously an angel.

People in society, who are acting under a species of hypnotic influence—moved by social suggestion, people who are morally narcotized, are exceedingly lenient to respectable weaknesses, and exceedingly bitter against unconventional self-assertion.

In mechanics, in science and philosophy, there is a certain expectancy. No one really believes in the impossibility of an improvement on these lines. An announcement of some great discovery, some new and unique invention, or the expression of a novel philosophical formula, is not so startling an event as it used to be. We have grown to expect such things.

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But in the realm of morals the world is as circumscribed and fixed as ever. Any new ideas of morality, which in any way conflict with current social conduct, have to run the severest kind of gauntlet.

People are so powerfully prepossessed by the conventional ideas of morality that they do not believe that people of opposite ideas can have any morality.

Difficult as it has been for the world to rid itself, in part, of theological hogotry, the difficulty is nothing as compared with what it will cost to rid the world of this tyranny of social morality. Upon no other subject is the average person so ready to resent any adverse criticism. To be moral means nothing more or less than "to be respectable." It has reference, not to what one's actual desire or taste might lead one to do, but to what one is expected to do. It is such conduct as is generally approved as opposed to my conduct which would be socially discredited.

Human nature, in its present perverted condition, leads us to desire the good opinion of the world. To be thought well of, even by those whose usual thoughts we value lightly, is a master motive with most of us. \* \* \*

Civilization exists because of certain traditions and customs, and could not have developed to its present condition without them. We owe a certain respect to those traditions and customs, because of what they have so far contributed to human advancement; but we should remember that what was a means to an end is not to be substituted for the end. The end is an ideal social state and a perfected individual life. The end is the highest possible satisfaction of all healthy human desires.

The present condition of social progress is the result of certain traditions; but the continued advancement of society calls for the destruction, one by one, of whatever tradition or custom may have outlived its usefulness.

It is at this point—where old traditions must be abandoned—that the true moralist makes his fight. It is at this point that we find out whether or not we really desire human advancement more than our personal comfort.

The fear of seeming peculiar, the desire to avoid unpleasant publicity, keeps thousands of us on our knees before some painted idol that is no longer a god to us. We are bold and outspoken privately, but our moral cowardice keeps us from openly endorsing that which has not yet secured a general acceptance.

People may be exceedingly radical in minor matters and shamefully conservative where important matters are at stake. It is hard to convince a man of the truth or righteousness of any thought or action which would conflict with his private interests or passions. And nowhere is there so stiff a conservatism as upon moral questions.

Independent action along ethical lines, the use of any other than the customary moral standard, sooner than anything else will make an otherwise straightforward man hedge and dodge and be circuitous. It all comes from our inordinate love of social approbation and our fear of ridicule. \* \* \*

A man needs to examine society from the outside—free from any of its entanglements—and in a position to consider the origin, growth, and decline of social customs. Then he will see that, as Ralph Waldo Emerson says, "Good and bad are but names very readily transferable to that or this." He will see that all conformity to custom is a poor and feeble substitute for personal virtue.

Conformity to custom is not morality any more than the repetition of a creed is religion.

Personal virtue is the expression of an individual thought and desire. It is the embodiment of self in action. The man must be in what he says or his behavior is only pretense. Morality is as far above the mere conformity to custom as the reasoning of a Plato is above the chattering of an ape. To be a truly moral action the act must sustain as vital a relation to the actor as a child sustains to its mother. As a true mother to her child, so is a truly moral person to his actions. It is his action, the outgrowth of his being, the incarnation of his desire and love. No other child can be substituted for one's own. The mother lives in her child. So no other course of conduct can be an adequate substitute for that which is one's own. The man should live in his action. \* \* \*

A mother does not love her child out of fear of any penalty or regard for any reward. She is not induced to be kind and tender to it because it is the custom and it would not be "respectable" to do otherwise. Such considerations with regard to her relation to her child never touch a true mother. Her love for her child is as her love for herself—the child is herself renewed and made real to her outward sight. To submit a proposition to a true mother that if she is good to her child she will be rewarded is to insult her womanhood and her motherhood. Of course, she will love that which is her own life.

So with a man and his virtue—if he be a true man, his virtue is dearer to him than any reward it could bring. A virtuous man is untouched by any consideration as to what it will cost, or as to what he will gain by his conduct.

Wendell Phillips once said, "Till you judge men and things on different principles, I do not much care what you think of me; I have outgrown this interesting anxiety."

A true man can not be turned aside by any ulterior consideration from such conduct as his thought and desire determine. A true man acts in accordance with his personal, genuine convictions, even when by so doing he is acting in opposition to all precedents and customs. He does not float in the general current of popular favor. He is not drifting with the tide, only to turn wherever and whenever the tide turns. He has no other anxiety than to so act as to satisfy his own nature. He is a man and he has a mind, and to do or say anything that is against the clearest, sanest thought of his own mind would be to him a profanation, though it might be to all others no matter how seemingly commendable.

If a man does right from any other cause or reason than because of his own honest conviction and his free resolve, his action will miscarry and his right becomes wrong. \* \* \*

The man who uses a virtue as a passport to good society, here or hereafter, makes a vice of virtue. A righteous act is one that is done from the pure love of right, with no other pressure upon us than the simple love of what is right.

Oh, for a real Christ who could lash the vulgar money changers out of the temple of manly and womanly virtue! A Christ who could cry out with the same divine wrath, "Woe unto you hypocrites!" \* \* \*

"We have too much legislation and too little individual responsibility;" too many paths are fenced in; too much is prescribed; we act too largely with an eye to stage effect. \* \* \*

I ask not what you know, or what you desire; but have you the courage to act according to what you really know and desire? This is the supreme moral test.

Your knowledge may be defective and your desires may be for the time unworthy; but better that, and a brave and manly spirit, than to be wise as Solomon and faultless as a cherub and be wanting in spirit. \* \* \*

Of course, you understand my meaning. I don't urge anyone to do wrong, but I despise a cloaked and guarded morality.

Because a man owns his own shot and gun he is not justified in shooting wherever he chooses. But if he shoot at all, let him have an aim and be true to it. The life that we are living is forced upon us. We come into the world without our solicitation, and surely we are entitled to whatever satisfaction we can get out of life.

We come into a world full of rules and regulations. The old usages are thrust upon us. Our own inclinations are not consulted. We are expected to accept a life we did not ask for, and then to live it according to rules we had no hand in making.

I say, let other people's lives alone. This should be a different world for each separate person. Each man should see and approve whatever his own nature fits him to see and approve. He is a new being and for him it is a new world. Let him alone to discover in it a meaning suited to his nature.

Society is a menagerie of wild animals that have been caged, put under restraint, more or less tamed, and taught to do tricks. While the master's eye is on them and his whip is in hand, these human animals are submissive and meek. But let the fear of punishment or the desire for some choice morsel be once removed and something of their true nature shows itself. \* \* \*

Let the real nature of a man appear without disguise. If he is evil at heart, he is all the more dangerous the more he is taught to conceal what he is and appear to be what he is not.

The great evil of society is that it encourages deceit and imitation. It makes the bear dance, the ape to play the man, the elephant to sing, and each to assume a pose not in keeping with his proper nature.

"Mind your own business" is not too fine a way of expressing an admonition of fundamental ethical importance.

There are very few people who have any real hold upon themselves. It is pitiful to see the way people vacillate between the thing they think they ought to do and what they are expected to do.

The man as he is in himself is repressed and mutilated. You know him by his party or by his social position or by his religious affiliations; but you do not

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know him as a man. The real man is an unknown quantity. He himself never gets more than an occasional glimpse of what in his selfhood he might have been. This obliteration of the individual counteracts the main advantage of existence and overturns all values.

Herein consists the immorality of a slavish regard for what is customary—it seduces the individual into unnatural ways, and he fails to find in life what can satisfy his nature. His activities and occupations are forced upon him. He plays the part of another, and his genius never gains a full and round expression. He is guided in what he thinks and does by considerations in which his own real inclinations find but little place. He lives to be seen, to attract attention, to win approval, to live in and be one of the crowd.

Life is a valueless thing except in so far as we can find in it, with some degree of satisfaction, what we ourselves really are. It is our only opportunity for the discovery and fulfillment of self. All human duty is comprised within one supreme obligation—to make the best of so much of our own being as we may be able to grasp.

Beware of whoever comes in the name of whatever excellence to teach you the lesson of self-effacement.

If your life is to be a contribution of any value to the world, it must first acquire value of itself. The circumference of your benevolence must have within it some center of self-regard. Those who neglect their own welfare can not be wisely entrusted with what concerns their neighbors or the race.

If your motive in going outside of your own life is to truly benefit others, even so you will have to learn that their welfare depends primarily upon themselves. In the long run the best you can do for others is to keep out of their way.

That is what I mean when I say that ruin your own business is an admonition of fundamental ethical importance.

Human beings should be like a magnificent forest—each individual of which requires that all others should keep their distance. One must have ample room to achieve strength and symmetry. Too much crowding turns likewise grand developments into tangled undergrowths.

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

ALCOTT, COLO.

## AN OPEN LETTER.

I have of late received several postals and letters of inquiry respecting the reports in the daily press that I am against force, or propaganda by deed. I should have paid little attention to these reports, for I thought that my personal friends would not believe anything said in the newspapers about me; and those comrades who believe them simply show how little they know of the capitalistic press. But it was the reply of Comrade Isaak gave to some one in the last issue of Free Society that induced me to make this statement.

I have never opposed force or propaganda by deed, either publicly or privately. I demand and acknowledge the right of an individual, or a number of individuals, to strike back at organized power and to defend themselves against invasion; and I have and always will stand on the side of the one who has been courageous enough to give his own life in taking or attempting to take the life of a tyrant, whether industrial or political. I am on the side of every rebel, whether his act has been beneficial or detrimental to our cause; for I do not judge an act by its result, but by its cause; and the cause of each and every rebellious act has been organized despotism, robbery, and exploitation on the part of society and the innate sense of justice and a rebellious spirit on the part of the individual.

What I said, and shall repeat again and again, is that violence is not a phase of anarchism. The philosophy of anarchism is based on harmony, on peace; and it recognizes the right of every individual to life, liberty, and development, and opposes all forms of invasion; consequently the philosophy of anarchism is an absolute foe to violence, therefore I do not advocate violence. An anarchist who advocates violence as a part of the teachings of anarchism has never properly understood its doctrines. If I stand on the side of the rebel, or if I approve of an act of violence, it is only because I know that organized force—government—leaves us no other method of propaganda—because we are the invaded and not the invaders.

The mass of mankind can remain indifferent in the face of every injustice; but, fortunately for humanity, there are men and women whose whole beings

rebel against injustice, whose social instincts are so strongly developed that they feel every blow which the present economic and political system strikes at society. Such men and women can no more stand quietly by and see workers shot, children starved, women outraged, and thousands of the social family ruined, destroyed, and killed than one's breathing functions can work without pure air; but they are not necessarily anarchists; they have existed and rebelled as long as the world exists, long before anarchists or anarchism was known; and it is well that they exist, otherwise despots would reign supreme and life be unbearable. Let us therefore understand that violence is a product of oppression, of need, of suffering, and man's innate sense of justice and social instinct—if not crushed by commercialism—on one side, and greed on the other. Incidentally, I want to say that it is this sense of justice and social rebellion that have produced the philosophy of liberty, of anarchism, and not as some of my worthy comrades insist, that it is anarchism that makes or will make men good and just. The philosophy of anarchism has no such metaphysical power; it can not make pure that which is impure, nor can it make anything just which is essentially unjust. The teachings of anarchism are a product of man's sense of justice and craving for righteousness, based upon man's recognition of the fact that justice and righteousness are only possible in freedom, under non-invasion, and not under government, dictum, interference of man with man, either economically, politically, morally, or ethically, consequently only in an anarchistic mode of living, which is not a child of the future, but a life which each and every liberty-loving man must begin now, because it is man who makes society and not society that makes the man.

I think I need say no more about my position toward individual or collective revolt, so I will only repeat that I am a revolutionist by nature and temperament, and as such I claim the right for myself and all those who feel with me, to rebel and resist invasion by all means, force included, consequently a destructionist. But I am also an anarchist, and as such a constructionist. In order to construct a new sanitary building, fit for human beings to live in, I must, if I do not find cleared ground, tear down the old, rotten, decayed obstacle which stands in the way of that beautiful and magnificent mansion called anarchism.

In conclusion, I would also like to correct a statement which circulated in the daily press shortly after I left for Europe. The mouthpieces of capitalism reported, after I had been two weeks in England, that I had just sailed, and, on leaving, had told a reporter that I was disgusted with the American workers; that I considered them a lot of fools and blockheads and a thankless crew; that I was dissatisfied with my own comrades, and that I said there were not more than a dozen anarchists in America.

While I had not seen a single one of the press sharks, and hence could not have spoken to them, the report contained some truth. I know the responsible party; in fact, everyone in New York knows him; but as he is out of the movement, and has done a lot of mischief, I do not think it necessary to disclose his name. However, while it was absolutely false that I had expressed my views before I left, he often heard me say from the platform that "if the American workers were not such fools and slaves they could not quietly submit to the growth of imperialism; they could not and would not allow the decayed institutions of Europe to replace the liberal and independent principles laid down by their forefathers." This I maintain now; and add that the American worker is not only a fool but a conceited fool, which is still worse. He believes himself free, whereas the chains of slavery make his limbs bleed; he thinks himself independent, while his back is bent with the burden of dependency; he boasts of his right to choose his master, not knowing that he thereby forfeits his right to be his own master; he claims to be charitable and ready to help his neighbor, while his only help consists in helping himself to his neighbor's property, and then to take possession of his neighbor also, as has been done in Cuba and is now being done in the Philippines.

Well, but is he worse than the European worker? some one may ask. No, he is not; but the European worker is the product of centuries of despotic rule; he is a born slave—he had no choice in the matter. The American worker is born a "free man," with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; but he makes no use of his freedom; he can not see that liberty is like a delicate plant, and needs proper care and attention or it fades away. Of course, all this refers to the average worker. The intelligent worker of America is the intelligent worker of the world; he stands up for his rights, and works with those whose aim in life is the establishment of equal liberty in all phases of life.

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The reports said that I considered the workers "thankless." This is absolutely false. I could not consistently say so, because I do not believe in gratitude or obligation, since I am only acting according to the dictum of my inner self. No one owes me anything for my work in the movement.

Further: That I believe we have but a dozen anarchists in America. Well, there is some truth in that, although I have not said so to any newspaper representative. Theoretical anarchists—men and women who understand the teachings of our philosophy—we have thousands of in America, and a still larger number of those who are anarchists without knowing it; but those who not only think but act, who practice anarchism in their everyday life, who are consistent, who defy the world, maintain their personal liberty and consider the liberty of others, such anarchists are indeed few, not only in America but all over the world. Yet if liberty is ever to bless mankind, it is only when the example set by the few will be followed by the many.

Now that I have explained my position, I hope the readers of Free Society will not misunderstand me again, and will believe only that which has my signature.

EMMA GOLDMAN,

The grand jury of Baltimore, Md., states in a report that the treatment of the girls in the Female House of Refuge is worse than the tortures inflicted upon human beings in the Middle Ages. When the victims enter this pious institution 50 per cent of the girls committed to the refuge are virtuous, but there is no virtue left when they are released.

When two men fight it is brutal. When one man is larger than the other, it makes it more brutal. But when a large nation fights a little one it is called "benevolent assimilation."

J. O.

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Correspondents and exchanges will please take notice, and change our temporary address, 1360 North Rockwell Street, to 515 Carroll Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Some of the mail continues to be sent to 236 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. It is important that this should be changed immediately, in order to avoid trouble and annoyance.

## NOTE AND COMMENT.

Several thousand silk mill workers at Scranton, Pa., mostly young girls, are on strike for higher wages. On the average they earn \$3.50 a week. Here is a good chance for the vice crusaders to war against the mill owners, who rob the poor girls of their earnings, thus compelling them to lead lives of poverty and prostitution.

A Japanese journal gives the Christian nations the following timely reprimand:

"There are no Christian nations. Here and there you meet a Christian, but Christian nations there are none, never were any, and to-day less than ever. Look at the events in China. There the Christian powers perpetrate crimes which make us heathens blush. These horrors are committed in the name of religion and of a higher civilization. And in the face of these cruelties, which you commit in the name of your Savior, you dare to peal your church bells, inviting us for prayer? Go, preach to the Christians, who are so much in need of being converted to a religion of reason and goodness. And when you have made of them humane beings, then—and only then—come back to us."

The United States, or rather McKinley, promised Cuba independence. Of course no qualifications were made; and now it leaks out that it shall be the "same independence and stability that is enjoyed by New York as a

permanent part of the American Union," and "any person who does anything to prevent, or delay, the fact that Cuba is, and will permanently continue a part of the United States, is an enemy to the best interests of both countries." Now, ye Cuban workers, get ready for the jails and penitentiaries, if you are not willing to submit to be fleeced under the rod of the American capitalists.

The Daily Inter Ocean, of this city, has made a very startling and significant discovery, known perhaps to the old Egyptians, and which has been an "old story" ever since mankind enjoyed the blessings of government, namely, that the thieves and burglars of Chicago work peacefully and harmoniously in cooperation with the police and detectives. That is stale news, Mr. Editor. Governments were originated to protect the plunder of pirates and other idle adventurers, and it is not to be expected that they will ever gracefully descend from their sublime heights to protect honest toil.

In New York great rivalry exists among the "upper 400" in giving the most expensive dinners, while thousands of men, women, and children suffer with hunger and cold from want of food and shelter. In Spain the people are rioting and crying for bread and deliverance from king and priestcraft, while the court is feasting and dancing and drinking champagne. The toilers drudge and suffer, while the pirates and imposters are reveling in debauchery, and squandering their plunder. But the day is approaching when the tormented and brutalized slave will become desperate, and shake off his chains; and woe to those who danced and would not listen when the downtrodden were groaning in agony!

The daily press is overwhelmed with indignation because the Hon. Patrick Ford has abused the dead queen of Great Britain by characterizing her as stupid, stolid, indifferent to sufferings, avaricious, etc., and this "in the very shadow of death." Contemptible scribes who are only servile enough to rebuke a man for having some manhood left! But Patrick Ford would have come much nearer the truth had he said that she was not only indifferent to suffering and bloodshed but a parasite who revelled in luxury at the expense of the poor, suffering workingmen, while thousands, nay, millions, of innocent men were slain in her name. What has she ever done to justify the crawl-lugs and glorifications of the press of a "free republic"?

The installment of King Edward VII, the gambler, has given some American dailies occasion to point out how much less it costs to rule a republic than a monarchy, as the new figurehead will squeeze \$10,000,000 out of the poor workers to liquidate the debts he has made by gambling, racing, and other worthy sports. But some of the scribes realize that there is practically no difference between the expense of governments, be they monarchical or republican, as can be seen from the following clipping:

"But are we, sovereign citizens of the American Republic, in just the position to plume ourselves upon exemption from such burdens? Let us count up what it has cost us in tariff taxation to repay the contributions to Mark Hanna's campaign fund in 1896 which made William McKinley our President. This drain upon our industries would pay the cost of maintenance of the British royal family for a great many years. And what is the paltry \$10,000,000, asked by Edward VII for the payment of his debts, in comparison with the \$180,000,000 which Hanna demands in the shape of subsidies for the corporations that put McKinley in the President's chair for a second term?"

## PROPAGANDA BY DEED.

William Carter, brass molder, of Ansonia, Conn., is languishing in the county jail at New Haven for refusing to pay a military tax of \$2. He was incarcerated on August 24, 1899, and will not be released until he weakens and complies with the demand of the State, or the law changed or the citizens of Ansonia get tired of paying his board. His confinement during 18 months has cost the city of Ansonia \$500, and they are as far from collecting the \$2 as they were in the beginning. Tax collecting in this case comes rather high, and if but a fraction of those who despise taxes had the hard-

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hood to follow Carter's example, the State would soon be bankrupt and consequently dead.

Carter does not believe in war, and shows the courage of his conviction by refusing to give his support to that ghastly, barbarous institution, even in defiance of its monstrous parasitic mother—the Government.

They may arrest and cast him into prison, but they will never convince him of the ethics of training men, and manufacturing powerful machines, for the slaughter of human beings. They may deprive him of the little liberty that is so benevolently accorded to those who subserviently pay taxes that they do not believe in, but they will never persuade him that there is justice in forcing men to support institutions repugnant to his ideas of righteousness. They may shackle him, hand and foot; they may separate him from wife and family, friends and associates; they may bring the whole brute force of the State to bear upon him, and crush and conceal him from the rest of mankind. Yet he rises superior to it all and shines forth a resplendent star in the firmament of true humanity.

Carter's act is that of a brave man; a true, noble, progress-making, self-reliant individual. None but a truly great man would have braved all the powers of the State and suffered such inconvenience for the sake of maintaining a mere abstract principle. Many there are who like to theorize about principles of right and justice, but few are willing to suffer a night's imprisonment in their defense.

There is enough discontent in the world to-day to change the whole fabric of society from the pain-inflicting, death-dealing, murder machine it is, into a fit habitation for righteous men and women, were such discontent backed by but half the courage and tenacity displayed by that valiant Ansonia molder.

Men pay taxes, not because they believe in the principle of taxation, or because they agree with the uses made of money thus collected, but because they fear the brass-buttoned fellow who stands behind the tax collector. No matter how odious the system of taxation may be, the possible loss of a little personal comfort offsets it all, and they reach down deep into their pockets and fearfully hand over the product of their toil, to support institutions they inwardly despise. It is the lack of individual initiative, the fear of losing "respectability," or the dread of missing a good meal or a comfortable night's rest, that makes a slave of the average man. He will labor 10, 12, or 16 hours per day on the promise of a few useless luxuries, or even the bare necessities of life, if they but carry with them an air of respectability. He is the creature of a public opinion which has been carefully moulding him since his conception, in its time-worn traditions and superstitions. Yet, in spite of all this external influence, progress is silently and secretly working within, creating and giving form to what is going to be the public opinion of the future.

Man, externally, lives in the past, while internally he lives in the future. Ordinarily, the past dominates all his actions, and the future—progress—is submerged and only permitted to engage attention during leisure hours when the buglers of the past are appeased. Occasionally, progress develops and becomes as great a force working from within as the past working from without. These two opposing forces clash, and a struggle ensues. Radicalism is arrayed against conservatism. The new budding thoughts of the individual assemble themselves before the citadels of ancient age-worn communal opinions. Youth challenges old age to combat, with the world as the prize. At this stage a compromise is usually effected, which smoothes the surface of the troubled water for a while; the past and future each yield a point. Then, a man will rail at the injustice of a military tax, but will pay it promptly on demand. He will bewail the tyranny of marriage, and at the same time marry, "to save the family name." He will admit the corruption of the church, yet make regular Sunday visits, "on account of the folks," or, because of its possible business effect.

Not infrequently the inner and nobler aspirations rise up, and set at naught all the customs and conventions of external life. The future becoming the dominant power in the individual, the past is thrust aside, and only the higher ideals are allowed to influence action. The growth and expansion of the new and ever-evolving inner consciousness force the outer curtain aside, stands out in all its youthful vigor, and bids defiance to a world of sham and mockery. It will not compromise; it is obdurate, and pins its faith to the inert and latent goodness in mankind, which it persistently strives to arouse and develop. Present comforts and luxuries it rejects, if purchased with the price of

conscience and liberty. Truth is its goal, freedom its road, and love its guide. For without truth there can be no ideal; without freedom no passage; without love no desire.

Progress propagates itself in many different ways. First by thought, then by word, and later by action. The propaganda of deed is the most powerful and effective weapon progress has at its command; no progress could be made without it. Thought and word are the mere preliminaries of action. Action is the final and inevitable result of thought and speech. After an individual reaches a certain stage of thought, he will act, must act, in conformity with the promptings of his enlarged consciousness. The peace and harmony of being demand a conformity of external action with internal thought and feeling.

Men do not develop simultaneously. First one, then a few, then many. Then, the propaganda of deed may be the individual act of refusing to pay a tax, a John Brown raid or an American Revolution. They are all three inevitable and just as necessary, one to the other, as the three stages of growth to the individual. We have first a child, then a youth, then a man. Without the child there is no man. Without the individual tax defier there could be no progress, no American or French Revolution, because nature expresses itself in just that way. It is the unfolding of the process of growth. One man refuses to pay a tax, his example is followed by many others, and presently we have a nation of tax-defying rebels, and the injustice is wiped out.

Many who glorify and grow eloquent in their praise of the American and French Revolutions, are horrified when an individual becomes possessed of the courage of a nation, and strikes a blow at the tyranny that surrounds him. Such men only display their ignorance of the laws of evolution.

"Why," they ask, "should that man sacrifice his liberty for the sake of a small tax? Why should this or that man be held responsible for the injustice of the age? It is not they but the system that's to blame. Besides, these individual acts are not necessary to the final revolution, which itself can be done without; for by the intelligent use of the ballot we may obtain all the justice and liberty we want." Which may be all true. At least, if I had the arranging of matters I would have them just that way. To be sure, these revolts are not necessary! Neither is the child necessary to the man. It would be much more pleasant, indeed, if we could pluck them, full grown, from a pear or fig tree; it would save a vast amount of trouble in raising them. But somehow, or other, they do not come that way, and we have to be content with the crude, tiresome process of development. It is disappointing, but we can not alter it; and can only observe the way nature works, and draw conclusions accordingly, and not from our imaginations.

Systems of economics, politics, and religion grow, imbibe and foster all the corruption of their age; become unbearable and are condemned by the individual, who, by his propaganda of deed, awakens his fellows to a higher consciousness of liberty and equality. When this has been accomplished, and when at last they see the depth of their slavery, it is always too late to dally with fine academical reasoning or slow parliamentary procedure. And it would do them no good if they tried it. For the rulers and exploiters of the people have always loved their places too well to be allured into yielding them up by fine speeches or halloo-box persuasion. It is very beautiful to think that they would. But we will write poetry some other time; to-day we are considering facts.

It is reasonable to suppose that a set of individuals who compose the Government, and who are the owners of the servants of those who own the wealth of the country, and enjoy all the vast luxury such ownership confers, and whose claim to ownership are based upon the brute force of an Army of trained murderers who are ever ready to slay and pillage at the command of their masters; it is reasonable, I repeat, to expect this privileged class, whose one and only argument for every sort of opposition is the jail, galling gun, or gallows; is it logical to presume that they, who keep a man in jail indefinitely for refusing to be taxed, will abdicate their powers, divest themselves of all the regalia and luxuries its privileges confer, strip themselves of all the pomp of State, and step down into the ranks of the people as soon as a majority of the latter shall request it? I think not!

Yet there are many so thoughtless of the ways of mankind, or who try to read their own preconceived ideas into history, that they foolishly imagine such a miracle will take place. I am satisfied, however, that upon mature consideration they will see the folly of their way, and learn to respect the

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courage of the propagandist by deed; welcome his presence as the forerunner of freedom, and hail his coming with joy, as a voice in the wilderness of misery and corruption, calling to mankind to awake and beware lest the weight of its bonds sink it to depths out of which it can not rise, and urge it on to higher and nobler ideals.

Hail to you Carter! You may not know the philosophy underlying your act, but you have better than philosophy; you have that larger consciousness of right and liberty upon which is based the greatest system of human philosophy.—Anarchy.  
JAY FOX.

## CONSTITUTIONS.

England's so-called Constitution is a thing of tradition, sentiment, theory, abstraction, anything except organic, supreme, settled law. What is constitutional to-day, to-morrow may become unconstitutional by the mere fiat of the British Parliament. The courts construe the laws, but can neither protect one department of the Government against another, nor the individual against the tyranny of the majority.—(Chicago American.)

These articles of agreement between Church and State, called the British Constitution, are for no other purpose than the exploitation of the British proletariat. "What is constitutional to-day may become unconstitutional by the mere fiat of the British Parliament," alias organized robbery, working always in the interest of capitalism. But, however ready and willing they are to discard the constitutionality of an act in favor of oppression (as it is most logical they should do, being capitalists themselves), the proletariat will find this same Constitution anything but abstract; in fact he will find it a very materialistic and concrete obstacle in the way of securing any justice for himself.

Of all the epithets applied to it in the above quotation, the most fitting is that of "tradition." Placed in the light of reason, all constitutions are mere theory, groundless, oppressive, and hateful, and their power can only be nullified when mankind totally ignores them. It is not the constitution that "grants the power" to tyrannize over the individual; it is the individual who can not find the strength and logic in his own nature to throw aside the fetter of governmentalism.

Constitutions are based on sentiment; a sentiment of blind worship of leadership grounded in authority; a sentiment of silly sentimentalism, devoid of individual strength and character.

If we are to have constitutions to govern us, we might as well have kings; perhaps we would rather have them, for kings can frequently be prevailed upon to change their minds. A constitution delegates power to individuals to rule over men. It is the despotism of law conveyed in the form of voluntary agreement. It is the nucleus from which springs all tyranny in the shape of criminal and civil law, created to sustain it. Constitutions are premised upon right and wrong action, and they are supposed to have special privilege in monopolizing the thoughts embraced in them, handed down by a generation of ignorant forefathers whose environments were in no wise analogous to our own.

Anarchist philosophy teaches individual initiative and self-responsibility, and adherence to the letter of a constitution renders this impossible. Freedom can only be attained through being free, and the sooner we do away with all constitutions, the more quickly will we achieve our freedom.  
G. B. B.

## PARABLES.

[Translated from the Iapygian, by C. L. James.]

A sea monster appeared in the harbor of a certain city, and drank up the water so greedily that the ships began to run aground. After the people had purified themselves by fasting, and offered sacrifices to appease the gods, they assembled on the shore, and their wise men began consulting how they should deal with the monster. A philosopher, who was noted for benevolence, said: "The sailors must not be allowed to suffer want of water. Let us dip some out of the fountain which flows by the Altar of Pity, and pour it into the harbor that there may be enough." But the archon said: "I am afraid that will be too slow. Let us tax ourselves to build a reservoir big enough to keep

the monster in. Then will strangers from all end of the earth come to see him, and bring much wealth into our city." Then arose a philosopher of the Cynic school, and said: "Deluded people! this is the monster who drank up the waters of Babylon and Tyre, and made these markets of the world a desolation: Kill the monster! Kill him instantly, or he might as well kill you." But the kind philosopher said it would be unpolish to kill the poor monster; and the archon said that though such monsters were troublesome when they grew so large, no city could be governed without at least a small one. So the monster drank the harbor up; and the city became a desolation, like Babylon or Tyre.

A certain quack had imposed upon the people of a city by pretending to cure the king, who in fact got well of his own accord; for the quack gave him nothing but water sweetened with honey. So the quack was made court physician; and no doctor was allowed to practice without his license. One day a poor man came to the quack and complained that there were lice on his head. "I will kill them," said his quackship, whose heart chanced to be merry with wine. So he gave the poor man a blow on the head with a cudgel. The patient groaned; but the quack said, "I killed several that time." So the poor man paid his fee; and, when he earned more money, he came to have more lice killed in the same manner. One day the quack's servant, pitying the deluded patient, said to him: "Friend, which hurts you most, a louse on your head or a cudgel?" "The cudgel, certainly," said the patient; "but think how many lice there would be save for the cudgel." "And which," said the servant, "will kill them the fastest, your own fingers or my master's cudgel?" "My fingers, of course," replied the man with the lice; "but shall I presume to treat myself when the king has given me a physician?" So he continued to pay his fees and have his head belabored; but he has not yet got rid of the lice. As to the slave, the man with the lice informed against him; and he was hanged for seeking to overthrow the social system.

Xerxes, the king, promised a reward to the man who would find him a new pleasure. This was shortly after he hanged Haman; so Mordecai, the Jew, was now prime minister. He told the king that he could give him a new pleasure, which proved to be this, that they should go out into a forest and hear the nightingale sing. "But," said Xerxes, "I have a bird in a golden cage which sings much better. I paid half a year's revenue to obtain her." "This bird, oh, King," said Mordecai, "you may hear her for nothing." "I do not like her any the better for that," said Xerxes. And he went back to Asia disappointed. But the next time he had the blue devils, after a banquet of wine, he proposed of his own accord, to go and hear the nightingale. He admitted now, she sang better than his caged bird. However, in the woods, he passed some peasants, and learned that they, too, were listening to the nightingale. "Cut off the heads of the unpolish wretches who dare to share in my new pleasure," roared his majesty. But Mordecai said: "Oh King, live forever! You can not cut off enough heads to prevent your peasants from listening to the nightingale." "The nightingale is a prostitute," said Xerxes. "Every clown may enjoy her sweetness." "Nay, sire," pleaded Mordecai. "Your caged bird is a prostitute; for, though you are rich, you have not money enough to tempt the nightingale into singing when she does not choose." Xerxes went a third time to hear the nightingale; after which he gave Mordecai the reward, and had a lodge built for his pleasure in the forest: As to the caged bird, he had his servants let her fly away.

## THE NATION CRUSADE.

Dean J. W. Sykes, in the Topeka Capitol, speaking of the Carrie Nation crusade, says:

"It is my judgment that no citizen has the right, morally or legally, in a community where laws exist, to take the law into his or her own hands. I can conceive of but one condition under which individuals are justified in administering law, and that is where persons live in a community where there is no statutory law."

Our friend, the dean, is logical as far as he goes; but he can not see that it might be desirable for the people to take the law into their own hands and administer it, instead of delegating their powers to others; thereby creating

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a law-making and administering class who will certainly legislate in their own interests.

If the law can be violated with impunity, as you know it can, by the very people who make it, then who is benefited?

The violation of law by "joinists" is connived at by the lawmakers themselves, and then they turn around and sanction smashing expeditions.

And the fool people stand around and follow one crowd and then the other, but always to the slaughter. They are tickled to think that they are allowed to help their masters, and proud to do the dirty work, while their dear judges sit around and talk about it.

The people go on little civilizing jaunts into the Philippines, South Africa, and India at the bidding of our commercial interests, but they have yet to learn what they get out of it; and we'll wait some time before they do learn.

What's the use? Why not make our own laws, and if we are interested enough, see that they are enforced? Would we make more mistakes than our friends on the benches do now?

Is it not notorious that there are more rascals loose than confined in our twentieth-century civilizing institutions—the modern jails? J. O.

Comment.—Comrade J. O. evidently does not mean to imply that people should enact and enforce statutory laws, as it will be understood by many readers. Yet spontaneous rules of conduct are neither "made" nor "enforced" by statutory law; they are the natural result of association and experience, varying according to climate, culture, and the conditions in which the people find themselves. And because people have ample opportunity and free scope to adjust themselves to their environment, we find the most harmonious associations where government is absent. Strife, dissensions, so-called crimes, misery, inequality, oppression—in short, all our ills can be traced to government and ignorance. A. I.

## NEW DECLARATION OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.

"Accepting the old century and its work at their full value, and reaffirming the old Declaration of Political Independence, we, a small band of workers and comrades, standing with resolute hearts, our faces to the future, quietly and without offense, seize this dramatic moment to make our new declaration of Economic Independence."

"We affirm the universal brotherhood of man, without limit as to country, color, or creed."

"We deny the right of kings, priests, or legislators to rule over us."

"We affirm the right of every man, woman and child to live his or her own life in his or her own way, without interference from without, and to the end that this brotherhood in freedom be realized."

"We declare that the land shall be to him who cultivates it, the mine to the miner, the tool to him who uses it, the factories to those who work in them, and the common product to the whole people; and we pledge ourselves that during so much of the new century as shall be ours, our increasing endeavor shall be to bring about these results, and so to realize the solidarity of man."

Of the 250 persons present not one kept his seat, not one dissenting voice was heard, while point by point the reading was received with applause which testified acceptance. (Social Science Journal, Philadelphia, Pa.)

## AN OLD CRIME BREEDER.

What a grand, glorious Government! How charitable! To give three and one half tons of coal to a poor, struggling widow, and can't pay her the few, paltry, hard-earned dollars to keep starvation and death away.

Think of the beauties of our Government, when landlordism is allowed to exist—landlords who own more houses than they can use, while poor families are turned out in the street to face the rain and snow. Think of the grandeur of our Government, when monopolies exist to keep the poor from getting bread—the right of every person, and not of one or one dozen men only.

What a wonderful Government it is that does not allow a man the right to enjoy all the benefits of his labor, but will allow and protect a few "privileged characters" and nonproducers to sit around and draw the very life-blood from the producer in order that he (the nonproducer) may live in idle luxury.

Why does Charity sit in the place of Justice? Why is it that the working-men do not see the wrongs done them? Do they see them and think they are unavoidable, or have they time to right them when their stomachs are empty and their homes cold, and every spare minute they have is spent in providing for the present? Can they think of the future when the present keeps their noses to the grindstone of industrial slavery?

Eighteen hundred city employees unpaid! Hard working men, men who do the city's drudgery, left unpaid, while judges and the "boodlers" (who reelect themselves, after having been once in office) sit around and administer large doses of justice (?) to the "small fry." Their stomachs and coal bins are full, and their rent is paid. What more do you expect? Do they not buy themselves into office so that they may have their wants provided for at the expense of some one else? Do you think they are going to earn their bread, when other people will do it for them?

Think of Mrs. Meeker trying to sell coal to pay rent to the board of education (a city institution) and get car fare to work for a city, a Government that will let her starve! A woman who ekes out a miserable existence is forced to ask for something to eat, while the majority of these "boodlers" and "soul-savers" have money hoarded up in safety vaults to provide for their offspring, who are educated in such "refined institutions" that they are not fit for anything but football games and tea parties when they have graduated.

"I did not mean to be dishonest when I attempted to sell the coal." Poor woman! How dreadfully dishonest you were! How dare you sell anything that was given you by the city! Don't you know that you are under obligations to anybody who gives you what is yours rightfully—especially a Government that you uphold by paying your taxes?

You may not want to uphold a Government, but if you don't, your last means of livelihood is taken from you through the elastic phrases of the law. You may uphold a Government, but the Government won't uphold you. No, indeed, it is not made for your protection, but your submission.

Why is it that the moneyed men get in office, and how do they get rich while in office when their salaries are spent to reelect themselves? Will some one please tell me? Why is it that eighteen hundred city employees are not paid, because the county board of appropriations are quarrelling about the reduction of their own salaries?

GOLDIE KINSELLA.

## LIVES TWO WAYS.

Men live in two ways; in themselves and in the memories of others. The life of some men extend but slightly beyond the narrow confine of their own bodies. It concentrates itself there and thinks, like the snail in his shell, that it has the universe to itself and is proud, vain and arrogant. Such lives, being self-centered and self-sighted, feels and sees but little of the great sorrowing mass of humanity in which they move. They mount the apex of their own conceits, turn their gaze inward and gape on the nothingness of their own contracted souls. Thus circumscribed, they pass the fleeting hours, and are presently extinguished by a breath from the infinite. Buried, and e'er the echo of the last funeral knell has died, forgotten. Of those the world hath plenty.

Others there be whose lives encompass the universe. Their souls grow and expand, and soon overflow their individual bounds; flowing out in ever increasing volumes to mingle with the teeming, throbbing ocean of life beyond. They become the pulse of humanity, and the common channel through which the joys and sorrows of the race flow. The pain of a brother is their pain. They dry the tears of the weeping ones, and rejoice with all. They are the voice of the race; they give form; speech to the inarticulate longings of hu-

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manity. They dethrone the tyrant and exalt freedom. They are the higher consciousness. Theirs is the life immortal. They are never forgotten. Few are these, but growing.

J. F.

FOR NEW YORK.

Comrades will please remember that M. Maisel, 170 Henry Street, receives subscriptions for Free Society. There are many subscribers in arrears, and they are kindly requested to renew their subscription or to notify us of their inability to pay at present, otherwise their subscription will be discontinued.

## LITERATURE.

Eu marche vers la Society Nouvelle. By C. Cornillissen. Stock, editor, Paris.

This is indeed an honest and refreshing book. The author, the well known Dutch anarchist, journalist and orator, gives us a very clear exposition of the different Socialist ideals and tactics. In his critique he proves himself a very accomplished student of the Socialist literature of different countries. But the greatest merit of the book is, undoubtedly, the originality of analysis and of argument displayed by the author. For instance, the reader will certainly agree with us that the following quotation is very clear and quite original:

"These economists of the bourgeois class forget, however, that if the land, or even the whole of nature is an indispensable factor in the social process of the production of riches, this is not so with the proprietors of the land, who are quite superfluous. In the same way, capital may be considered, and quite truly, as absolutely necessary for the production of wealth; but we can do quite well without capitalists, who are only obstacles in the way of production. Are they not preventing the intellectual and manual workers from using the social capital in the most productive way?"

"But it is quite different with the third factor: labor. Once acknowledge that labor is indispensable to the production of wealth, and it must be admitted that the workers are also indispensable, because it is they who possess the productive power.

"If the capitalists and landowners are superfluous in their quality of possessors, and prevent even more and more the regular course of production, the workers' is the only class of society which is really necessary. This is the only class by which in reality the social life of humanity is sustained.

"By the law of necessity, or through the natural outcome of their egoism, men must arrive at a social organization where the means of existence—land, factories, machines, tools, shops and warehouses, means of communication and transport, as well as all articles of consumption—will be the collective property of humanity. Correlatively, and necessarily, we shall see the growth of autonomy in the people of each country, of each region, of each community, as also the possibility for the workers of each factory to organize all their business themselves. So the task of the communist society of the future will consist in developing and assuring liberty to each individual without injuring the welfare or violating the liberty of others.

"The management and administration of labor in its entirety, according to the will of the majority of the fellow workers can only be maintained, in the long run, on condition the minority shall not be opposed in the least if they want to form a new group."

Toward this free, libertarian communism present humanity is approaching in its evolution; this libertarian communism will alone be a final solution of the social problem, because even social democratic aims "remain, nevertheless, measures of State socialism only, or to characterize even better this preservation of the wage earners, they are measures of State capitalism."

Space does not permit us to make further quotations, so we conclude by warmly recommending this book to all friends and comrades. (W. Tellerkessov in London Freedom.)

FOR PHILADELPHIA.

There will be held for the benefit of Free Society, the twentieth century Russian tea party concert and ball, with Mmes. Barili and Staller and Sig. Giannini among the talent, on Friday evening, March 1, 1901, commencing at 7.30 p. m., at Pennsylvania Hall, Christian Street, below Eighth. Dancing till 3 a. m. Tickets 25 cents.

FOR CHICAGO.

The Free Society Sustaining Club meets every Wednesday evening at 515 Carroll Avenue. Subject for discussion February 13, "Propaganda by Deed." Comrade A. Isaak, Jr., will open the discussion. As this is an important question concerning our own tactics, we hope many comrades will be present.

The Lake Street Elevated, Ashland Avenue Station, or any surface line crossing Ashland Avenue or Paulina Street will take you here, which is one block east of Ashland Avenue.

## HE WHO WOULD LEAD US AND OUR CRADLE.

The sentence, "Born and reared among the toiling classes, and being a close student of their economic and political life," must and should be the leading feature in the career of one who undertakes to instruct and lead the toiling masses unto their salvation. I do not limit to the "born and reared" men the instructorship and leadership of the masses; as a good many men who were and are leaders, were and are merely "close students" of the life of the masses.

One may be "born and reared" among the masses, and yet be very ignorant of their condition; but one may be a "close student," and, if of the right turn of mind, may be an able and acumen standard-bearer.

Facts show that the individual, as well as the masses, of whom the individual is the main factor, is probably ignorant of his condition, and, I will venture to say, keep themselves there through their own inactivity. Consequently I say that one who is to instruct and lead the masses must be one of them, a "close student," "born and reared" among them. One who feels what the mass feels; one who feels the sting what the mass feels; and one while the masses "cried, has wept."

Having given my opinion who is best fit to lead, I will attempt to describe (pardon me for being quite presumptuous), or to give my opinion of our "Cradle" which produces the men that are fit for leaders, as is written above.

We enter, or are forced upon this world without our solicitation or consent. We are reared by our parents in the best (in their opinion) way, and, under reasonable circumstances, so as to be able to "shift" for ourselves in this world.

Now, without going any further, allow me to enter a protest against the usual mode of rearing the children. Teaching their offspring, by their own conduct, the life which the parents of said offspring lead is so marked with prejudice and hypocrisy, and, together with the education which the so-called public institutions give their offsprings have a great evil influence upon the future of their children.

Let us turn to the economic state of our "Cradle." Whether they are common laborers, professional men, or middle-class men, they are taught to guide themselves by the "survival of the fittest" principle. They start out to carry this principle to their highest (meanest) conception, and they enter helter-skelter in the struggle; and if it were necessary, and it often is, as the logical conclusion of war, leads us to believe, would trample over the dead bodies of their brothers." But there are some of their "brothers" who by the will of Providence and might usually render their "brothers" the staggering and settling blow. Thus the Lord's children are divided into Cains and Abels; One is the "knocker down," the other the "knocked down;" one is the oppressor, the other the oppressed; one is the ruler, the other the ruled; one the exploiter, the other the exploited; one the enslaver, the other the enslaved.

This, my friends, is our "Cradle," and its offsprings whether good, or bad, are well known.

New York.

S. MINTZ.

[I would like to remind Comrade Mintz of the fact, that as long as the masses rely upon "leaders," whether the latter be fit or unfit to lead, just

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## 90 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

that long will they be misled. It is not leadership that we must cultivate, but intelligence and self-reliance; in short, the "masses" must free themselves.  
A. I.]

### UNITED STATES SUPPORT SLAVERY AND POLYGAMY.

The Sultan of Sulu, or Jolo, who exercises authority over the islands of the Sulu Archipelago, assisted by a number of datos, is, doubtless, all things considered, the rarest animal so far found in our Oriental Empire. He is a Mohammedan, a polygamist, a pirate, a slave-catcher and a slave owner. He runs a harem, numerously supplied with wives and wenches. He is the whole thing, or was until we captured him, and in acknowledging the sovereignty of the United States, he not only stipulated that his rights and prerogatives as ruler should not only remain undisturbed, but that the United States should pay him a salary of \$250 a month, and also put his datos on its pay roll, making the monthly tribute \$760, or \$9,120 a year. As a result, "Old Glory" now protects the Mohammedan religion, polygamy, and slavery, the cost to the American taxpayer being about \$10,000 a year. With this sum the Sultan and his datos can purchase more slaves and replenish and improve their harems. On the face of the returns it appears that the Sultan of Jolo and his datos got the better of Billy Mae by a large majority.

### CHORDS.

The King, according to Christian ideas, was the delegate and representative of God. This is really the only foundation that government can have. But if God proves to be only a myth, a conception, what becomes of the foundation of government?

If we knew that the elegant gentleman that we happened to meet had eleven feet, we would have nothing to do with him; if we knew that the State which comes to us with such earnest protestations of friendship and esteem was in reality our most dangerous enemy, we would never rest a moment while our fate was subject to the control of such a monster.

Government originally undertook to control the actions of men only so far as they were dangerous to the community. At first the State never presumed to regulate the conduct or control the thoughts of men. But now, through a progressive series of encroachment continued for hundreds of years, the State has usurped the powers of the church, and it seeks to control the thoughts as well as the actions of men. Indeed, the power that controls thoughts must also control actions. (Newark Courier.)

Pbil D. Armour, in his slaughtering pens, could skin a steer in a minute, but capitalism skins 20,000,000 workingmen every day of the round year.

"The silk worm spins its task, lays its eggs and dies." Do wage slaves do more than the silk worm? (Social Democratic Herald.)

### THE LETTER/DOX.

J. F. Baymiller, Pullman, Wash. You may be able to define governmental socialism, as advocated by the so-called socialist press of to-day; but before you enter the public arena to criticize anarchism, you ought to have at least an elementary conception of its philosophy and aims. We are living in the twentieth century, and a "socialist" ought to be ambitious enough to know what he is talking about when he comes before the public, or else he will arouse very little attention.

G. S., Pittsburg, Pa. Your address has been changed, and I suppose you have received the paper meanwhile.

C. R. C., Pittsburg, Pa. "Secret and Confidential Address" is out of print, as far as we know.

A. W., St. Charles, Ill. The books have been sent this week, and I hope you will excuse the delay. Shall be glad to make your acquaintance.

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 91

### RECEIPTS.

**Subscriptions.**—Collins, Kisluck, Westrup, Nussbeck, each \$1. Kunze, Gutes, Weiner, Leighton, Loque, Fromhaagen, Dunton, Goggin, each 50 cents. Stark, Brakk, each 25 cents.

**Donations.**—Debating Club No. 1, city, \$7.49. Frauen Arbeiter-Bund, Philadelphia, \$8.75. Internationaler Maennerchor, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$3. Social Science Club, Philadelphia, \$1.50. Eleventh November Commemoration, Philadelphia, \$1.

Dunton, Leighton, each 50 cents.

### BOOK LIST.

All orders for the following books received at this office:

Essays on Social Problems. H. Adals. 5 cents.  
The Education of the Feminine Will. Grant Allen. 5 cents.  
The New Hedonism. Grant Allen. 5 cents.  
Plain Words on the Woman Question. Grant Allen. 5 cents.  
Prejudice? M. Bachman. 50 cents.  
God and the State. Bukunin. 5 cents.  
The same (London edition). 10 cents.  
The Proletarian Revolt, a History of the Paris Commune of 1871. G. B. Benham. 25 cents.  
The Worm Turns. V. de Cleve. 10 cents.  
The Evolution of the Family. J. M. Crane. 5 cents.  
Evolution and Modesty. J. M. Crane. 5 cents.  
The Emancipation of Society from Government. Dallan Doyle. 5 cents.  
Moribund Society and Anarchy. Jean Grave. 25 cents; cloth, 60 cents.  
Marriage and Morality. Dr. J. H. Greer. \$2.75.  
A Physician in the House. Lillian Harman. 5 cents.  
Regeneration of Society. Lillian Harman. 5 cents.  
Love in Freedom. Moses Harman. 5 cents.  
Motherhood in Freedom. Moses Harman. 5 cents.  
How to Dispose of Surplus Products and Employ Surplus Labor. Klinghorn-Jones. 5 cents.  
Anarchism. Its Philosophy and Ideal. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.  
Anarchist Morality. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.  
Law and Authority. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.  
Memoirs of a Revolutionist. Peter Kropotkin. \$2.  
Paris Commune. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.  
The State: Its Historic Role. Peter Kropotkin. 10 cents.  
The Wage System. Revolutionary Government. Peter Kropotkin. 5 cents.  
History of the Commune. Lissagary. Cloth, 75 cents.  
Anarchy. Enrico Malatesta. 5 cents.  
Anarchy. (Is it All a Dream?) James F. Morton, Jr., Enrico Malatesta. 10 cents.  
Commune of Paris. Wm. Morris. 5 cents.  
Monopoly. Wm. Morris. 5 cents.  
God and Government:  
The Slamese Responsibility and the Solidarity in the Labor Struggle. M. Netlau. 5 cents.  
Twins of Superstition. W. Nevill. 5 cents.  
Mating or Marrying, Which? W. H. Van Ornum. 5 cents.  
Evolution and Revolution. Roclus. 5 cents.  
Direct Action v. Direct Legislation. J. Blair Smith. 5 cents.  
Helen Harlow's Vow. Lois Walsbrooker. 25 cents.  
My Century Plant. Lois Walsbrooker. Cloth, \$1.  
The Temperance Folly. Lois Walsbrooker. 10 cents.  
Wherefore Investigating Co. Lois Walsbrooker. 25 cents.  
Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses. E. C. Walker. 15 cents.  
Revival of Puritanism. E. C. Walker. 10 cents.  
What the Young Need to Know. E. C. Walker. 15 cents.  
Life Without a Master. J. Wilson. 366 pp. \$1; cloth, \$1.50.  
The New Dispensation. J. Wilson. Cloth, \$1.50.  
The Coming Woman. Lillie White. 5 cents.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Eighty-two shots of 160 pages. For typed draft of pages about Goldman, possibly used as deportation brief, see 830214183 and 830214184. For typed draft of pages about Berkman, see 800321004.

The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court; and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab. 25 cents.

## EXHIBIT VIII.

[Free Society, formerly the Firebrand. Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that equality of opportunity alone constitutes liberty, that in the absence of monopoly price and competition can not exist, and that communism is an inevitable consequence. Vol. VII. No. 18. Chicago, Ill., Sunday, June 2, 1901.]

### WHY?

Why drink from pools of bondage  
The bitter, burning draught?  
At freedom's gushing fountain,  
Life's joys may all be quaffed—  
Life's joys may all be quaffed—  
When we undaunted scale  
The fakir's wall, tradition;  
Its grim old myths assail.

Why gnaw stale crusts that riches  
In mercy's honor gives?  
There's bread in bounty's cupboard  
For everyone who lives—  
Aye, everyone who lives;  
Then raze the cribs of greed!  
Expose the lying logic  
Of wily profit's creed!

Why garbs of flying tatters—  
With spongers decked in lace?  
The looms of Dame Abundance  
Can clothe our ragged race—  
Yes, clothe our ragged race  
When ancient creed and code,  
Which bolster stiff old custom,  
Faint 'neath progression's goad.

Why picturesque our hovels?  
Avaunt! ye cruel art  
That beauty sees in sadness—  
Begone! ye grinding mart!  
Ye blinding, blinding mart—  
Then huts will disappear,  
And art must mimic gladness,  
Not blight, decadence, drear.

Why crawl like filthy vermin?  
Is lowliness our lot?  
Arise to manly stature  
And thwart the master's plot!  
The master's murderous plot  
That kills us inch by inch.  
Shake from our backs the monster,  
Nor from his fury flinch.

Why think the thoughts of bondmen?  
Why meekly bow the head  
To autocrats who bluster?  
Why gods and demons dread?  
Why gods and demons dread?  
Unbend thy knees oh, slaves!  
Pitch worship and submission  
Down deep in cowards' graves!

VIROQUA DANIELS.

### GAETANO BRESCHI.

Gaetano Bresci, the Italian rebel and anarchist, whose overflowing sympathy with human suffering prompted him to strike down one of the world's tyrants, is dead (at least such is the report circulated in the daily press). All tyrants, despots, rulers, parasites, Pharisees, and hypocrites can now breathe freely once more. What does it matter to them that they have added another tear and blood-stained page to the history of crime and misery; that they have tortured a man into insanity; that they have bought their safety through the agony and despair of a man whose only sin consisted in rebelling against wrong? He is dead; and tyranny reigns supreme.

"After all, the man was only an anarchist, an enemy to law and order, an outcast; why care about him?" echoes the thoughtless multitude.

Fortunately the world is not inhabited by tyrants and slaves only; there are a vast number of men and women whose hearts, even as Bresci's, throb with love for those whom power and greed has condemned to everlasting ignorance and despair. Men and women, in all stations of life, who see the injustice and cruelty around them; and who feel that Bresci's awful death is but another indictment against those institutions in society that are being maintained at the cost of human lives.

A society which destroys myriads of its members must give birth to men like Bresci. It is violence and force upon which the whole system is based, and that hegets force. How could it be otherwise?

Bresci is the child of Italy, where the masses of the people toil and sweat, yet never enjoy the beauties that Mother Nature has so abundantly bestowed upon that country; Italy, whose strong, healthy, and stalwart men must leave their native soil to wander in strange lands in search of bread; Italy, where women are wrecks at the age of 20, and whose children, dirty, filthy, ragged, and starved, are degraded to beggars. The few have robbed the country to gain their accumulated wealth, and are now suppressing every sound of protest, celebrating orgies to drown the voices of agony coming from the prisons, where the darling spirits are confined to a life of hell. It was here where he first imbibed the spirit of discontent and hatred against a society which endures such awful conditions; it was here where he learned to understand and to love the idea that is to bring the dawn of the day, and establish human happiness.

Since man has dictated terms to his brother, the spirit of righteous indignation has been afloat; and it is well that it should be so. Were it not for the spirit of discontent, of indignation and protest against wrong, the spirit that feels every blow, pain, and sorrow that suffering and starving humanity has to endure, progress would be impossible. It was this spirit that moved man to become helpful, good, and generous; to tear down the old institutions of darkness and ignorance, and build new ones. It was this spirit that has given to past generations the power of endurance, determination, and enthusiasm in their fight for man's highest treasure—liberty.

Each age has its John Browns, its Perovskayas, its Parsous, Spies, Angiolillo, and its Brescis, who were misunderstood, persecuted, mobbed, tortured, and killed, by those who could not reach the sublime heights attained by these men. Yet they have not lived in vain, for it is to them that we owe all that is good and noble, grand and useful in the world.

It is therefore useless to assert that the science of life, the philosophy of liberty, and human independence are reasonable for the acts of violence. This may satisfy sensational minds; but earnest men and women are beginning to understand that the philosophy of anarchism, which occupies the most intellectual minds of our time, which has given to the world a Tolstoy, a Kropotkin, and many others, which permeates the literature, art, science, and every branch of human knowledge, which aims at the deliverance of mankind from a life of tragedy and despair, which is based upon harmony, and the recognition of the equal rights of every individual to all that his intelligence, skill, and ingenuity can produce, certainly can have nothing to do with violence, nor have the representatives of this idea ever advocated it.

Bresci has paid the penalty of his crime. And a crime indeed it was to have loved one's kind, to have felt the existing wrongs in the world, and to have dared to strike a blow at organized authority. He has lived and died true to himself; and the world will have to learn that while one Bresci is killed, hundreds are born ready to lay down their lives to free mankind from tyranny, power, ignorance, and poverty.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

### TORTURE AND TORTURERS.

The last two works of the writer, "Life Without a Master," and "The New Dispensation," discuss a great number of social problems. Of all these none would seem to be so vital and momentous, when we come to consider the real interests of mankind, as the question of punishment; and yet it is the one particular point in these books that seems to attract no attention on the part

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of the reading public. If the subject is brought up in private conversation, the listener opens his eyes with a sort of blank stare, as much as to say, "What is this man talking about?" The listener seems to say to himself: "Why, we have always had punishments; the Bible tells us to punish, and it says we must have an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. How could society exist without punishments?"

Why do we punish people? Simply to cause them pain and suffering. But what good does that do? Absolutely none at all, either to the one that suffers or to the one who causes the suffering. Sometimes it is said that we punish to prevent crime. But we know as a matter of fact that punishment does not prevent crime, certainly not the crime that has been committed, and the evidence all goes to show that punishment does not even lessen crime. No, we punish people because they deserve it, because our Bible says so, because we have always done that way, and because we are exasperated and want revenge. That is reason enough, the people think.

Notice that we do not punish all people, but only those who have done wrong? Who says they have done wrong? We say so. How do we know? Who made us the judge over our fellow men, under any circumstances? Christ says, "Judge not." And still we try men, we judge men, we convict them, we punish them. The prisoner himself never has a word to say about the business. Is that not passing strange? How did the criminal, as we call the one whom we do not happen to like, lose his rights? Before "God" (term used for convenience) he never did lose his rights. The convict in State prison has properly as many rights as any man who lives outside of prison walls. We can imprison a man, we can cut off his ears or sever his head—but it is not in the power of any human being to take from him his vested or natural rights as a man and a citizen.

When one man murders another man, and we, having the power in our hands, hang the murderer, what is the difference in the crime in the two cases? No difference, except that the murder by hanging a man is the more cold-blooded of the two. When a crime is committed in the name and under the sanction of the law, how does it differ from a crime committed under other circumstances? There is an excuse for it, a justification, they say! Who says so? Why, the party that wants to be excused says so. But the party that suffers does not say so. Excuses have never yet changed the character of any act of wrongdoing. Excuses do not excuse England in India and South Africa, nor Germany for its crimes in China. If there is a hell, and we sometimes suspect there is, or there ought to be, it must be paved with such excuses. Was there ever a crime committed in all this world that did not have some excuse to justify it, in the mind at least of the one who is guilty of the offense? When Alexander killed Clitus, did he not have an excuse? Clitus was impertinent, and besides Alexander was drunk—a very good excuse indeed, for a king. Henry VIII had a most satisfactory excuse for disposing of his several wives as he did—he wanted them out of the way. Old Blue Beard had excellent excuses in the same direction. When Napoleon had 3,000 Turkish prisoners murdered at Jaffa, he had as good a reason for his crime as any man ever had, in his own mind. We stand horror-stricken and think of the suffering caused by the Inquisitors and by religious persecution generally, in the Middle Ages. But let us turn our thoughts nearer home, and see if we to-day are in any sense better than those Inquisitors and persecutors of which we complain so bitterly. For those people the heretic was the very worst of criminals, and so, as they imagined, they had a right to torture and torment this offender. We do precisely the same thing every time we imprison or torture a prisoner under any pretense. We not only cause him pain just to see him writhe and suffer, but we make his family wretched, and often leave them desolate and heartstricken. These frightful crimes are committed every day, in some part of the land, with the sanction of the law and in the name of God. We think it is horrible to lynch a man, but that is simply because it is not lawful. But doubtless it hurts a man justly to be hung on a gallows as to the limb of a tree. Finally, what makes it right to punish offenders as we do? Nothing, but the opinions of the people. If we could get people to change their opinions on this question, punishments would cease at once, and so would crimes and offenses. That is the way that chattel slavery ceased—people simply changed their minds, and what was right before is wrong now.

How unnecessary, how unjust, how cruel, how horrible it is to punish men for no other reason than that we have them at our mercy, and they have in

some way offended us! It must be remembered that criminals are simply and solely people, who have done what we consider wrong. But they are not in fact a whit worse than we are, or than anybody else is. They have been bold enough, or judgment enough, to do what they thought was right, and what we thought was wrong. That was the sole source of their misfortune. But what is worse than all, they happened to be in the minority.

But after all, we fear that this article, like those that preceded it, is so much effort wasted. If a person will persist in keeping his eyes shut, how can you induce him to open them? It should be remembered that there is no man so blind as the one who will not see.

However, what answer can be made to these statements, or who can refute the arguments here presented? These thoughts are not the dream, the idle fancy, of the writer. There is nothing really new in this article, except the manner in which the subject is presented. It may be, and no doubt is new to most people, but that is merely because they are not posted on all branches of literature. Why, the thought that it is wrong to punish, is as old as the New Testament—and no doubt older. Even Beccaria wrote against punishments 200 years ago.

J. WILSON.

## HOW "PLOTS" ARE MADE.

Two weeks ago another Italian spy was caught in a trap by our comrades of Paterson, N. J. This individual, whose name is Degl'Innocenti Raffaele, tried to induce an Italian anarchist, a personal friend of his, to make a trip to Italy with the intention of killing the Italian king. This proposition created suspicion, and he was easily detected. When he found that he was unmasked, he trembled and willingly confessed. The comrades even refrained from giving this hideous reptile a sound thrashing, only requesting him to give a written statement of his confession, the original of which is in the possession of the comrades in Paterson.

Last March the wretch went to see the Consul Branchi in order to obtain a pardon for a "nonpolitical crime" he had committed in Italy, and for which he had been sentenced to four years and six months' imprisonment. The consul took him into a private room, and asked him whether he knew any of the Paterson anarchists, of their doings and intentions. Degl'Innocenti replied that he was acquainted with some of the anarchists, but knew nothing of their doings. He was then sent to Paterson to spy on the anarchists, and to keep the consul posted, the main purpose being to form a conspiracy against the life of the Italian king, for which service he was to receive a pardon for the crime he had committed in Italy.

Besides a revolver, a prescription how to manufacture bombs was found in his possession. This reads as follows:

"Take a vessel of chinaware and a glass stick 16 to 20 inches long. Start a slow fire. Take 20 grams of silver nitrate, put it in the vessel, add 20 grams nitroglycerine, and dissolve on the fire. Then take 20 grams of wine-spirit from 44 to 50 degrees, which is to be divided into three equal parts. Pour one part into the vessel and cover it. After a few minutes add the second part, and finally the third. Then take a glass funnel, and filter the compound thoroughly, till the substance left in the funnel is nearly dry. Anyone can use this explosive by simply inclosing it in a solid vessel or iron tube."

Thus we see that the governments teach "law-abiding" subjects how to manufacture bombs, and they should therefore not be surprised when these "dangerous things" are sometimes thrown against those that teach how to make them.

E. M.

## WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

"In vain you appeal to me—you say that by an extension of the democratic régime we can eradicate the evils with which we are afflicted." But I do not believe it.

The word "democracy" is derived from demos, the people, and kratos, the power, and its general interpretation is a condition where the power of the government is supposed to be lodged in the hands of the people; that they, through the so-called representative, can make and unmake laws.

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This is no doubt very soothing to those whose power of inquiry has only reached a certain limit. It may aim at the sovereignty of the individual; but then it falls short of that, because it is enshrouded with ancient traditions, and also because it does not recognize the principles of true liberty.

What has the struggle between the poor and the privileged been the last hundred years? It has been mainly for political enfranchisement. The privileged have yielded, after a desperate conflict, the citizen's right to choose his ruler. But the mere fact of being able to choose one's master is nothing more than a farce, although the privileged feared the concessions they made. But the efficacy of the vote is only a chimera—it has only blinded and deceived the workmen; for this bait so cunningly employed by the classes is the means whereby the attention of the work is diverted from the real economical causes of his poverty, and his individuality and independence are sacrificed.

The decision of a majority is supposed to be final; it is they who can decide as to the best men to place in power. But what a delusion! Are they the most intelligent? do they think for themselves? They are always in the rear, and their ideas are more suitable for a museum than for modern life. How can they decide such a question? I can not, for the simple reason that no man can with safety be trusted with power; he becomes tyrannous under its influence, and imagines himself superior to those whom he professes to serve. And he also becomes the victim of temptations in the camp of the enemy; in fact, the atmosphere even of a legislative chamber is sufficient to chill the ardor of those who seek to establish better conditions of life.

The representative system is disease and corruption itself; the meanness and pretentiousness of the politician are well known—his smooth tongue, his profusion of promises, and his anxiety to get into power. Even if he has honest desires to improve the workers' condition he is prevented not only by the satellites of privilege, but from the mere fact that the legislative machinery can not deal with those problems which affect the workman; it does not touch the root of social diseases, but only deals with side issues. And therefore by dealing only with effect instead of causes, it attempts to make wage slavery appear more respectable and bearable in the eyes of the workman.

Politics have had their day, the veil of deception has been removed by the hand of truth, and the workers are beginning to see through this transparent fraud that the question at issue is not a matter of placing this or that party in power to spend their time making a nest for themselves and their descendants, but one of an economical nature that can be solved only by the workers themselves. It is they who must work out their emancipation by the development of their reasoning faculties, self-reliance and independence, and contempt for office seekers and their platitudes.

What of contemporary democracies? They do not present a healthy picture. For instance, France and America, where, notwithstanding the vote, human liberty is trampled under foot and the power of the capitalist remains unchecked; one need only look at these countries for a sample of this new form of tyranny.

The improvements in the workers' condition have been achieved outside parliament by their spontaneous action. Therefore, I say, for earnest men to enter the political arena is a hopeless affair, it only helps to strengthen the position of the privileged; for the belief in the power of the vote has a stupefying and dependent effect on the mind of the worker; it banishes inquiry.

Let us keep clear of politics with their lies, deceit, and hypocrisy. Our place is among the workmen, teaching them the principles of true democracy—that which will relieve humanity not only from the grip of the capitalist, but from that of the ruler as well.

The abolition of the State—that alone is true democracy, leaving each individual free, where economic and social affairs can be conducted by the people themselves without the interference of arrogant officials. That is true democracy; all other forms are wretched shams and frauds.—R. C. M., in Freedom.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor: The remarks of Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr., set in motion a novel train of thought. Women should certainly be protected from the ballot—if they require protection from anything! Why? "Because" the ballot is a part of the political machinery by which rulers are elected. Rulers are bosses, bosses are masters, masters are tyrants; no matter whether the system under

which they operate be that of chattel slavery or one of the various forms of the religious, political, or commercial varieties. Any kind of slavery is antisocial, for antagonism is the inevitable feeling between master and slave, unless the mind of the slave is so saddened by subjection as to prevent the fire of individuality from even smoldering. Men should be protected from the ballot, also; or, what is better, both women and men should denounce and renounce it as contaminating. Majority rule, the ideal of republican government, is in no way superior to any other rule. The attainments of humanity depend upon the degree of its social development, for "in union there is strength," "many hands make light work," and "what one does not think of another will." The corruption "sex attraction" might cause in politics would signify little, for the political infamy is begotten, bred, and fostered in and of corruption—"It is hard spoiling rotten eggs." If married life can not survive with the ballot in the hands of women, woman suffrage would be a blessing in disguise; provided the advance continued until the ballot, too, could be numbered with the dead institutions. Sex slavery is preposterous. Let us strike for freedom in all things, "though the heavens fall."—Viroqua Daniels, in Boston Traveler.

### THE CASE OF STUB CARTER.

To the Editor of the Post.

SIR: The announcement made in the Post that "Stub" Carter had been released from the New Haven jail, where he had been confined for 21 months for refusing to pay a military tax of \$1 to the State of Connecticut, shows what power there is in passive resistance to defeat a tyrannical measure.

Carter is a man who does not believe in war—at least, wars of invasion—so when the good old town of Ansonia, Conn., assessed a military tax of \$1 on him, he simply said that it was against his principle to pay it, and that he would go to jail before he would pay it. Result, 21 months in New Haven jail, at an expense of \$2.50 per week to the town that sent him there, or, say a total cost of \$227.50 added to the tax levy of Ansonia, as the cost of trying to force a man to pay \$1 for a purpose that he did not believe in. And, like Mark Twain in his controversy with the missionaries, the fact that the tax was such a "little one" had no weight with Mr. Carter, who evidently believes that "all just governments rest on the consent of the governed," and that numbers have nothing to do with principles. Suppose a million men in the United States had said with Carter that "we will go to jail before we will pay a military tax," is it conceivable that McKinley could have secured \$200,000,000 to wage an aggressive war against our brown brothers 10,000 miles away? Speed the day when millions of men will prefer going to jail rather than spend their time in producing wealth to be used in murdering their fellowmen on the field of battle.

Some day the people may become sane enough to remember, with feelings of gratitude, the man who was willing to lie in prison for 21 months rather than give a single dollar to aid the work of our American barbarians.—J. T. Small, in Boston Post.

PROVINCETOWN, MASS., May 13.

### A CONTRAST.

A man who poses as a progressive man was recently approached by a friend of Free Society with the view of obtaining his subscription thereto. He refused for the following reasons:

1. "My wife don't like that kind of literature."
2. "I am a single taxer."
3. "We have for the last 10 years been engaged in the investigation of spiritualism."

Upon first thought these reasons may seem plausible, but when the fact is considered that this man had received the paper for nearly a year without protesting or paying, the conundrum is evident.

In bold relief to the foregoing case stands that of one of his neighbors who had also received the paper for the same length of time. He also has a wife—

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice [excerpt] / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161; 22 cm. In Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919).

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and, unlike the other man, a large family as well, but he is not a slave to his wife's fancies as to the reading matter he himself is to indulge in. He, too, is friendly to the single-tax theory, but he evidently surpasses his fellow single taxer in depth and liberality. His single tax is truly but a means to an end, just as it was to Henry George in spite of his own subsequent stultification and inconsistency, the end being the perfect liberation of the land and with it the human being—anarchy. He, too, has perhaps "investigated spiritualism," but if he believes in it at all, which is doubtful, he evidently realizes that the adjustment of material conditions right here and now is of far greater importance to himself as well as to the human race than all the spirits that human imagination might conjure up. This latter friend did not refuse to pay for what he had received, but promptly liquidated his debt and cheerfully subscribed and paid for one year in advance, speaking of the work of Free Society in approving and very encouraging terms.—S. D.

## HERE AND THERE.

At Brussels, Belgium, the owner of a printing office, who discharged nine of his employees because they refused to leave their union on his demand, was fined 200 francs in court, and ordered to pay damages to the men in the sum of 1,900 francs. In this country the judges' sanity would have been questioned, and looked upon as a miracle.

In Bohemia 10,000 miners have achieved the 8-hour work day, and others are soon to follow. The Social Democrats, who opposed the agitation for shorter hours as not being in line with "scientific" socialism, have lost many adherents among the miners.

What economists call overproduction is but a production that is above the purchasing power of the worker, who is reduced to poverty by capital and State. Now, this sort of overproduction remains fatally characteristic of the present capitalist production, because—Proudhon has already shown it—workers can not buy with their salaries what they have produced and at the same time copiously nourish the swarm of idlers who live upon their work.—Peter Kropotkin.

## NOTES.

Thursday, June 6, 8 p. m., a meeting will be held at Lucifer's office, 500 Fulton Street, to discuss ways and means to further the propaganda for freedom by speech and press. All liberty-loving people are invited to attend.

## NOTE AND COMMENT.

"The Sons of God are Archists, not Anarchists," says the Flaming Sword. Right you are, "brother" Teed. "God" and his sons were ever tyrants.

McKinley made a great hit on his tour. If the millions that have been spent all along his line of march was given to the thousands who are clamoring for a full dinner pail, I think McKinley would have made a still greater hit than he did. But then even a digger Indian or a beggar has pride, and likes hero worship. This triumphal march is the corner stone of our future empire.—(City Front News.)

And the saddest thing about McKinley's "triumphal march" is the fact that labor organizations were prominent among those lickspittles who crawled and kneeled before "his majesty."

In reference to the present strike of the machinists, a "most prominent manufacturer, who declined to give his name," uttered the following sentiment in an interview:

"We intend to stamp it out, for the demands made upon us are injurious to our business, and are beyond all reason. We have reached the last ditch, where we must stand shoulder to shoulder and fight the dictation of trades unionism. That fight we shall win.

"The time for conference is past. There will be no compromise on our part and we will stick out until we win. We are sick of being dictated to, and of having our business interfered with by our workmen.

"I say again that trades unionism must be stamped-out. It is now war to the knife."

This capitalist Juggernaut takes a rather bold position, yet his attitude is much more praiseworthy than those of the hypocritical labor leaders who constantly prate about the "friendly relations of capital and labor," and are ever willing to compromise in order to retain prestige and respectability.

The Chicago American has come to the conclusion that "the republican idea of government thus far seems to suggest a music-hall farce." The editor is certainly correct, but he has still to learn that this applies to all forms of government. Government implies master and slave, even if the master is called "servant," and the slave "a sovereign citizen."

In another column we mention a pamphlet, issued by the Russian Doukhobors. The views on marriage of these so-called "half-barbarians," which they set forth to the Canadian Government, should put so-called Christian nations to shame. The Canadian law requires that, to make marriage legal, a license for \$2 must be obtained. To this they reply:

"We can not believe, that a marriage can become legal because it is recorded in a police register and a fee of \$2 paid for it; on the contrary we believe that such recording and payment annuls marriage and breaks up its real legality. We believe that the real legalization of a marriage union is when it is brought about freely as a result of a pure feeling, of a mutual moral affection between man and woman. Only such pure feeling of love, born of mutual recognition of moral traits of character, creates a real legality of a marriage according to the law of God, and not a record of same in a police register and a money fee. And every marriage which has its source in the pure feeling of mutual love will be legal before God, although it were not registered, and other people would not recognize its legality. \* \* \* Therefore we believe that legalization of the marriage bonds belongs solely to God, and we can not consent to transfer the legalization from God to the police."

## PEPPERY POT.

The San Francisco Independent Debating Club is contributing its share toward undermining the powers of the three G's (God, Government, and Grundy). Its Sunday afternoon meetings at 909 Market Street are well attended and draw thinking audiences and bright speakers.

The "Socialists" John Burns and Keir-Hardie voted on Labouchere's amendment to King Edward's allowances. These "Socialists" apparently did not realize that it was a stultification to vote on any proposition involving a salary to royalty, which plainly shows how this desire for political power corrupts. Our American half brothers, the Socialists, are irate when we call them State Socialists, but in this instance their English brothers are not only State but royal Socialists.

"The King of Italy has created a new order—the order of the Knights of Labor, but it does not affiliate with the order of the same name in this country," says an Associated Press dispatch. From another source we learn that poor Bresci has been driven insane by the tortures inflicted upon him by the government whose responsible head is this same wholesale murderer sitting on the Italian throne. And that is the secret of his creation of the new order of the Knights of Labor, which practically means Knights of Loafers, and is a bid for protection by a guilty conscience. The next thing in order for this king of loafers will be the doubling of his guard and the appointment of a food-taster—for certainly such villains are not allowed to go free by a people of the undaunted courage and determination of the Italians. But then, royalty never learns anything until their heads ornament the scaffold as a warning example, as during the French Revolution. Well has the German poet said: "Humanity will never be free until the last king and the last priest hang on the same scaffold."

C. L. James, in a recent issue of Free Society (No. 306), regrets Tolstoy's religious bias, and hopes he (Tolstoy) "may be brought to acknowledge it." Evidently "misery wants company," for James, not many moons ago, in Free



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## 100 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Society, acknowledged his own religious bias by the affirmation of the existence of a deity. And for the fact that he has not yet dropped his own bias, his introductory remark in the same article in which the criticism of Tolstoy occurs, is sufficient proof. He says: " . . . which (the social revolution) is predestined to be the event of the twentieth century." Predestined—by whom? Back of the idea of predestination lurks the big deity, the religious superstition. Let us hope that both James and Tolstoy will not only "acknowledge" but drop their religious bias.

I appreciate and share C. L. James's opinion regarding some people's misunderstanding of Nietzsche. Whether the effect of Nietzsche's depth of thought or his ambiguity of language, or from whatever cause, he is much misunderstood. Not long since I was almost dumbfounded to hear two of his admirers, who had formerly professed to be Anarchists, renounce Anarchism and advocate archism or government because they, as they claimed, "followed Nietzsche."

Now, it is true that Nietzsche speaks a good deal of the prevailing principle of might constituting right, but his ideal, I feel safe in asserting, is that of noninvasion, Anarchism, though, of course, he speaks of it as an ideal far off in the future, realized by a race of people so far superior to the present that he calls it "Uebermensch"—overman. And in this respect all intelligent Anarchists agree with him to the extent that the realization of Anarchy is a question of evolution.

"The close of the session of the General Assembly of Illinois was marked by a general distribution of watches, watch chains, diamonds, rings, and scarfpins, but it is surmised that the tokens given out to the members at the next general election in the State will be of a less welcome kind."—(San Francisco Chronicle.)

The Chronicle is Republican, and, of course, the inference it wants to be drawn is the probability of the defeat of the Democratic candidates at the next general election, in which case the watches, watch chains, diamond rings, and scarfpins would go to the Republican boodlers. However, it is possible that the Socialists may by that time have learned the tricks of "how to get into power," and there may be Socialists, too, who are fond of jewelry, for "opportunity makes thieves," you know. Or, perchance, the trade unionists may have by that time become powerful and seizable enough to institute a general strike, drive off the political loafers and take hold of industries, and declare this country an association of workers, by workers, and for workers, instead of its present condition of a Government of loafers, by loafers, for loafers.

Comrade Kropotkin, in his excellent article, "The Black Invasion," translated in a recent issue of Free Society, takes a gloomy aspect of the state of affairs which from the statistics he furnishes would seem justified. But fortunately in this case statistics often prove things "that ain't so," as for instance the statistics regarding the effect of poisoning (vaccination) in the Franco-German war, which our comrade, Frank D. Blue, in his gallant anti-poisoning journal, Vaccination, appropriately speaks of as "the Franco-German war lie."

Besides Catholicism and even religion itself, like everything else, is subject to evolution, and is, as a matter of fact, rapidly undergoing modifications. When we consider how Beecher knocked the bottom out of hell only a few years ago; how the Bible is being revised frequently and more radically each time in order to suit the growing progressive spirit of the times; how the pope himself is forced to whine about the loss of his temporal power, and to write hypocritical encyclical letters in favor of labor; how the very foundation of religion—God—is being interpreted by the "divines" as "God is all and in all," which practically means that God has evaporated; when even such good people as Max Muller seek a "reconciliation between science and religion;" nay, when a still "gooder" man like Stephen T. Byington, our "me too" anarchist, teaches religion in a Sunday school, and when—behold!—the "goodest" of the good, our own bard, J. Wm. Lloyd, "pleas" for a "larger religion"—then, perhaps, there may not be after all so much cause for alarm regarding the progress of the black invasion as Comrade Kropotkin thinks.

At the time this is being penned, the city of San Francisco is in spasms over the arrival of the chief of all the boodlers and corruptionists, Ma-Kin-Lee. The Chronicle, the largest Republican paper in this city, has the words "Pros-

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 101

perity" and "Protection" prominently displayed upon its building, erected upon boodle and blackmail. My attention was attracted by some things calling themselves men and women walking along the streets in rags and tatters wearing McKinley badges. They are a living embodiment of prosperity and protection. Mrs. McKinley is unwell, which is the only ripple on the surface of this great excitement. The bulletins gave out this morning that "Mrs. McKinley will not be able to attend to social duties." Sad, very sad, indeed, for how can the sun keep on shining without Mrs. McKinley's attending to "social duties!" The only consolation is that Mac is well fitted to represent the old lady, for even he is an expert in "social duties," in fact he is probably more fitted for "social" duties than for any other. The San Francisco tobacco merchants seem to realize that fact, for they are said to have put in an extra stock of high-priced cigars for the occasion.

S. D.

### THE POOR YE SHALL ALWAYS HAVE AMONG YE.

Just for the sake of illustration let us fix the value of a man's labor at \$100 per day. As a common man is never recognized at his true value, he barely receives \$1 out of the \$100. Admirable scheme, is it not? We know our right hand from our left hand, but we pretend to be ignorant of what causes pauperism. Let us elucidate. If we are lucky and get the \$99, that's our right hand. The fellow who is unlucky gets the \$1, that is our left hand. The scriptural injunction never to let the other hand know what the right hand is doing, is religiously observed as a general rule. In fact, so well established is this rule among all nations, that the golden rule, "The poor ye shall always have among ye," remains undisturbed. Great things, however, are expected from the poor but honest dollar-per-day man. Blessed be nothing, for out of that lonesome dollar must come all the issues of a beggarly family. Upon the dry and barren soil of a niggardly dollar must be cultivated all the germs of a sublime and exquisite taste, all the graces that wealth itself might bestow. The astonishing success which hath attended the frantic efforts of our left-handed brothers may be ascertained at any hour of the day by consulting the statistics of our model prisons and elaborate asylums.

In 1870 a traveler asked a native of Massachusetts what was raised in the State. The native replied with a tone of pride, "We raise men." In 1890 the same question being asked, the native replied this time with a tone of shame and disgust, "We raise large crops of epileptics now, and a very, very hospitable people." Of course, it is one of those dark, mysterious secrets, nobody knows how or why it happens thusly, and even if they did nobody would care to have their nervous system jarred by an explanation that would set the whole thing dead to rights. Where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise. Where wisdom will bring you in a cool million, it is folly to be too ignorant; but tell it not in Gath.

Returning to our downtrodden brother, the dollar-per-day man, what can you expect for 50 cents or \$1? Diamonds? Wonderfully brilliant idea for our moneyed men to preserve the integrity of low-cut wages. By using the \$99 judiciously, the right hands and the left hands will continue their journey through life in sweet oblivion of each other *ad infinitum*. Capital and labor might have been lovers once upon a time, but they bear the appearance of strangers now, which is a great pity, and a reconciliation ought to take place. Alas! dear friends, what a yawning chasm confronts us! It is easier by far to bridge the Pacific than to span the gulf that exists between wealth and poverty. A few pennies for sweet charity's sake dropped in the blind organ grinder's tin cup quietens our conscience, for in the eyes of men we are indeed charitable. Those who seek favor in the eyes of the Lord must not flatter themselves that he approves of the clever robbing of the gentle Peters, whereby the pestiferous Paulinas may be paid with a fine flourish. Again the cry rings out from the hearts of pure men and women at the foot of the cross, "Oh, Lord what wilt thou have us to do that we may be saved?" Could the Lord respond to the cry with the voice of a living human being, he would exclaim, "My children, give your \$1 per day man his \$100 per day, and it will be well with your soul in the last great day."

EQUALITY.

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## MILITARY DRILL.

I live near the State Agricultural College, where every day the cadets drill on the open grounds for half an hour before noon. It is a fine sight. Several hundred neatly dressed men and boys in uniform, going through evolutions calculated to teach them promptness, order, obedience, cleanliness, and an erect attitude so conducive to health. But, with guns in their hands, and that alters the case!

To teach them war—murder—in the curriculum of a State school! Yet these boys seem quite unconscious of the inevitable trend of "drill." Few realize that they may be called out as State troops to shoot their fellow men, and those few no doubt believe it right to "defeat their country." I said to one of them: "Why not deploy along a cornfield with hoes in your hands, instead of guns, and, at the bugle call or word of command, fall to hoeing the corn, each taking a row? There would be some sense in that! And if you must wear swords, you officers, when the fodder is to be cut in the fall, use them regularly, deftly and rapidly in cutting the corn, row after row. What a grand sight that would be! The 'squads' can 'shock' it while the band plays and you can 'double quick' home to dinner, feeling that you are really of some use in the world."

"Who ever heard of such a thing?" was the reply of the dear cadet—and time goes on. But the seed of better thought was dropped in the furrow.

FOOT COLLINS, COLO.

ALBINA L. WASHBURN.

The Russian Doukhobors, Society of Universal Brotherhood, of Canada, have sent out pamphlets addressed to all nations, requesting to inform them "whether there is anywhere such a country and such a human society where we could be tolerated and where we could make our living without being obliged to break the demands of our conscience and of the truth."

These people object to private property in land and to pay marriage license, because being contrary to the teachings of Christ; but as the teachings of Christ can not be reconciled with the laws of a so-called Christian nation, difficulties have arisen between the Doukhobors and the Canadian Government, which the pamphlet explains in detail. After giving their reasons why they can not compromise with the Canadian laws, their letter to the Government concludes:

"And now we are in necessity to beg your allowance to remain in Canada until we find some other country for our settlement or to come to a persuasion, that for men who try to set their life on Christian principles there is no room on earth."

A voice in the wilderness! In vain will these good people wait for a reply, for there is no room on this earth where men could live a "life set on Christian principles."

## HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

But meanwhile this multitude have been performing that most unape-like process which is called thinking. They reflect—If De Launay and his garrison are tried, for what shall they be punished? Resisting the people? Law, order, precedent, etc., exist only to do that. Defending an untenable place? If they had been agreed to defend it, the Bastille was an impregnable place. If De Launay is tried, he must be vindicated. This multitude has thought and resolved that he shall not be vindicated. It has not thought enough to know any way of preventing his vindication but the apellike method, bloodshed and revenge. The multitude follows the escort, snatching, pelting, howling, and grimacing till it reaches the Place de Greve. This usual place of execution carries associations little adapted to inspire reverence for law and order, much to hallow bloodshed and revenge. Here Lally, borne down by court intrigue, was gagged and headed without law. Here Damiens, for sticking a penknife into Louis the Infamous, was dismembered by 13 strong horses without law. Here refractory fathers of children in the Pare aux Cerfs were hanged without law. Here the child brother of Cartouche was crucified without law. Here others, too numerous to mention, have been hanged, wheeled, quartered, burned, possible with law, but certainly with public sorrow for them

and execration for their slayers. Here he who shot the people to save the Bastille shall perish without law. The escort was overpowered. De Launay was borne to the ground; his head was cut off and carried on a pike. Two soldiers were also seized and hanged to lamp ropes. As the multitude had been thinking they were satisfied with a few of their slayers. It was rumored that Flesselles had written to De Launay he would amuse the people till troops should arrive from Versailles. He was now summoned to defend himself in the Palais Royal. At the corner of his first block going thither an unknown man shot him dead. The Bastille is taken. Yet Paris may not be safe. All night the populace were busy barricading in hourly expectation of an attack. It was their third war vigil.

This news came upon the entire court party as suddenly and awfully as Gabriel's blast. It was midnight when the Duke de Liancourt called up his sovereign, who had just slept an hour. "This is a rebellion," said the King, after a long silence. "Sire," was the reply, "it is a revolution." The surrender of the Bastille, in truth, was but incidental to the general mutiny of the King's army. Only one of two courses was practicable for Louis—to accept the situation or to fly. He was too vacillating to do either. At 2 a. m. the Assembly, though still nominally in session, ceased to do business for some hours while the members were sleeping, quite exhausted. At 8 De Liancourt entered to announce that the King was coming. His Majesty appeared, accompanied only by his two brothers, amidst thundering applause. He declared his confidence in the Assembly, denied that he had ever intended its forcible dissolution, promised to be guided by its counsels, and announced withdrawal of his troops. Some murmurs were heard from the aristocratic party. The majority drowned them with fresh bursts of applause. They escorted the King back to his actual residence. Versailles, already thronged with now arrivals from Paris, followed, shouting. The queen was much alarmed by the uproar. When she learned that Louis was returning in triumph she appeared on the balcony and was greeted with plaudits, which, however, a few murmurs disturbed. The people, amidst their wildest enthusiasm, could not forget the vacillation of Louis, the tyranny of his predecessors and their noblesse, the rancorous enmity of that court whose type was this "Austrian woman." A female of Versailles pushed her way through the concourse close to Louis and said, "Oh, my king! are you quite sincere? Will they not make you change your mind again?" A deputation of 100 members was at once sent to Paris with the glad news. They took with it the King's sanction to organization of a national guard. Approaching by the same way whence a hostile army had been expected, they drove through a multitude delirious with joy to the Place Louis XV. Thence they walked through the Tuilleries gardens, amidst martial music, and were escorted by a committee along the Seine to the Hotel de Ville. Lafayette was elected to command the national guard, Bailly chosen mayor of Paris. The people expressed an ardent desire that their King should visit them. Next day it was warmly debated at Versailles whether he had better do so or appeal to foreign despots. He allowed a majority of his advisers to decide for the first alternative, but he imagined that he was going into danger. Accordingly he took pains to receive the eucharist and to appoint his brother (Louis XVIII) Lieutenant of France in case he should not return. He was actually pale when he left Versailles, though as little subject to fear as to any strong emotion. The Queen, bitterly opposed to his present policy, was in a state of distraction. But the impulsive nation overflowed with milk and honey. A Te Deum was voted, on motion by the Archbishop of Paris. The recall of Necker, in which some one had tact enough to make Louis anticipate the Assembly's wishes, called forth a peal of gratitude. Free Paris, with civil and military officers of her own, prepared to give her liberal King the royalist welcome upon record. Meanwhile De Liancourt had announced in the Assembly, "The King pardons the French guards." One of the soldiers, who was present, immediately rose to say, "We can not accept a pardon. In serving the nation, we served the king, and the scenes now transpiring prove it." Fresh thunders of applause responded.

Louis set out at 10 a. m., July 17, in a plain carriage without guards but surrounded by all the deputies on foot. That they might be able to keep up, his progress was slow. At 3 he reached the gates. From the Sevres bridge, more than 3 miles outside Paris, even to the Hotel de Ville his road was lined by the national guard in military array. Amidst this army, which numbered 200,000, were the bulk of the industrial and commercial citizens, a multitude

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of the inferior clergy, a few bishops, the lawyers and politicians, a vast swarm of tatterdemalions, with hunger in their cheeks but fury in their eyes, faces marked by scenes witnessed at rustic "jacqueries," by weary tramp, by ahivering bivouac, by begging on quays, and storming the Bastille. There were also many women and girls. Thirty thousand volunteers bore muskets, 50,000 pikes; the remainder, more than half of all, were armed with scythes, axes, sabers, pitchforks, clubs. To a liberal King who had regretted an error this should have been his proudest moment. A cynical despot might have seen in this enthusiastic militia an army with which he could conquer Europe. But Louis XVI was neither a Joseph II nor a Napoleon. All his little intelligence was employed in realizing his humiliation. The rough faces were the faces of savages; the intelligent faces were the faces of traitors. All were the faces of enemies. The people, too, were inwardly uneasy and suspicious. This day the Comte d'Artois, the Polignacs, and a majority of aristocratic leaders fled from France. But when Louis, after meeting the new dignitaries at the Hotel de Ville, pinned a tricolor on his hat a deafening shout burst forth of "Vive le Roi!" which was echoed from street to street on his appearance beside Brilly in the porch. Fresh demonstrations greeted him as he descended, so effusive that he could not be quite insensible to their simplicity and fervor. A woman threw herself, weeping, on his neck. The people carried him in their arms. His postilions and suite were besieged with wine cups. Amidst cheering throngs he made his way back to Versailles. But all this enthusiasm could draw nothing more from his stupidity than a good-humored smile. His had angel, Marie Antoinette, had not expected him to return alive. This was her greeting when she saw the tricolor: "I did not know I had married a plebeian." Thus ended the first act in this drama of national regeneration. Power had passed to the people. They could still boast that they had won it almost without fighting a skirmish or retaliating a wrong.

"The chief thing that makes life a failure from the artistic point of view is the thing that lends to life its sordid security, the fact that one can never repeat exactly the same emotion" (Oscar Wilde). The "sordid security," of course, realizes a tremendous shock in times like July, 1789. But by the law just stated it rallies very soon, if only allowed to do so. The chief obstacle is that identical fear of losing landmarks and reaching a mad world, whose universality ought to teach us that it will allow no such danger.

Versailles, deserted by the defeated nobility, presented a melancholy spectacle. The King's lackeys perceived that he had lost power and, flunkieylike, respected him no longer. One of them coolly looked over his shoulder at the edict which he was signing. Louis XIV would have sent such a fellow to the Bastille. An ordinary king would have dismissed him. Henri IV might have kicked him downstairs. Louis XVI (who weighed 20 stone) attempted to brain him with a poker! These little things tell tales.

France, bankrupted, devastated, starving, a spectre excluded by the spell of debate while that greater question about despotism and liberty was before her legislature, now rushed into its midst. The famine was not likely to abate. Crops in the south were short. About Puy they had again been destroyed by hail and rain. That, in the midst of such misery, there should be some outbreaks was inevitable. But for about two weeks there seem to have been very few, and of the least culpable kind. There was poaching, woodcutting, stopping of grain by hungry people on its way from one place to another—nothing worse. On the whole, France waited for an administration of her own choice to do some good, till she found out that, like the former authority, it did harm. The recently organized parish assemblies direct local affairs—and do it ill. Special regulations, confused and contradictory, adopted by no less than 40,000 little governments for the purpose of relieving famine, put a stop to trade. For five months not a farmer has appeared in Louviers. So, at last, disappointment begets panic. Rumors fly from mouth to mouth. The monopolists have locked up all the grain. The bakers and millers are poisoning that filthy black stuff they sell for bread. Flour is being thrown into the Seine. Food is exported from Brittany. The nobles prompt all this—they hire persons to commit outrages for the purpose of discouraging liberty. The weak-minded King incurs suspicion. The "Austrian woman" heads the conspiracy, of course. Those who have observed what popular terrors are will doubtless believe the accused as innocent of the specific crimes laid to their charge as Catiline or Oates's victims, the Jesuits, the Templars, or the Chicago martyrs. But do not suppose the intelligent bourgeois is less, or less unreasonably, afraid of the

peasant than the ignorant peasant of the nobles. All over the country imaginary riots occasion frightful scenes. At Angouleme, July 28, 3 p. m., the tocsin rings. A report flies about that 15,000 brigands are coming to plunder the town. Soon they are seen approaching in a cloud of dust! Oh, no; it is only the post wagon going to Bordeaux. The number of brigands now falls to 1,500. However, by 9 p. m., 20,000 men are under arms. At 3 next morning there is a fresh alarm. The brigands have burned Ruffec, Verneuil, La Rochefoucauld, and other places. As this news spread through the country, men came in to defend Angouleme. "We had to be grateful to 40,000," says an eyewitness. Bordeaux, learning that Angouleme is in danger, generously offers 20,000 more. As no brigands appear, the brave militia go to look for them—and find nothing. This absurdity spread over a radius of 40 miles. In Auvergne there was even a greater scare of the same sort. Whole parishes took to the woods. Pregnant women perished. Individuals became insane. Madame Campau was shown a rock on which a woman, wraged by fear, found refuge; but, when tranquillity returned, proved unable to get down again; so she had to be lowered with ropes! Neither imagine that the common people were afraid for nothing. The invariable history of such an epidemic is that they misconceive the nature of peril but look for it in the right quarter. The King, Queen, and nobles were really plotting counter-revolution, though in no such ways as was popularly imagined. Meanwhile, the assembly's measures were well meant, but weak. Even before July the King and nobles had seen the absolute necessity of doing something to relieve distress, and done what they could, without inconvenience, greatly to the edification of those who try making out that the revolution sprang from popular ignorance and wickedness. The Archbishop of Paris had borrowed 400,000 livres. The Bishop of Troyes gave 12,000 francs, the chapter 6,000 for relief workshops. One rich man is said to have distributed 40,000 francs within a few hours after the hailstorm. One convent of Bernardines fed 1,200 poor for six weeks. Taine says (without giving his authority) that the detested Berthier had, as equalizer of taxes in Paris, reduced overcharged quotas by a quarter. Immediately after Louis surrendered to the people the assembly took up a subscription amounting to \$9,000 and called on all people to send in contributions. The kind-hearted King gave the bulk of his plate. The hall was crowded with rich men, bringing their services; ladies, their jewels; and tradespeople, their little heirlooms. Charity, which took the bolder name of patriotism, proved contagious. Poor persons who had any means to live, subscribed their mites. A schoolboy brought a few louis, which had been given him for spending money. A courtesan sent, with her offering, the following neat address: "Gentlemen, I have a heart to love. I have gained something by loving. I place it all in your hands, a tribute to the country. May my example be followed by my compeers of all grades." Meanwhile Necker made desperate efforts to borrow money, but in vain. The national credit had been totally destroyed before his recall. A few months' settling down would have restored it. But the emigrant party's attitude made that impossible. The English ambassador, Dorset, told Louis's ministry of a plot to put the naval arsenals in his own Government's hands, while Austrians and Prussians marched on Paris. England had refused to participate in such an infamous treason. The ministers concealed this terrible news. But an intercepted letter from the Comte d'Artois to Dorset gave it wind. The effect may be imagined. France, loosed from her Titan chain of two centuries, with mangled limbs and fevered blood, was a patient in danger of tetanus. This was a douche of iced water.

As the people get frightened into doing something they sensibly resolve to be rid of their oppressors, old and new; but the latter first. One government can do much harm; 40,000 are beyond human endurance. As early as July 19 the archives are destroyed at Strasburg. At Cherbourg this good work is done on the 21st. At Maubeuge, taxing offices disappear on the 27th. Rouen was purified on the 24th. At Troyes, after much muttering, the storm comes September 5. It is unnecessary to proceed. The old customs and new administrations are everywhere killed, till, in the spring of 1791, the assembly yields, and gives them all a decent burial. During these riots occurred the real crimes of the first revolutionary period. It is worth seeing how much they amount to. At Strasburg much wine was shed but no blood. At Maubeuge and Rouen some houses of obnoxious persons were sacked. At Besancon there was plundering. A St. Bartholomew of partridges was enacted everywhere. At Troyes the mayor, accused of forestalling, fell a victim to popular fury. Maj. de Balzance met a like fate at Caen. Messrs. de Montessau and Cureau were murdered at Mans.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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## 106 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

At Vannes a collecting agent was tortured. Somewhere in Languedoc M. de Barras was cut to pieces before his pregnant wife, who died in consequence. Other country gentlemen—in the voluminous grist of M. Taine's outrage mill I have counted four—sustained assaults which might easily have been fatal, but were not. Six murders, or, including two celebrated lynchings still to be recorded, eight; and four assaults—such is the extent of vengeance among 25,000,000 people, now that two centuries of worse than Turkish oppression have been reversed in a day. Injuries to persons and property are carefully distinguished from overthrowing authority. At Strasburg the populace hanged a thief; at Ruen, two vandals; at Besancon, two. There were, however, some acts, very criminal under ordinary circumstances, which undoubtedly commanded sympathy, or at least apathy just now. One was burning the chateau of the emigrant tyrants and traitors. In the most feudal part of France, between Alsace and Franche Comte, incendiary fires began July 29. They spread through Burgundy, Maconnais, Beaujolais, Auvergne, Viennois, Dauphiny. The destruction was on a gigantic scale, and excited the utmost consternation among property owners. But it did not last over three weeks. As in similar cases, there were all sorts of theories—revolutionary societies in Paris sent out the perpetrators—similar societies sprang up where tyranny was worst, and, thence spreading, forced unwilling peasants to assist—it was a mere craze—it was a spontaneous movement, not against individuals but a class ("down with the nests, and the rooks will fly"), etc. The truth is that, as with the houghing of cattle in Ireland, the "Swing" arsons in England, the Ku-Klux and White Cap outrages here, its inner history remains unknown. This, however, is noteworthy: At first the chateaux were fired secretly, by night, without alternative. As some time and space are traversed, mobs begin to visit them by day and demand the title deeds; having got which, they are generally satisfied.

The assembly, after its fashion, follows the people "near off." On August 4, M. Kerengel, a deputy in the dress of a working farmer, rose, and said: "You could have prevented the burning of the chateaux if you had been prompt in declaring that the terrible arms which they contain, and which for ages have tormented the people, were to be destroyed. Let those arms, the title deeds, which insult not only moderation but humanity; which humiliate the human species by requiring men to be yoked to a wagon like beasts of burden; which compel men to pass the night beating the ponds to prevent the frogs from disturbing the sleep of their luxurious masters, be brought here. Which of us would not make an expiatory pile of these infamous parchments? You can never restore quiet to the people till they are redeemed from the damnation of feudalism." There was no opposition. Nobles spoke only to renounce their privileges, priests to give up their tithes, municipal representatives to surrender charters. The feudal system was swept away in an hour. A monarchist has called this "the St. Bartholomew of property." A bourgeois retorts that it was only the St. Bartholomew of abuses. But the distinction is a little too refined.

C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

### AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for subscriptions for Free Society:

Allegheny, Pa.: H. Bauer, 73 Springgarden Avenue.  
Atlantic City, N. J.: M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Avenue; B. Morwitz, 2018 Baltic Avenue.  
Baltimore: M. Kahn, 1139 Granby Street.  
Boston: Brigham's Restaurant, 642 Washington Street; K. A. Snellenberg, 54 Haskins Street, Roxbury.  
Buffalo: Hattie Lang, 408 Riley Street.  
Chicago: H. Havel, 515 Carroll Avenue; C. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Avenue.  
Cleveland: E. Schilling, 4 Elwell Street.  
Columbus, Ohio: H. M. Lyndall, 416 East Mound Street.

I suspect the authenticity of some of these tragedies, "Languedoc" is as definite as "Texas"; and nothing can be more meager than the original statement by Lally-Tollendal (from some one's memorial), which Alison and others have amplified with circumstances. But let that go! These retaliatory crimes shall be as shocking as you please; the true point (never enlarged on before) is that they were extremely few.

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 107

London, England: T. Cantwell, 127 Ossulton Street NW.  
New York: M. Maisel, 170 Henry Street.  
Philadelphia: Natasha Notkin, 242 North Second Street.  
San Francisco: S. Danielewicz, 615 Turk Street; R. Rieger, 322 Larkin Street.  
St. Louis: C. Norman, 1351 South Thirteenth Street.

### FOR CHICAGO.

The Free Society Club meets every Wednesday evening at 515 Carroll Avenue.

Take the Lake Street Elevated, Ashland Avenue Station, or any surface line crossing Ashland Avenue or Paulina Street, which is one block west of Ashland Avenue.

### FOR WEST HOBOKEN, N. J.

For the purpose of forming an International League of Propaganda, a mass meeting will be held June 2, at Nepovoda Hall, corner Spring Street and Highpoint Avenue, West Hoboken. All interested in the propaganda are cordially invited to attend.

As for the fine saying with which ambition and avrlice pallate their vices, that we are not born for ourselves but for the public, let us boldly appeal to those who are in public affairs; let them lay their hands upon their hearts and say whether, on the contrary, they do not rather aspire to titles and offices, and that tumult of the world to make their private advantage at the public expense.—Montaigne.

### THE LETTER-BOX.

G. E. Lynd, City.—Very well; if the "scientific" Socialists are not opposed to government, then you admit that there is nothing else but state socialism to attack.

S. M., New York.—"Events and Their Import" is an interesting subject, but can not be published as written; and if we should attempt to put it in proper shape, it would not be your article.

M. G. Needham, Mass.—Returned both of your articles, "Dying Throes of Capital Punishment" and "There is a Good Deal in a Name." The first throws no light upon the causes or remedies of so-called crimes, except that "justice" will cure "injustice," relative terms which can be defined at pleasure. Neither does the article contain substantial arguments against capital punishment, except that Jesus was against it, which assertion would arouse a futile discussion, for it is hard to tell what Jesus did or did not say. The proposition to change our name is rather late. Indeed, I like the terms anarchy and anarchism, and see no reason why we should not be proud to be called anarchists. Because to some people it implies murder and bloodshed is certainly no reason, for all new ideas have been accused of viciousness. The early Christians were once considered nothing but murderers and felons, yet they did not discard the name because the ignorant multitude had a wrong conception of their teachings.

### RECEIPTS.

Levin, Walmsley, Breidau, Deardorf, Rumis, Cairns, Goldenbaum, Toggenburger, each \$1. Rothbart, Erlinger, Lelievre, Hurson, Barile Fruttice, Spence, each 50 cents.

Donations.—Proceeds from a picnic, by Breidau, \$2.25. Salt Lake City group, \$1.80.

### DIRECTORY.

The following are names and addresses of comrades engaged in business:  
Chicago.—J. Burness, 977 West Lake Street, boot and shoe store; repairing neatly done. A. Edelstadt, 366 State Street, shoe store and repairing. H.

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### 108 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Havel, 515 Carrol Avenue, news and book agent. C. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Avenue, shoemaking and repairing. Ogilvie A. Rice, 1556 Milwaukee Avenue, dentist.

New York.—O. B. Epstein, 163d Street and Forest Avenue, druggist. M. Maisel, 170 Henry Street, news agent.

Divers.—Professor Bertha Grouseth, Lawrence, Kans., teacher of hypnotism and hypnotic healing; write for terms. R. Rieger, 322 Larkin Street, San Francisco, Cal., news agent.

#### MEETINGS.

Boston.—Boston Group meets every Friday evening at 1125 Washington Street, corner Dover. Hall on second floor.

Cleveland, Ohio.—Liberty Association meets every Sunday, 3 o'clock p. m., at 170 Superior Street, in Memorial Hall. It is a free platform and takes in the entire field of scientific and sociological questions. Admission free. The public is cordially invited.

New York.—The Social Science Club meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., 250 West Twenty-third Street.

Paterson, N. J.—Social Science Club meets every Sunday morning at 10 a. m., corner Market and Cross Streets.

Philadelphia.—The Social Science Club holds open air meetings (weather permitting) at the North Plaza, City Hall Square, every Sunday evening, 8 p. m.

Pittsburgh.—The Debating Club meets every Sunday afternoon, 2 p. m., at 155 Crawford Street. Take any Fifth Avenue car Pride Street.

San Francisco.—Independent Debating Club meets every Sunday, 2 p. m., at 909 Market Street. Free discussion.

#### MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST, BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting autobiography of the well known anarchist and scientist is one of the most important books of the anarchist movement, as well as one of general interest. "He is more anxious to give the psychology of his contemporaries than of himself," says the noted European critic Georg Brandes. "One finds in his book the psychology of official Russia and of the masses underneath, of Russia struggling forward and of Russia stagnant. And he strives to give the history of his contemporaries rather than his own history. The record of his life contains, consequently, the history of Russia during his lifetime, as well as the history of the labor movement in Europe during the last half century."

The book contains two portraits of the author, and one of his mother. It is excellently printed and well bound; 519 pp. Price \$2. Send orders to Free Society.

#### HISTORY OF THE COMMUNE 1871.

Translated from the French of P. O. Lissagary by Eleanor Marx Aveling. The above book is the most reliable history of the Commune of 1871, and should be in every library of the student of revolutionary movements. Arrangements which we have made with the publishers enable us to mail the book postpaid for 75 cents. Send orders to Free Society.

#### THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

The famous speeches of the eight anarchists in court and Altgeld's reasons for pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab.

This book contains a half-tone picture of our eight comrades and one of the monument erected at Waldheim cemetery to the memory of those murdered by the Government. This is the best edition of the book ever printed. It contains 168 pages. Price 25 cents. Send orders to Free Society.

### INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 109

#### MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of Jean Grave by Voltairine de Cleyre. Contents: The Anarchistic Idea and Its Development. Individualism and Solidarity. Too Abstract. Is Man Evil? Property. The Family. Authority. The Magistracy. The Right to Punish and the Savants. The Influence of Environment. "The Country." The Patriotism of the Governing Classes. Militarism. Colonization. There Are no Inferior Races. Why We Are Revolutionists. As to what Means Follow from the Principles. Revolution and Anarchy. The Efficacy of Reforms. The Experimental Method. What Then? Anarchism and Its Practicability. The Unvarnished Truth. The book is printed in large type and consists of 176 pages. Price, paper cover, 25 cents; bound, 60 cents; five copies, \$1. Send orders to Free Society.

#### EXHIBIT IX.

[Free Society, formerly the Firebrand. Exponent of anarchist communism. Holding that equality of opportunity alone constitutes liberty, that in the absence of monopoly price and competition can not exist, and that communism is an inevitable consequence. Vol. VII, No. 33. Chicago, Sunday, Oct. 6, 1901.]

#### A CANNON SPEAKS.

Mine is no mighty conquest blade,  
No red, revengeful fury fire,  
Not mine to fright God's quiet air  
With peals of unrelenting ire.

Rather I sound the death and doom  
Of the old tyrannies of earth,  
And destine to the dreamless tomb  
The cruel wrong of ancient birth.

And while my voice is that of war,  
When its loud echoes shall cease,  
For conquered and for conqueror  
Shall dawn a far serene peace.

—Clinton Scollard, in the Junior Munsey.

#### THE TRAGEDY AT BUFFALO.

For they starve the little, frightened child  
Till it weeps both night and day;  
And they scourge the weak, and flog the fool,  
And gibe the old and gray;  
And some grow mad, and all grow bad,  
And none a word may say.

—Oscar Wilde.

Never before in the history of governments has the sound of a pistol shot so startled, terrorized, and horrified the self-satisfied, indifferent, contented, and indolent public as has the one fired by Leon Czolgosz when he struck down William McKinley, President of the money kings and trust magnates of this country.

Not that this modern Caesar was the first to die at the hands of a Brutus. Oh, no. Since man has trampled upon the rights of his fellow men rebellions spirits have been afloat in the atmosphere. Not that William McKinley was a greater man than those who throned upon the fettered form of Liberty. He did not compare, either in intellect, ability, personality, or force of character with those who had to pay the penalty of their power. Nor will history be able to record his extraordinary kindness, generosity, and sympathy with those whom ignorance and greed have condemned to a life of misery, hopelessness, and despair.

Why, then, were the mighty and powerful thrown into such consternation by the deed of September 6? Why this howl of a hired press? Why such bloodthirsty and violent utterances from the clergy, whose usual business it is to preach "peace on earth and good will to all"? Why the mad ravings of the mob, the demand for rigid laws to curtail freedom of press and speech?

For more than 30 years a small band of parasites have robbed the American people and trampled upon the fundamental principles laid down by the fore-

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### 110 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

fathers of this country guaranteeing to every man, woman, and child "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." For 80 years they have been increasing their wealth and power at the expense of the vast mass of workers, thereby enlarging the army of the unemployed, the hungry, homeless, and friendless portion of humanity tramping the country from east to west and north to south in a vain search for work. For many years the home has been left to the care of the little ones while the parents are working their life and strength away for a small pittance. For 30 years the sturdy sons of America were sacrificed on the battlefield of industrial war and the daughters outraged in corrupt factory surroundings. For long and weary years this process of undermining the Nation's health, vigor, and pride, without much protest from the disinherited and oppressed, has been going on. Maddened by success and victory, the money powers of this "free land of ours" became more and more audacious in their heartless, cruel efforts to compete with rotten and decayed European tyrannies in supremacy of power.

With the minds of the young poisoned with a perverted conception of patriotism and the fallacious notion that all are equal and that each one has the same opportunity to become a millionaire (provided he can steal the first \$100,000), it was an easy matter, indeed, to check the discontent of the people. One is therefore not surprised when one hears Americans say, "We can understand why the poor Russians kill their Czar, or the Italians their King, for think of the conditions that prevail there; but he who lives in a Republic, where each one has the opportunity to become President of the United States (provided he has a powerful party back of him)—we are the people, and acts of violence in our country are impossible."

And now that the impossible has happened, that even America has given birth to the man who struck down the king of the Republic, they have lost their heads and are shouting vengeance upon those who for years have shown that the conditions here were beginning to be alarming and unless a halt be called despotism would set its heavy foot on the hitherto relatively free limbs of the people.

In vain have the mouthpieces of wealth denounced Leon Czolgosz as a foreigner; in vain they are making the world believe that he is the product of European conditions and influenced by European ideas. This time the assassin happens to be the child of Columbia, who lulled him to sleep with—

"My country, 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty," etc.

and who held out the hope to him that he, too, could become President of the country. Who can tell how many times this American child had gloried in the celebration of the Fourth of July, or on Decoration Day, when he faithfully honored the Nation's dead? Who knows but what he, too, was willing to "fight for his country and die for her liberty" until it dawned on him that those he belonged to have no country, because they have been robbed of all that they have produced; until he saw that all the liberty and independence of his youthful dreams are but a farce? Perhaps he also learned that it is nonsense to talk of equality between those who have all and those who have nothing—hence he rebelled.

"But his act was mad and cowardly," say the ruling class. "It was foolish and impractical," echo all petty reformers, socialists, and even some anarchists.

What absurdity. As if an act of this kind can be measured by its usefulness, expediency, or practicability. We might as well ask ourselves of the usefulness of a cyclone, tornado, a violent thunderstorm, or the ceaseless fall of the Niagara waters. All these forces are the natural results of natural causes, which we may not yet have been able to explain, but which are, nevertheless, a part of nature, just as all force is natural and part of man and beast, developed or checked, according to the pressure of conditions and man's understanding. An act of violence is therefore not only the result of conditions, but also of man's psychical and physical nature and his susceptibility to the world surrounding him.

Does not the summer fight against the winter; does it not resist, mourn, and weep oceans of tears in its eager attempt to shield its children from the icy grip of frost? And does not the winter enshroud mother earth with a white, hard cover, lest the warm spring sunshine should melt the heart of the hardened old gentleman? And does he not gather his last forces for a bitter and fierce battle for supremacy, until the burning rays of the sun disperse his rank?

### INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 111

Resistance against force is a fact all through nature. Man being part of nature he, too, is swayed by the same force to defend himself against invasion. Force will continue to be a natural factor just so long as economic slavery, social superiority, inequality, exploitation, and war continue to destroy all that is good and noble in man.

That the economic and political conditions of this country have been pregnant with the embryo of greed and despotism no one who thinks and has closely watched events can deny. It was therefore but a question of time for the first signs of the labor pains to begin. And they began when McKinley, more than any other President, had betrayed the trust of the people and became the tool of the moneyed kings. They began when he and his class had stained the memory of the men who produced the Declaration of Independence through the blood of the massacred Filipinos. They grew more violent at the recollection of Hazelton, Virden, Idaho, and other places, where capital has waged war on labor, until on the 6th day of September the child, begotten, nourished, and reared by violence, was born.

That violence is not the result of conditions only, but also largely depends upon man's inner nature, is best proven by the fact that while thousands loath tyranny, but one will strike down a tyrant. What is it that drives him to commit the act, while others pass quietly by? It is because the one is of such a sensitive nature that he will feel a wrong more keenly and with greater intensity than others.

It is, therefore, not cruelty, or a thirst for blood, or any other criminal tendency, that induces such a man to strike a blow at organized power. On the contrary, it is mostly because of a strong social instinct, because of an abundance of love and an overflow of sympathy with the pain and sorrow around us, a love which seeks refuge in the embrace of mankind, a love so strong that it shrinks before no consequence, a love so broad that it can never be wrapped up in one object, as long as thousands perish, a love so all-absorbing that it can neither calculate, reason, investigate, but only dare at all costs.

It is generally believed that men prompted to put the dagger or bullet in the cowardly heart of government, were men conceited enough to think that they will thereby liberate the world from the fetters of despotism. As far as I have studied the psychology of an act of violence, I find that nothing could be further away from the thought of such a man than that if the king were dead, the mob will cease to shout "Long live the king!"

The cause for such an act lies deeper, far too deep for the shallow multitude to comprehend. It lies in the fact that the world within the individual, and the world around him, are two antagonistic forces, and therefore must clash.

Do I say that Czolgosz is made of that material? No. Neither can I say that he was not. Nor am I in a position to say whether or not he is an anarchist; I did not know the man; no one as far as I am aware seems to have known him, but from his attitude and behavior so far (I hope that no reader of Free Society has believed the newspaper lies), I feel that he was a soul in pain, a soul that could find no abode in this cruel world of ours, a soul "impractical," inexpedient, lacking in caution (according to the dictum of the wise); but daring just the same, and I can not help but bow in reverenced silence before the power of such a soul, that has broken the narrow walls of its prison, and has taken a daring leap into the unknown.

Having shown that violence is not the result of personal influence, or one particular ideal, I deem it unnecessary to go into a lengthy theoretical discussion as to whether anarchism contains the element of force or not. The question has been discussed time and again, and it is proven that anarchism and violence are as far apart from each other as liberty and tyranny. I care not what the rabble says; but to those who are still capable of understanding I would say that anarchism, being a philosophy of life, aims to establish a state of society in which man's inner make-up and the conditions around him, can blend harmoniously together, so that he will be able to utilize all the forces to enlarge and beautify the life about him. To those I would also say that I do not advocate violence; government does this, and force begets force. It is a fact which can not be done away with through the prosecution of a few men and women or by more stringent laws—this only tends to increase it.

Violence will die a natural death when man will learn to understand that each unit has its place in the universe, and while being closely linked together, it must remain free to grow and expand.

Some people have hastily said that Czolgosz's act was foolish and will check the growth of progress. Those worthy people are wrong in forming hasty con-

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## 112 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

clusions. What results the act of September 6 will have no one can say; one thing, however, is certain; he has wounded government in its most vital spot. As to stopping the wheel of progress, that is absurd. Ideas can not be retarded by restraint. And as to petty police persecution, what matter?

As I write this my thoughts wander to the death-cell at Auburn, to the young man with the girlish face, about to be put to death by the coarse, brutal hands of the law, walking up and down the narrow cell, with cold, cruel eyes following him,

Who watch him when he tries to weep,  
And when he tries to pray;  
Who watch him lest himself should rob  
The prison of its prey.

And my heart goes out to him in deep sympathy and to all those victims of a system of inequality, and the many who will die the forerunners of a better, nobler, grander life.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

### WHAT IS ANARCHY?

Anarchy is a word used by rulers and the privileged classes in society to frighten the balance of the people, so that they may not know the true meaning of the term anarchy. It is a word used to create reproach and prejudice and terror against any doctrine or teaching that exhibits the rottenness of the economic condition of a people. It is a word used by political teachers to conjure up dire calamity to the whole of society, in order to scare and intimidate electors in voting as they indicate, so they yell with one accord "anarchist!"

At the present time this word "anarchist" is frequently hurled at the heads of social reformers, in order to develop reproach and fear in the minds of the people against the doctrines they advocate.

The general meaning of the word "anarchy" given by rulers and people in power, is a state of society filled with disorder and destruction of property and life, neither of these being secure in a state of anarchy.

When property is being destroyed and life taken by others, then the regularly instituted authorities call this anarchy, meaning without legal authority.

Listen! To destroy property and to destroy life is the work of legalized authority, and is not called anarchy, but government; however, if destruction of life or property occurs in a riot, or in a strike, or by a mob of enraged men, this is termed anarchy, and government, a term synonymous with the accepted meaning of anarchy, is used to put a check to such destruction of life and property, by destroying life and property through legalized authority. "What fools we mortals be!"

Listen to me. Anarchy is a form or state of society, born but not yet realized, not yet formed in its totality. It is the final form or state of society evolved through anarchy (government) in which anarchy is eliminated and anarchy is born a free child.

Remember that society, previous to the birth of this child, anarchy, is distinct from government; in other words, society in all the past ages to the present, has ordained, consecrated, honored and privileged a portion of its members above the rest and has called these members kings, czars, emperors, princes, nobles, lords, presidents, senators, governors, legislators, ambassadors; and society set apart for the use of these another portion of society, naming them from generals down to soldiers, navies, militia, police, with judges, jurors, jailors, executioners, a profession termed law, and tax collectors, all this portion of society constitute the machinery of government—is government.

Remember, a society which has eliminated all this machinery, classes of people, which is now carried as a burden to society itself, is anarchy a society without rulers; a society without master and slave; a society without law-makers, consequently, no privileged classes; a society without war or implements of war, consequently peace reigns between nations; a society without lawyers, consequently no courts or jails or criminals or feuds among neighbors; a society freed from all curses that have given a blight to all former people; finally, a people free in society—this is anarchy.

Now, I ask, what dread or fear or condemnation or attempt to destroy can anyone have for the advent of such a state of society? There can be no fear only that given by teachers, for they constantly cry out "Great is goddess Diana" so as to continue a lease of Satanic reign.

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 113

The question naturally follows: Is such a state of society possible? It is not only possible, it is as certain to be realized as the light of day which appears after the night has passed away.

Its coming is as apparent as is the coming of the morning sun before it is seen above the horizon as it heralds its approach by infallible signs, so the coming or elimination from society of its rulers, its privileged classes and non-productive members, is heralded by the infallible sign seen in all history where a blow has been given against invasion and tyranny. Therefore all that class of people set apart and above the balance of society, either through physical force, or through false teachings which have deluded the people as to the necessity of their being ruled, they have constantly warned the ruled portion of society against all innovations, against all rebels, against all teachers who have suggested the overthrow of government, or the elimination of nonproductive members of society. Therefore the rulers, the privileged classes of people, have given death to the rebels only by using the ruled people as tools to carry forward the work of death and destruction.

Observe! The privileged classes, and the rulers, have put to death myriads and myriads of people and destroyed property beyond measure to estimate, and in so doing they have performed the acts they have said and still say anarchists do.

Out of their own mouths is their own self-condemnation! How false! How delusive! How cunning! How powerful! And how long they have deceived the people that they might prolong their unhallowed power; as rulers and privileged peoples of the earth!

Their sentence to doom has come; the scales, though so long attached by deceptive teachings, are falling from the eyes of the ruled and enslaved and long suffering people. The people are to see, clearly and more clearly, that they have lived a delusion and a lie, and that they can live in society in peace, plenty, and happiness without rulers, without laws creating privileged classes, and without property titles existing by fact of law. It is to be seen that the existence of rulers and privileged classes in society is the cause of the want of peace, want of plenty, and want of happiness of the whole people. It is to be seen that the existence of rulers and privileged classes in society is the cause of the enslavement of that portion of society distinct from the ruler and privileged and nonproductive classes which develops all the misery and woes that afflict all people in civilized countries; finally, the existence in society of rulers and privileged classes is the cause which has given every revolution the world ever experienced up to the present day, and the elimination of the rulers and the privileged classes is the work of anarchists.

This elimination began when the first revolt was made against restrictive influences; it began when the first effort was made by the slave to free himself from conscious oppression; this elimination began when the first blow for liberty was made; this elimination will continue till liberty is the common heritage of every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth.

It is seen, then, that they who are forced to break the chains which bind to servitude and misery are anarchists. In so far as they are successful they are in that proportion making ready for the complete birth of the child of freedom—anarchy.

When the ruled and unprivileged people of society see the enemy that destroys the worth of an earth life for the masses by having the means of life and its opportunities usurped by the ruled and privileged people, a swift whirlwind of power is given to the whole rotten fabric of rulership and privilege. A glad shout of salvation is then heard as the Satanic power (man's selfish nature) goes down in the revolution and human power (man's nobler conduct) comes up to shed rays of "peace on earth and good will to man" forever, as long as mortals dwell on earth.

Who is there that does not desire such a state of society called anarchy, meaning without rulers? If there be such, all they must do is to perpetuate present institutions called Church and State, and continue the teachings given to-day in the higher schools of learning; continue to divide the people into political parties and cast ballots which ordain and set apart a part of society to rule the rest by making so-called laws, and you will still have rulers and the privileged classes of people who will thrive on the lifeblood of the balance of society.

Who is there that desires anarchy? Then cease voting, cease perpetuating the influences of your old and decayed State, Church, and false college teach-

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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## 114 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

ings; cease believing that salvation from the ills of our social life can ever come through political parties; cease believing salvation from the ills of either this life or a future one come by prayer and obedience to a priest or teacher of religion; for it is in all these things you bring upon your own heads the evils which curse your life.

Fear not what the rulers tell you of calamities of war, of sore evils, if you stray away from obedience to them; fear not what the privileged class tell you of distress, of famine, of want of labor, of need of capitalist to employ labor; fear not and believe not what the politician teaches you about tariff, about money, about taxes, about "good times," "about prosperity," about "honest dollars." None of these tell you the truth. They have deceived the myriads of people in all ages and climes, and they still preach falsehoods and salvation for your credence, only that they may perpetuate the reign of Satan over you; fear not, though the sky grow dark, and rumblings causing the earth to tremble come upon you unawares; these things are the harbingers of revolution and the glory of the natal day of the child of freedom—anarchy.

L. EMERICK.

### "LAW AND ORDER."

The following letters are samples of what the lovers of the law are giving vent to. No such sentiments can be found in anarchist literature. They are an appropriate contrast to our supposed and the real sentiment of the "law and order" people. All the letters can not be printed, as they are under the postal regulations unmailable.

"Beast Goldman: The killing of our beloved President has sounded the death knell of you and your kind forever. Ill-looking cur, born of a beast, that you are, your time is short. You and your kind are not smart enough to know that you were set free, only to meet a fate that is awaiting all red devils whenever they are found. Great armies are going to be formed as soon as some changes are made in our laws, and then let all such low, nasty creatures as you and the Isaaks watch out.

"Damn you all, we will surely get you all. Go on with your thinking you are safe, you will get a surprise that will be too good for such a homely looking beast as you are. My advice to the Isaaks is to get out, for soon powder will blow up the house if they don't. I shall know no rest until you are all in jail to stay for years. Remember, I am only one of millions. No secret meetings, no, nothing any more, thank God, will be allowed such beasts as you.

"Thank God for it. A fighter forever of the anarchists.

"If I had that vile brat called Marie Isaaks here, I would tear her limb to limb, and of two beasts that she is, growing up to such a life. But we will get her all in good time. We can wait.

"Fleed incarnate; murderers: I'll kill you if I have to follow you to the ends of the earth. You can't disguise, as I know your secrets; you can't escape, as I know your haunts.

"AN AMERICAN."

No doubt God will accept the thanks of one of his beloved children, and the "Americans" will be proud of their countrymen who manifest such beautiful sentiments. And be it said here, this man was not trained in anarchist meetings; but a member of the public schools and the pulpit.

PHILADELPHIA, September 18, 1901.

Emma Goldman, in prison, Chicago—prepare to meet your God. No power on earth can save your damned soul from the perdition that awaits it. May your place be found with the devil's own in the lowest pits of hell. By the side of the bier of our dead President whom you helped to murder, five oaths were yesterday taken to stop short the career of the damnedest—that ever cursed our land and went unhung. Do not mistake yourself by hoping that our oaths will be broken. The one who fails to keep his oath when chance presents itself, must die by his own hand or by that of one of the other four. Cursed be your name for all time. Cursed be the womb that bore you, and cursed be the hand that ever attempts to aid you.

NEMESIS.

And such pitiable ignorance is going to save the country from anarchy. The press and pulpit, Senators and Congressmen, with a few exceptions, have not

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 115

manifested much more nobility and intelligence than the above victims of ignorance and bigotry, although their language was more refined.

### WHY WE CONSIDERED CZOLGOSZ A SPY.

"On July 12, the day of Comrade Emma Goldman's departure, I went downtown on business, with the intention to see our comrade off to Buffalo. Arriving at the depot, Emma Goldman pointed to a young man, saying, 'There is a young man who wants to talk to you.' After a few words of introduction he said that he had come to Chicago to learn all about the anarchist secret societies. This immediately aroused my suspicion.

"Are you an anarchist?" I asked.

"No," said he; "I am a Socialist, but since the Socialists split, I am disgusted with them."

"Have you ever read Free Society?"

"I have seen here and there a copy in Cleveland."

"Have you read any of our books and pamphlets?"

"No; I have not."

"But we have no secret societies," I then said. "We have nothing to hide and don't fear the light."

By this time the train was ready to leave and our conversation was interrupted. I invited him to come along to our house. Arriving at the porch of our home he informed me that he had but little means and wanted to know whether the comrades would help him with money.

"I don't think so," I answered. "If you are looking for work, we will try to help you along; but if you do not intend to stay here, I don't think you can expect any help. All the anarchists are poor and have a hard time to issue their papers and books. Yet I can find lodging for you and you can have meals with us." The next day he did not show up and I was told that he had left the city.

In answer to an inquiry, the Cleveland comrades informed us that a young man, calling himself Nieman, had been there, and owing to his strange conduct and contradicting statements they had considered him a spy, and thus it was that we published the warning.

A. I.

### NOTICE.

It is unnecessary to warn our friends against the newspapers, for a little experience with them is sufficient to convince anyone of their absolute unreliability. But to others interested a word may not be amiss. The newspapers have been so full of misrepresentations and downright lies that we ask no one to believe anything they say unless confirmed from reliable sources.

New theories and issues, and their expounders, are always subject to misrepresentation and misunderstanding.

### NOTES.

The arrest of the comrades in Chicago has delayed the publication of Free Society for several weeks; but from now on, with no obstacles intervening, it will again make its weekly appearance.

Comrades whose subscriptions have run behind on the paper, and who have hesitated to send remittances for fear they would not reach us, are asked to send their subscriptions promptly. Mail reaches us safely at our old address; and as soon as we can catch up with the work on hand all business will be expeditiously attended to.

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## 116. INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

### SPLINTERS.

The police and officials of the country are at present engaged in the task of proving that they are not behind their European brethren in "dealing with anarchists." To speak a word of criticism of McKinley or this administration means almost certain arrest. "Stamping out anarchy" has become a fad. Several blockheads on the Chicago police department, not satisfied with the dirty work which comes to them as officials, have organized a society with the avowed purpose of inaugurating a campaign of persecution. The respectable Marquette Club is not behind the times. It has appointed a committee to "extirpate anarchists." The idiosyncrasy of the methods proposed on all sides promises great benefit to the movement.

Comrade Ciancabilla, editor of L'Aurora, the Italian anarchist paper in Spring Valley, has been arrested. The ostensible charge against him is a lottery affair; but the real reason for his arrest is that he is an anarchist, and his utterances have displeased the rulers. Orders were given to exclude his paper from the mails if legally possible. Not being able to do this, a lottery affair of several months' standing was trumped up against him.

Three comrades of Home, Wash., have also been arrested for being anarchists. Charles Govan, J. W. Adams, and E. Larkin were taken to Spokane, and charges of misusing the mail placed against them. Further particulars of these persecutions will be given as soon as known to us.

In Europe the reaction finds many victims among the comrades. The persecution is carried on openly and without hypocrisy. In America the police know better. They dare not carry on their persecution, and at the same time state their real reason. Trumped-up charges are substituted. Charges of "conspiracy against the life of the President," "misusing the mails," etc., are used as convenient blinds. When will the rulers learn that persecution always advances the cause against which it is directed?

ABE ISAAC, JR.

### THE OUTRAGE AT CHICAGO.

On September 6, on the afternoon of which President McKinley was shot at Buffalo, the Chicago police gave us another example of high-handed methods and their utter contempt for their own laws.

The inmates of the house at 515 Carroll Avenue had just come home for the night. It was between 10 and 11 o'clock, and we were on the point of retiring when Capt. Collieran, chief of detectives, with a number of his men, stepped in the house. Isaac was placed under arrest as soon as he had informed Collieran who he was. Collieran then questioned Havel. When he asked him if he was an anarchist a shout of "We are all anarchists" went up. We were then all placed under arrest. Those of us taken at this time were A. Isaac, Abe Isaac, Jr., Hippolyte Havel, Enrico Travaglio, Clemens Pfeutzner, and Alfred Schneider.

The officers appeared greatly excited and seemed to expect an armed resistance; but not one of us had weapons. Five or six detectives stepped into the front room where we were, and in a few moments one man was stationed in each of the nine rooms of the house. The house was surrounded on the outside. In a few moments a patrol wagon came with several policemen. The men were placed inside the wagon, and then the officers ransacked the place with the two women alone in the house. The correspondence and papers of Free Society were seized, with such other matter as they found, private letters, photographs, etc. We were then driven to the police station. Two policemen and a detective were inside the patrol wagon, while Capt. Collieran followed close behind in a huggy. One policeman took his pistol from his back pocket and placed it in the inside pocket of his coat. I suppose this was an extra "precaution," and shows what the police thought of us—and also that they had a good eye to their own skins.

On reaching the police station, Isaac was separated from the rest of us and taken to Collieran's office, while we were "booked" and put in separate cells. Isaac, Travaglio, Havel, and myself were "sweated"; that is, examined in a manner to confuse and surprise us into admissions the same night. Pfeutzner and Schneider were not examined at all. I asked Collieran upon what charge I was arrested, as I had a right to know.

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 117

"You will be informed later," was his reply.

Meanwhile Julie Mechanic, who also resides at the Free Society house, came home; and while Mary Isaak and her daughter Mary were relating what had happened the officers came and arrested them. They were taken to the Harrison Street police station. They were all "sweated" during the night.

An officer then took it upon himself to lecture young Mary Isaak upon the folly of being an anarchist.

"If it were not for government you would not be here," he said, after painting to her a horrible picture of his conception of anarchy.

She looked up at him and smiled calmly.

The officer saw his "break." "Oh," he hastened to correct, "I don't mean in prison; but you would not exist at all."

We were not aware of the arrest of the women until the afternoon of the next day, when we were first allowed newspapers. None of our friends who called were admitted. Only Miss Jane Addams was allowed to see Isaac. But hordes of detectives and swarms of newspaper reporters and artists came to satisfy their curiosity or the sensation-hunting newspaper managers.

A regular "anarchist hunt" was inaugurated, all active comrades being hounded or arrested by the police. A charge of conspiracy against the life of William McKinley was placed against us.

American travelers have often ridiculed the Russian Government for arresting indiscriminately all suspected of liberal views, and even young girls for alleged plotting against the Czar's life. They might now spare some of their scorn for the Chicago police. Mary Isaak is 16 years of age. Of the others arrested, Pfeutzner, Schneider, Havel, and Julie Mechanic had nothing to do with the publication of Free Society. But they were all anarchists; and that was enough.

The next day, on Saturday, when all were arrested, the police again ransacked the house. Two gallons of type were "pled"; that is, dumped on the floor. Books were strewn upon the floor. Several trunks were broken open and their contents turned upside down. Private letters were stolen, translated and read. On finding their contents of a purely personal nature, instead of returning them, the police had the decency to make their character known to the press. There is nothing like a little experience to breed an absolute contempt for the police.

Among the papers seized was found a small card containing an address, 100 Newberry Avenue. It was given to Free Society for a change of address in the mailing lists. The police went there, surrounded the house, and arrested Jay Fox, Martin Raznick, and Michael Roz, the latter being a visitor. The police rifled the papers in this house also. It is needless to say that our "plots" were revealed—some reports of a few meetings were found.

On Monday morning we had a "hearing." The "justice" simply recorded what the prosecutor asked, which he called his "decisions." We were remanded 10 days without bail.

No warrants were shown for these arrests. Authority to search the houses was not shown either. In the case of the three last named no warrants were made until after the "hearing" in the police court.

This shows us that the police have as profound a contempt for the law as the anarchist, and at the same time are much more violent. No anarchist would dream of ransacking a neighbor's house.

The warrants, when obtained, were sworn to without evidence, which is again illegal. A telegram from Buffalo Bull requesting the arrest of Isaac was all that the police had as an excuse for their actions.

The prosecutor presented no evidence, but wanted time to get it.

The women prisoners were allowed to bail, \$3,000 in each case. Later in the day they were dismissed at the desire of the prosecution.

The hounding of the anarchists went on. H. Gordon was arrested in Pittsburgh, presumably for the reason that a letter dated from his address was found on one of the Chicago prisoners, and that Emma Goldman had stopped at his place. John Most was arrested for publishing an article, written by Karl Helazen 50 years ago. Later Dr. Saylin was arrested; no charges were made against him.

By this time the entire police of the country were looking for Emma Goldman.

At the time of our arrest she was in St. Louis. She immediately came to Chicago. Her arrest was but a matter of time, and she contemplated giving herself up. But in an attempt to get a "scoop" on the newspapers, she delayed

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### 118 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

awhile. Meanwhile she was arrested. She was also held over to the 10th without bail.

Habeas corpus proceedings were instituted by our attorneys. It was heard on Friday, but continued to Saturday. News of McKinley's death came; and our attorneys strongly urged us to postpone the hearing still further, as our release would have been nominal merely, the police being prepared to arrest us again immediately. The case was postponed until the 17th, and again until the 23d. When the hearing came the prosecution had no objection to our release. They had relied on Buffalo for "evidence." Buffalo Bull had in turn relied on Chicago. We were discharged by the judge. The next day Emma Goldman was dismissed in the police court on motion of the prosecution.

Throughout the whole affair the police had not the slightest bit of evidence, nevertheless they indulged in much talk on what they are "going to" prove, and dwelt on the great "importance" of the case. Prosecutor Taylor waxed eloquently on "equal to the charge of murder," "the whole civilized world," etc.

No attempt was made by us to conceal the fact that probably Czolgosz had been in Chicago. But he was a stranger to all of us, and some of us can not identify him. Schneider was not in Chicago at the time.

The newspapers made much of the case, and are to be praised chiefly for their diabolical ability to misrepresent and tell lies. There are one or two exceptions to this where the reporters treated us with decency and fairness.

There was a good deal of talk about mob violence. There was nothing of the kind. It existed only in official minds and newspaper columns. One evening a few hoodlums gathered around the jail and howled awhile, but that was all. We were aware of this only the next morning when reading the papers. Three crack-brained men did indeed call for "10,000 patriots to lynch the anarchists." We learned afterwards that it was suggested to one of them that there might be several thousand anarchists among them, and that the leaders of the mob might not fare well. The mere idea of such possibility made him take to his bed.

Were these "prominent citizens," who openly advocated murder and lawlessness, arrested and indicted? No; they are still at large advocating patriotism.

However, great precautions were taken in the county jail and the court room. After the death of McKinley we were exercised apart in a special corridor, and not allowed to mix with the other prisoners. On the day of McKinley's funeral we were not allowed out of our cells. The guards were kept on duty so long that they slept in their chairs.

The only time we were insulted was by the officers. One old fellow especially, on the morning when we were taken to the police court, an old "cop," took occasion to relieve his tongue. The prisoners are usually ignorant, but not more so than the officers, and not so coarse. When speaking of the old "cop," one of the detectives asked:

"Don't you know that every circus has a clown?"

A circus? Yes; that is about what the whole machinery of "justice" amounts to.

The call of the officers received several fine illustrations. When Emma Goldman was being taken to the county jail in a patrol wagon a policeman who was holding her arm made some outrageously insulting remarks. She demanded the release of her arm, and slapped his face. The brute had the wonderful courage of a police officer, and struck her in the face, knocking out one of her teeth.

There was a great scandal in the police department, and they seized upon the excitement to hush the matter up with the anarchist case; but they made themselves so contemptibly ridiculous that they now prefer to face the scandal. Great are the Chicago police; and they are the butt of the whole country.

ADE ISAAC, JR.

#### BY THE WAYSIDE.

The ministers of the gospel of love and forgiveness, who have made such violent utterances against the anarchists that would hardly find a parallel in any of the dark and barbaric ages, seem not to be very familiar with their "Minster's" sermon, in which He says:

### INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 119

"And I tell you that whoever gets angry with his brother will be punished by the judgment; that he who says to his brother, Rocca, will be punished by the Council; and that he who says, Madman, will be punished by the gehenna fire."

Nor do they recollect Christ's words: "Vengeance is mine." Not even had these sycophants the least confidence in "God's wisdom" or governmental "justice," which they pretend to believe in. "Lynch the anarchists," "blow them up with dynamite," were samples of their noble suggestions. Neither have they learned anything from the history of Christianity. A little study in this line may convince these hypocritical sky pilots that the early Christians went through the same or worse ordeal than the anarchists are passing through at present. They were not only accused of being "enemies of society" and "good government," but also of "conspiracy," "arson," "murder," "felony," and all other imaginable crimes.

"By thy fruits shall ye be known." Well, whose fruit is it that manifests itself in assassinations, starvation, murder, prostitution, corruption, and misery all over the world? All the institutions of learning—the pulpit, the press—has been and is in the hands of those who claim to adhere to teachings of the gospel, or at least strongly believe in the sanctity of law and government; and look at the beautiful fruit! Rulers are trembling and all the world is in consternation. And if all this is due to the teachings of a handful of anarchists, as is now claimed by press and pulpit, is it not a declaration of bankruptcy of the whole prevailing system of society?

The Chicago American, the most contemptible daily in this city, after shedding crocodile tears to a degree preposterously ridiculous, boasts of the recent increase of its circulation, and says:

"But beyond doubt the obviously unfair, untruthful, and malicious attacks on the American have reacted for its advantage, and we are much obliged to the gentlemen that gave us so much of their attention."

No doubt the "worthy" editor caught a glimpse of the truth regarding persecution, "untruthful and malicious attacks," and it is to be hoped that the editor will learn that his theory is equally applicable to anarchism and its movement. The stronger the "stamping out" process will be inaugurated the sooner will the "stampers" be overcome in the proceeding.

#### WHY BLAME THE OPPRESSED?

We are not in the least surprised at this occurrence, because we anarchists maintain that the individual which stands highest in the social scale and impersonates the political and economical oppression under which the people are suffering so horribly is naturally most exposed to attacks by the oppressed and disinherited, who suffer under their emancipated thoughts and from an empty stomach. In his position as president, as king, as emperor, he also is most exposed to the vicissitudes of his position, he also has his labor accidents. Between the numerous victims which the brutal work in the factories, in the fields and mines kills and mutilates every minute, and the royal and presidential victims which the hatred of the rebel strikes, there is one great difference: One class is condemned to slave labor and hardships under penalty of starvation, the other volunteers in its own odious position of oppressor, and no reason on earth forces it to accept this position, unless it is the strenuous ambition, the desire for power and honors, or the thirst for wealth.

For this reason we think that if McKinley had been simple Mr. McKinley he would certainly have escaped the assault of Czolgosz.—L'Aurora.

Nature created community; private property is the offspring of usurpation.—St. Ambrose.

Iniquity alone has created private property.—St. Clement.

#### HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

XXIII. As I have mentioned Marat's impending death, the last drop in the Girondin's cup of guilt, the occasion is suitable for summing up his life and

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice [excerpt] / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161; 22 cm. In Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919).

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character. He is the most misrepresented man in the Revolution, though that is a bold word. Absurdity has reached its climax in dubbing him "a triumvir of anarchy"—"the worst of the triumvirate," says Allison (Robespierre and Danton were the others). To show the exquisite character of this nonsense, I need but remind the reader that Marat never held any office except that of deputy; that his party was in opposition till a few weeks before his death; and that, recent as was its hold on power during his time, he had already begun to censure it. In the November debates Danton publicly professed to dislike him and, though he had many admirers, there is no account of his having a single personal friend. The once orthodox explanation of his solitude—that his bloody deeds had alienated all but frenzied savages like himself—besides being inadequate, is given up. The only "bloody deed" his enemies, outside the royalist ranks, could make a reproach was signing the circular of Paris. I have read the circular and find nothing in it to warrant the obloquy it received. It does not recommend other massacres like that of the Salpêtrière or La Force. It merely states that Paris has disarmed and arrested all the conspirators and that some of the worst have been executed, after which other cities are, in terms, if possible, still more general, advised to do likewise. Should I form my opinion of Marat from what he said himself and what his contemporaries said, it would be that he was a fanatic whom that single passion to which he sacrificed fortune, reputation, health, and eventually life, had rendered the Diogenes of Jacobinism as disagreeable to all individuals as he was zealous for what he conceived to be the common good. But though the data appear satisfactory the conclusion is now too commonplace. In order to understand Marat we must realize that he was principally a journalist. Taking him at that, his style was detestable, but he is not without pretensions to genius. He was not a "newspaper man"; he was what newspaper men sometimes call an organ grinder. The French Revolution was the first great factory of political "organs." Among them none can compare with Marat's paper either in immediate or subsequent influence. He was the first to show what a man of intense personal convictions, devoted to a public cause, but the mouthpiece of no party, can do by daily publication of his own more or less fluctuating opinions. He was the legitimate precursor of Garrison, Greeley, and that entire breed in which our own country has been so prolific. He was the weather prophet of the Revolution. He was the watchdog of French liberty. Was he inordinately suspicious, noisy, mordant, savage? These are the virtues of a watchdog; and the need for one was very great. Was he consistent in nothing but devotion to the Revolution? Well, a weather prophet who can not tell what to-morrow requires is not a master of his art; one who predicts six months ahead is too rash; one whose barometer stands steady at either fair or stormy is a charlatan. Now, if we make reasonable allowance for Marat's palatial royal rhetoric it is past dispute that he almost always advocated just about what the public soon came to think necessary. This sagacious anticipation of the people's wishes and the vehemence with which he exposed every false reputation, whether that of a person or a party, abundantly account for both his popularity and his isolation. To bring in anything else is as unscientific as to suppose some other angel than gravitation steers the moon. His fidelity to his self-imposed mission is the more creditable because he appeared, cut out for what in every worldly sense are better things. This man who emerged into blazing prominence from the life of a hunted dog and sower rat, who was worshiped for a time by the whole nation as a saint and a martyr, and whom the entire tailor-made world has since pronounced (vaguely) the worst representative of the unbreeched, had been D'Artols's household physician and then exercised a marked influence upon the philosophic thought of Paris. His first book "On Man" (1773) is directed against the materialism of Helvetius. His "Plan of Criminal Legislation" (1780) is founded on the humane principles of Beccaria. Had he lived, I see every reason to think he would have headed revolt against the committee. He was now 50 years old. A cutaneous disease, contracted while he was hiding in the cloaca from those champions of "liberty through order," whose management had brought France to this, afflicted him with horrible torture.<sup>1</sup> He almost lived in a hot bath. He wrote his daily diatribes with hands swathed in damp towels. Like Robespierre and St. Just, he was gloriously poor. His lodging in the Rue de l'Ecole de Médecine was adorned only by his people's admiration and the love of a woman (not his legal wife) to

<sup>1</sup> The mean insinuation that it was syphilitic, to which Carlyle makes a reference, has been abandoned. See Watson, "Story of France."

whom his misery and deformity were sacred ties. At the door of his humble home a young woman from Caen presented herself three times during the week ending Saturday, July 13—third eve of the Bastille day. Marat was known to be very ill. The convention had sent him condolences. He refused to see his visitors. The second time she sent in a note professing to have important information and concluding with the words, "It is enough to inform you that I am unhappy in order to hope that your kind heart will not be insensible and to have a claim on your justice." Marat, who probably thought she came to intercede for some Girondin insurgent, at last allowed her to be admitted. He was in the bath. At his visitor's request the porter and the other women withdrew. After a few moments Marat called loudly for help. Rushing in they found him as good as dead from a stab with a long sheath knife which had penetrated the aorta and lung.<sup>1</sup> According to one account, the porter knocked the assassin down with a chair. A more probable statement asserts that she had already fortified herself behind some furniture and was arrested without violence on its appearing that she did not mean to resist. Her beauty and calmness disarmed an angry crowd which collected almost instantly. At the trial next Wednesday her appearance excited general admiration. She cut short the examination by stating that she killed Marat for his "crimes," meaning "the miseries he had brought on France"; that she had no accomplices and was a republican before the Revolution. The name of this charming fanatic was Marie-Anne Charlotte Corday. She belonged to an ancient but impoverished family. In a brief letter, most redolent of that style which characterized her party, she informed her parents of her act and fate. She also wrote to Barbaroux, anticipating "happiness with Brutus in the Elysian fields." Her portrait was taken by her own desire. At 7 that same evening she rode to her death in the prison cart wearing the red robe of a murderess. A thunder shower, which cleared before the end, made her look like a Naiad. An immense concourse filled the streets. The majority assailed her with execrations, for which she returned a serene smile, standing up on purpose to be seen. When the executioner held up her head he slapped it, for which irregularity he was sent to jail. Many witnesses declared that not the insult her pale face was seen to blush; an illusion perhaps caused by a glance from the setting sun.

<sup>1</sup> The tragedy of Charlotte Corday has evidently come to be enveloped in a legendary nimbus. Her letter to Barbaroux, if it is authentic, witnesses that she gave Marat the names of the Girondins at Caen (it is very improbable she would), which he took down, saying they would soon go to the guillotine. This sealed his doom (though she is made to say here and elsewhere that she left Caen on purpose to kill him). "Higher criticism," familiar with the laws by which fictions grow, recognizes in this the germ of later misrepresentation—her appeal to his compassion had to be purged of treachery by the statement that he made it occasion for an additional offense. Most historians leave it out or garble it, which destroys the point of that sufficiently inconsistent story said to be her own. Other contradictions, though palpable, are less easily explained. She stated, it is said, that she resolved on her fatal expedition because of what happened on May 31, but her passport is dated in April. On the scaffold, we are told with extravagant inconsistency, that she objected to having her feet bound, but submitted on being told it was the custom (it was not), and then lay down of her own accord, though both her hands and feet were tied. She was, of course, strapped in the usual way. However, the few facts known about her, specifically the original and striking parts of her correspondence, in which there is much commonplace of doubtful genuineness, enable a student of degeneracy to classify this "ange de l'assassination" quite accurately. She belonged to the dangerous and homicidal variety of the species crank, in which, Lombroso says, there are but few females. If any man call this a phillistine view, I appeal to Shelley's poem about her. The vanity of the crank tribe is very manifest in her letters; her actions before the court and at the guillotine; her desire to be perpetuated on canvas; her boast of descent from the poet Corneille, whom she loved to quote; her yearning for fame as a tragic heroine. By her favorite term "energy" she meant willingness to die for a cause (a name?). Her limited knowledge and judgment, so characteristic of the "mat-told," are equally apparent. She not only swallowed raw all the Girondist abuse of Marat, but persuaded herself she could do some great good by killing a man whose whole power was in his appreciation of the way things were going. Such actions are useful only when they upset an already tottering idol. The uniqueness of her personality is all in the heavy and magnetism much better attested as concerns her than more successful enthusiasts, to whom romance attributes them—e. g., Jeanne d'Arc, with whom she has been compared. If Jeanne, when she shone in armor, rode "the right butter woman's gait to market," who was there likely to tell us so? Eyewitness impressions of Charlotte are specific. The unprecedented thing is that a beautiful and fascinating girl, possessed with theatrical ambition, took such a way of gratifying it. There have been many Erastuses, among whom not a few were near enough in sympathy with large masses to leave a more or less fruitful example, but there has been only one whose aspect and bearing excited enthusiasm aside from or even contrary to the effect of what was done. The French Revolution's history, as my readers may have observed, by the way, needs, after a refuter of monumental lies, which I have tried to be, no other student so much as one with opportunity to verify what Carlyle calls "tombstone information." I take Marat's address from Carlyle, 44 Rue de l'Ecole de Médecine, but there are authorities who make it 20 Rue des Cordeliers. I have not succeeded in tracing either statement to the original source.



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A judge who held other Girondins legally responsible for Charlotte Corday's crime would disgrace himself as deeply as Gary did at the trial of Neebe. There was actually, we shall see, no such judge on the Revolutionary tribunal! But we do not expect judicial discrimination from infuriated factions. To this foolish deed, "the Terror" must be very largely attributed. The murder of Marat excited as much indignation in Paris as that of Lincoln in Washington. All that had been said about dirty clothes, bloody editorials, communist doctrines, was instantly forgotten. A patriot deputy above suspicion of dishonesty, covetousness, or lukewarmness, a man actually dying in agony as the sole reward of his devotion to France, had been murdered by the rebels who were negotiating with Vendéans, Sardinians, and Pitt. His bust became the most popular object of adoration. His name was given half the towns and public squares. A famous painting of his martyrdom adorned the legislative hall. His body was borne to the tomb in a torchlight procession, which almost the whole city followed. A pension was bestowed on his widow. At Nantes, Strasbourg, and elsewhere, his name was the word of vengeance. By their own logic, those who had prosecuted him as accessory to the September massacres were guilty of falling back on the dagger when the guillotine refused to serve, without any law ever known to man. For their denunciation of Marat quite as much caused his murder as his own talk of Septemberism. They did their best to justify this estimate. It was on the day of Charlotte Corday's death they guillotined a Jacobin magistrate at Lyons. Vergniaud, who we remember was in Paris, said of her, "She has killed us—but she has taught us how to die." Up to the last rising of the metropolis, the good-natured Danton had tried accommodation with the Girondins, Vergniaud summed up the spirit in which they met him with a bit of Latin, "*Potius mori quam foedari*." A letter which Charlotte brought Duperret caused the seizure of his papers and expulsion of 73 deputies. The Jacobinized convention proceeded at once to execute those plans which the Girondins had hindered. In a week it adopted a new constitution, started by Coudorcet's draft of one which had long been hanging fire. Every man of 21 was made a voter. Every 60,000 people were to have a deputy. There was to be only one chamber. All decrees were to take effect immediately. But it never went into action. The convention and the committees continued to act as a provisional government. They arranged, however, for a grand proclamation of the organic law, on a memorable anniversary, August 10. The alarming military situation made this new fete of federation really important. The five foreign armies had invaded France. Custine lost Mynence July 23. He then took the place once held by Dumouriez, and lost Valenciennes on the 28th. The Prussians entered Alsace. The English declared all French ports blockaded. Eight thousand delegates from primary assemblies which had ratified the constitution came up to Paris, a year after Louis's downfall. Danton addressed them on the needs of the hour, and proposed an oath, unanimously accepted, to conquer their enemies or die. Two weeks later Barere, as secretary of the committee on public safety, introduced decrees which embodied Danton's suggestions, with details proposed by Carnot. The language, as Carnot says, is "Tyrtacan"—Barere's best. All the French were declared in permanent requisition for the service of their country. Able-bodied males between 18 and 25 must be enrolled as soldiers. Older men were to forge arms and transport supplies, women to make tents and clothes or attend hospitals, children to pick lint. By this unparelleled measure, which altered the world's methods of making war, an immense, though undisciplined, army was immediately created. The returned delegates executed the decrees. All horses available for the purpose were taken to draw cannon or mount soldier. All weapons, even shotguns and pikes, were put into requisition. The owners generally remarked that, at all events, "France and the Revolution must be saved." Carnot formed the new levies into 14 grand army corps. A maximum price was at length set, first on flour and meat; then on many other staples, and even piecework. The rate was that of 1790, plus one-third of production; plus 5 per cent in wholesale stores; plus 10 per cent in retail; plus cost of transportation, when any. The price of wheat everywhere was later fixed to 14 livres (\$2.80) per quintal (200 pounds). The assignats were required to be received at par. The exchange was closed. The business of dealing in margins and options was prohibited. It is said, but we may doubt, that the paper money actually was forced up to its face value until the fall of the committees, next year. Beyond question the penalties were so severe and the Government so vigilant that evasion can not have been easy. Those unfit for military duty were pressed to till the soil. No closing of shops or stores or striking of work was

permitted. Seditious oratory, publications, dramas, ceased as by magic. The galleries of the legislative halls were closed for the first time. Mobs dared not assemble. She devils, once rancorous, knitted in silence by the guillotine. This instrument was rapidly superseding jails, at first in great request as promoters of patriotism. The whole country was a military camp. Every great city was in a state of siege, with houses marked like soldiers' quarters, smithies incessantly making arms, flat pickers at work on every doorstep, recruits assembling, volunteers drilling, spies open eyed and eared watching every bargain and conversation, prisoners going to jail and from jail to death.

If the world contains a state socialist or worshipper of force, as such, who contemplates without dismay this photograph of his idol unveiled, an anarchist need make no bones of his opinion, and may enjoy the rare sensation of being on one side with "other people." The general levy is the most tyrannical of inventions, and ever since has ridden Europe like a nightmare saddle. The system of requisitions is one forbidden by its nature to last—a monster drinking up the water at whose exhaustion he must perish. The inevitable effect of a maximum, if slackly enforced, is to fetter trade; if rigorously enforced, to stop production. The remedy of making unwilling men work, besides involving all the misery and demoralization of slavery, does not reach the disease. Slaves are poor; slaves can earn nothing but necessities; when only necessities are sold only necessities will be produced. The bourgeois maximists, assembled in certain councils of industry called trusts, are beginning to find that out! It is only by reducing production—in other words, by raising the value of goods—that such actions can have forced up the gold price of the common measure for home exchanges. To forbid redemption of notes by speculators was a method of proclaiming they would never be redeemed, as conducive to lowering them, as if Pitt had hired it to be done. Suppression of agitation, indeed, showed a proper subordination of means to ends. If agitation had not meant death, the committees' tyranny must have fallen before it induced a general reaction toward the old régime—as in good time it did.

The special admirers of Danton, and others responsible for these measures, say their acts, though quite unjustifiable under ordinary circumstances, were required by the desperate situation. They were like those mutilations by which the operator may perhaps kill at once a patient who without them will certainly die in a very few days. But the truth is these measures failed to cause a counter-revolution only because the French people generally preferred anything else to a counter-revolution. These measures owed all their success to this, that advocates of a different policy were less opposed to counter-revolution than the French people. These measures were so entirely what a French mob would have adopted that they brand their authors with lack of any quality more statesmanlike than the thoroughgoing zeal of a mob. Two of these individuals—Danton and Carnot—had, indeed, some insight into the seeds of time. The rest were merely units in a mob which comprised the people. Not one possessed a quality, except zeal, which should make the mob accept his lead. We look in vain among their doings for a trait of that gift in expeditors, that capacity for detail, which constitutes executive talent. Let them have the praise of doing badly what the Girondins were too irresolute to do at all. They did it as a tyrant like Attila might have solved a similar problem. To do it without robbing a peasant, closing a debating society, or ruining a trade, to do as Bonaparte did a greater job of the same sort, that would have been statecraft.

C. L. JAMES.

UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASED.

After arresting 13 men and women without warrant and holding 10 of them more than two weeks, denied the right of bail, the Chicago police admitted that they had no evidence against their prisoners, who were therefore unconditionally released. This is a case which should receive cool, calm consideration. If the police had evidence to justify the arrest of these men and women, why was it not forthcoming? Only a few days ago these prisoners were held up to public execration as being such desperate criminals that they could not be trusted out on bail; they were to be extradited and possibly executed for complicity in the murder of McKinley. They, and their friends have been hounded by the police and maligned by the public press. And for what? Absolutely no charge was made against them when their cases came up for trial.

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## 124 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Thousands of dollars, probably, have been spent in the effort to obtain evidence against the Free Society workers and Emma Goldman. The police had possession of the house of the Isaacs; everything, even to the most private possessions of the prisoners was ransacked, and yet nothing to their discredit could be found. And now the question is, what redress have these people? The Free Society workers have lost nearly three weeks' time, and their business has been seriously interfered with. Most of the others, besides losing their time, have lost their situations; Miss Godman, in addition to losing her time, enduring insults and physical abuse at the hands of the Chicago police, is tried, convicted, and condemned in nearly every newspaper in the country, from the metropolitan daily to the cross-roads weekly. Certainly the law offers a recourse to these people. They may bring suits for damages against the city, and for libel against the publishers who slandered them. But it must be remembered that when city officials are prosecuted they defend themselves with their victims' money—the money with which they defend themselves and carry the cases from court to court is that which we pay in taxes, and even if, after a long and expensive fight, a case is won against these officials, we, the taxpayers, bear the loss. Well may the city officials, from judges and prosecuting attorneys down, exclaim, "Heads, I win; tails, you lose."

And thus are the anarchists taught the erroneousness of their views; thus are they taught respect for the administration of the law; thus are they given a practical illustration of the defense it provides the weak against the strong. (L. H., in Lucifer.)

I am convinced that those societies (as the Indians) which live without government, enjoy in their general mass infinitely greater degree of happiness than those who live under European Governments. Among the former, public opinion is in the place of law and restrains morals as powerfully as laws ever did anywhere. Among the latter under pretense of Government, they have divided their nations into two classes—wolves and sheep. I do not exaggerate. This is a true picture of Europe.—Thomas Jefferson.

What would Jefferson say of the present affairs in America, I wonder? The wolves have wonderfully increased since Jefferson's time; and the sheep's holidays are a thing of the past.

### EXHIBIT X.

STATE OF NEW YORK, County of New York, ss.

Edward J. Caddell, being duly sworn, states as follows:

I was appointed as a patrolman to the New York Police Department on August 24, 1915, and after three months' service was detailed to the bomb squad of that department, under the direction of Inspector Thomas J. Tuane, and in the performance of my duties was continuously required to use shorthand and typing.

On May 18, 1917, in my capacity then as detective, second grade, I was assigned by Inspector Tunney to take shorthand notes of the speech to be delivered by Emma Goldman to the public in the Harlem River Casino at One hundred and twenty-seventh Street and Second Avenue, New York City, on May 18, 1917. I attended said meeting and reported in full in my notebook the speech made by Emma Goldman on that occasion.

I further state that the seven typewritten sheets which are annexed hereto and made a part hereof and each of which has been initialed by me contain a full, true, and accurate transcript of the speech made by Emma Goldman as shown by my notebook.

I am at present residing at 81 Decatur Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

EDWARD J. CADDELL.

Sworn to before this 1st day of October, 1919.

GRAHAM L. RICE,  
Notary Public.

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 125

[Speech by Emma Goldman in Harlem River Casino, One hundred and twenty-seventh Street and Second Avenue, at 9.45 p. m., May 18, 1917.]

We don't believe in conscription. This meeting to-night being a living proof. This meeting was arranged with limited means; so, friends, we who have arranged the meeting are well satisfied. If we can only urge the people of entire New York City and America, there would be no war in the United States; there would be no conscription in the United States [applause] If the people are given an opportunity to have their say. Therefore we hope at least that a small portion of the population of New York City to-night is having its say.

Friends, what I have to tell you to-night I want to impress upon you with all the intensity of my being; that we have with us people who came to break up this meeting; therefore, friends, I ask you, friends, in the name of peace, in the name of freedom, and all that is dear to you to be perfectly quiet and when the meeting is over, to leave the hall quietly, for that is a better argument than by the provocators who came to-night to break up the meeting. Therefore, friends, I repeat once more that after our speakers will be through, I hope you will leave the hall quietly and if there is the slightest trouble, we will hold the trouble makers, the provocators, and the police responsible for the trouble.

Friends, I know perfectly well that to-morrow morning the daily papers will say that the German Kaiser paid for this meeting. I know that they will say that those employed in the German service have arranged this meeting, but there is all of us friends who have something serious at hand, those of us to whom liberty is not a mere shadow, and found to be celebrated on the 4th of July and to be celebrated with firecrackers, that we will not only speak for it, but die for it if necessary.

We are concerned in our own conscience, and we know that the meeting to-night has been arranged by workmen and workingwomen who probably gave their last cent from their wages which the capitalistic régime is granting them.

And so, friends, we don't care what people will say about us; we only care for one thing, and that is to demonstrate to-night and to demonstrate as long as we can be able to speak that when America went into war, ostensibly to fight for democracy, it is a dastardly lie; it never went into war for democracy. If it is true that America went into war in order to fight for democracy, why not begin at home? We need democracy; we need democracy even more than Germany, and I will tell you why. The German people were never brought up with the belief that they lived in democracy. The German people were nursed from their mother's breasts, that they were living in liberty and that they had all the freedom they desired; therefore, the German people are not disappointed in the Kaiser. They have a Kaiser, the kind of a Kaiser they want and are going to stand for.

We in America have been brought up—we have been told that this is a free Republic. We have been told that free speech and free press and free assembly are guaranteed by the Constitution. Incidentally, friends, the only people who still believe in the Constitution are you poor fools for the other fellows. We are rather disappointed when suddenly, out of a clear sky, a few months after we have been told he kept us out of war, we are now told he drew us into war.

We who came from Europe came here looking to America as the promised land. I came believing that liberty was a fact, and when we to-day resent war and resent conscription it is not that we are foreigners and don't care; it is precisely because we love America and we are opposed to war.

My friends, when I say we love America I wish you to remember that we don't love the American Wall Street, that we don't love the American Morgan, that we don't love the American Rockefeller; we don't love the American Washington; we don't love the American ammunition manufacturers; we don't love the American National Security League, for that is Russia transferred to America.

We mean the America of Wendell Phillips; we mean Emerson; we mean America of great pioneers of liberty. We mean writers and great men and women who have fought for years to maintain the standard of effort. I, for one, am quite willing to stand up face to face with patriots every night, patriots blind to the injustice committed in this country, patriots who don't care a hang. We are willing to stand up and to say to them, "Keep your dirty hands off America; you have no right to tell the people to give their lives in behalf of democracy when democracy is the laughing stock before all Europe; and, therefore, friends, we stand here and we tell you that the war which is now declared by America in the last six weeks is not a war of democracy and is not a war of the urging

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## 126 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

of the people. It is not a war of economic independence; it is a war for conquest. It is a war for military power; it is a war for money; it is a war for the purpose of trampling under foot every vestige of liberty that you people have worked for for the last 40 or 30 or 25 years, and therefore we refuse to support such a war.

We are told, friends, that the people want war. If it is true that the American people want war, why not give the American people a chance to say whether they want war. Friends, we are told that the American people have a chance to say whether they want war through Congress or through the Senate. Congress is in the hands of those who pull the string; it is a jumping jack. [Applause.]

Friends, in Congress there are a few men, in the Senate—Stone, La Follette, etc.—who wanted to keep America out of war; they have been hounded and persecuted and abused and insulted and degraded because they stood up for a principle, and so it was not true that the people of America have a chance to express their voice. It was impossible, because each Congressman and each Senator is taken into a private room where spiritualistic mediums are being used and there mesmerized and massaged until every revolutionary fiber is out of them, and then they come out and do as they are told by the administration in Washington.

The same is true about conscription. What chance have you men to say if you men are to be conscripted? It took England 18 months—a monarchy—to decide whether she shall have conscription. Upon the people born under a free sky conscription has been imposed upon you. You can not have democracy and have compulsory military training. You have become Russia. [Applause.]

Friends, I suggest that Wall Street and the military powers invite the Russian Czar to America; he belongs here; and tell them how to deal with the revolution, with the autocrats; the Czar ought to know; he handled them. He used every method in his power in order to subdue all human beings, but he succeeded—I should say not. He is now sitting in his palace, that the revolution may go a little further. [Applause.] Americans are evidently working for the Czar. We already have the beginning of the Czar who wants to employ all the liberties of the American people.

Now, friends, do you suppose for one minute that this Government is big enough and strong enough and powerful enough to stop men who will not engage in the war because they don't want the war, because they don't believe in the war, because they are not going to fight a war for Mr. Morgan? What is the Government going to do with them? [Applause.] They are going to lock them up. You haven't prisons enough to lock up all the people. [Applause.]

We believe in violence, and we will use violence. Remember, friends, that the very Government which worships at the altar of the Christian religion, that this very Government knows perfectly well that they attempted to silence them, and so if it is their intention to make us quiet, they may prepare the noose; they may prepare the gallows; they may build more prisons for the spread of revolt and conscience.

How many people are going to refuse to conscript? And I say there are enough. I could count 50,000, and there are enough to be more, and they are not going to conscript only when they are conscripted. They will not register. [Applause.] I realize perfectly that it is possible to gather up 50 and 100 and 500 people. What are you going to do if you have 500,000 people? It will not be such an easy job, and it will compel the Government to sit up and take notice; and therefore we are going to support with all the means at our support, with money and publicity, we are going to support all the men who will refuse to register and who will refuse to fight. [Applause.]

We want you to fill out these slips and as you go out drop them in the baskets at the door. We want to know how many men and women of conscriptive age—and they are going to take women and not soldiers. It is the same thing as if you fight in the war. Don't let them tell you that they will send you to the farm. Every stroke of what you do you are supporting the war, and the only reply that you can make against war is that you are making men; that you are busy fighting your internal enemy, which is the capitalistic class. [Applause.]

I hope that this meeting is not going to be the first and last. As a matter of fact, we are planning something else. Friends, listen—think of it—not only are you going to be compelled, coerced to wear the soldier's uniform, but on the day when you leave to be educated to the monster war—on the day when it will be decided that you will be driven into the trenches and battle field—on that day we are going to have a demonstration [applause], but be careful [applause], you might [continued applause].

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 127

We will have a demonstration of all the people who will not be conscripted, and who will not register. We are going to have the largest demonstration this city has ever seen and no power on earth will stop us. I will say in conclusion, that I for one am quite willing to take the consequences of every word I said and am going to say on the stand I am taking. I am not afraid of prison. I have been there often. It is not quite so bad. I am not afraid of the authorities; I have dealt with them before; or, rather, they have dealt with me; and I am still living and stand before you. I am not afraid of death; I would rather die the death of a lion than live the life of a dog.

For the cause of human liberty, for the cause of the working class, for the cause of men and women who live and till the soil, if I am to die for them, I could not wish a more glorious death, even in my wildest dreams; and so patriots and police and gentlemen who represent wealth and power, help yourself. You can not stop the revolutionary spirit. It may take as long as one year or two; you can't do it because the spirit of revolution has a marvellous power of liberty. It can break through bars; it can go through safely. It can come out stronger and braver. If there is any man in this hall that despairs, let's look across at Russia, let's look across at [Breshnevsky], who was tortured by the Russian soldiers, who never believed that she would see Russia and see her people alive, and yet see the wonderful thing that revolution has done. It has thrown the Czar and his clique and his ever-staunch henchmen into prison; it has opened Siberia and all the dungeons; and the men and women are going to be free. They are not going to be free according to American democracy.

Friends, I insist it is a good place for them in Russia; let's go back home tomorrow. So, friends, don't be afraid. Take this marvellous meeting, take this wonderful spirit and remember that you are not alone; that tonight in every city, in every hamlet, and in every village and town there are hearts beating that they don't want war, they don't want conscription; that they are not going to be conscripted.

The ruling classes fight a losing game. The Wall Street men are fighting a losing game. They represent the past and we represent the future.

The future belongs to the young men who are barely of age and barely realizing their freedom. The future belongs to the young girls and young boys. They must be free from militarism; they must be free from the military yoke. If you want war, help yourselves; fight your own battle; we are not going to fight it for you.

So, friends, it is our decision tonight; we are going to fight for you; we are going to assist you and cooperate with you and have the grandest demonstration this country has ever seen against militarism and war. What is your answer? Your answer to war must be a general strike, and then the governing class will have something on its hands.

So, friends, before I close I want to make an appeal to you; I want to make you know that this meeting sprang simultaneously from a group of people. It cost money, and therefore I ask you to contribute as much as you can. I wish to say that Mother Earth is opening pledges with \$50; I hope that those who can do so will do so. We want to have money; we want to have more literature; we want to have a demonstration; and we want to prove that with little money, no public support, with no militia, with no soldiers we can support the campaign of real freedom and liberty and brotherhood.

Finished 10.15 p. m.

### EXHIBIT XI.

STATE OF NEW YORK, County of New York, ss:

William H. Randolph, being duly sworn, states as follows:

I was appointed as a patrolman to the New York police department on November 7, 1911, and am still connected with that department in the office of chief inspector, John Daly, at police headquarters, in the city of New York.

Prior to my appointment to the New York police department I had been a stenographer and typist for a number of years in commercial life and Government service, and between 1911 and 1917 had occasion from time to time to use shorthand and typewriting.

On May 18, 1917, I was officially connected with the New York police department bomb squad under the direction of Inspector Thos. J. Tunney and the latter assigned me to take shorthand notes of the speech to be delivered by

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice [excerpt] / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161; 22 cm. In Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919).

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Summary: Palmer reports to the Senate on the Justice Department's investigation of anarchists. The report emphasizes the prosecution and deportation of Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Eighty-two shots of 160 pages. For typed draft of pages about Goldman, possibly used as deportation brief, see 830214183 and 830214184. For typed draft of pages about Berkman, see 800321004.

## 128 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Emma Goldman in the Harlem River Casino at One hundred and twenty-seventh Street and Second Avenue, New York City, on May 18, 1917. I attended said meeting and reported in full in my notebook the speech made by Emma Goldman on that occasion.

I further state that the nine typewritten sheets which are annexed hereto and made a part hereof and each of which has been initialed by me contain a full, true, and accurate transcript of the speech made by Emma Goldman as shown by my notebook.

WILLIAM H. RANDOLPH,  
Patrolman, N. Y. P. D. No. 5916, New York Police Department.  
Sworn to before me this 1st day of October, 1919.

GRAHAM L. RICE,  
Notary Public.

SPEECH BY EMMA GOLDMAN IN HARLEM RIVER CASINO, ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH STREET, 9.45 P. M., MAY 18, 1917.

We don't believe in conscription, this meeting to-night being a living proof. This meeting was arranged with limited means. So, friends, we who have arranged the meeting are well satisfied if we can only urge the people of entire New York City and America, there would be no war in the United States—there would be no conscription in the United States [applause] if the people are not given an opportunity to have their say. Therefore, we hope at least that a small portion of the population of New York City to-night is having its say.

Friends, what I have to tell you to-night I want to impress upon your minds with all the intensity of my being, that we have with us people who come to break up this meeting, and therefore, friends, I ask you, friends, in the name of peace, in the name of freedom, and all that is dear to you, to be perfectly quiet, and when the meeting is over to leave the hall quietly, for that is a better argument than by the provocators who came here to-night to break up the meeting. Therefore, friends, I repeat once more, that after our speakers will be through, I hope you will leave the hall quietly, and, if there is the slightest trouble we will hold the troublemakers, the provocators, and the police responsible for the trouble. [Applause.]

Friends, I know perfectly well that to-morrow morning the daily papers will say that the German Kaiser paid for this meeting. I know that they will say that those employed in the German service have arranged this meeting. But there is all of us, friends, who have something serious at hand—those of us to whom liberty is not a mere shadow—and found to be celebrated on the 4th of July, and to be celebrated with firecrackers—that we will not only speak for it but die for it if necessary. [Applause.]

We are concerned in our own conscience, and we know that the meeting to-night has been arranged by workingmen and workingwomen, who probably gave their last cent from their wages which the capitalistic régime is granting them.

And so, friends, we do not care what people will say about us; we only care for one thing, and that is to demonstrate to-night and to demonstrate as long as we can be able to speak, that when America went into war, ostensibly for the purpose of fighting for democracy—because it is a dastardly lie—it never went into war for democracy. If it is true that America went into war in order to fight for democracy—why not begin at home? We need democracy. [Applause.] We need democracy over more than Germany, and I will tell you why. The German people were never brought up with the belief that they lived in democracy. The German people were nursed from their mothers' breasts that they were living in liberty and that they had all the freedom they desired. Therefore, the German people are not disappointed in the Kaiser. They desire. Therefore, the German people are not disappointed in the Kaiser. They have a Kaiser, the kind of a Kaiser they want and are going to stand for. Republic. We have been told that free speech and free press and free assembly are guaranteed by the Constitution. Incidentally, friends, the only people who still believe in the Constitution are you poor fools for the other fellows. [Applause.] We are rather disappointed. When suddenly, out of the clear sky, a few months after we have been told he kept us out of war—we are now told he drew us into war. [Applause.]

We, who came from Europe, came here looking to America as the promised land. I came believing that liberty was a fact. And when we to-day resent

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 129

war and resent conscription, it is not that we are foreigners and don't care; it is precisely because we love America and we are opposed to war. [Applause.]

My friends, when I say we love America, I wish you to remember that we don't love the American Wall Street, that we don't love the American Morgau, that we don't love the American Rockefeller, we don't love the American Washington, we don't love the American ammunition manufacturers, we don't love the American National Security League—for that America is Russia transferred to America. [Applause.]

We mean the America of Wendell Phillips, we mean Emerson, we mean America of great pioneers of liberty. We mean writers, and great men and women who have fought for years to maintain the standard of effort. I, for one, am quite willing to stand up face to face with patriots every night—patriots blind to the injustice committed in this country—patriots who didn't care a hang. We are willing to stand up and to say to them: "Keep your dirty hands off America." You have no right to tell the people to give their lives in behalf of democracy, when democracy is the laughing stock before all Europe. And, therefore, friends, we stand here and we tell you that the war which is now declared by America in the last six weeks is not a war of democracy and is not a war of the urging of the people. It is not a war of economic independence. It is a war for conquest. It is a war for military power. It is a war for money. It is a war for the purpose of trampling under foot every vestige of liberty that you people have worked for for the last forty, or thirty, or twenty-five years, and, therefore, we refuse to support such a war. ["Hurrah"—applause.]

We are told, friends, that the people want war. If it is true that the American people want war, why not give the American people a chance to say whether they want war. Friends, we were told that the American people have a chance to say whether they want war through Congress and through the Senate. Congress is in the hands of those who pull the string. It is a jumping jack. [Applause.]

Friends, in Congress there are a few men in the Senate [mentioning some names] who wanted to keep America out of war. They have been hounded and persecuted and abused and insulted and degraded because they stood up for a principle. And so it was not true that the people of America have a chance to express their views. It was impossible, because each Congressman and each Senator is taken into a private room where spiritualistic mediums are being used, and they are mesmerized and massaged until every revolutionary fiber is out of them, and then they come out and do as they're told by the Administration in Washington.

The same is true about conscription. What chance have you men to say if you men are to be conscripted. It took England 18 months—a monarchy—to decide whether she shall have conscription. Upon the people born under a free sky—conscription has been imposed upon you. You can not have democracy and have compulsory military training. You have become Russian. [Applause.]

Friends, I suggest that Wall Street and the military powers invite the Russian Czar to America—he belongs here—and tell them how to deal with the revolution, with the anarchists, the Czar ought to know, he handled them. He used every method in his power in order to subdue all human beings. But he succeeded; I should say not. He is now sitting in his palace, that the revolution may go a little further. [Applause.] Americans evidently are working for the Czar. We already have the beginning of the Czar, who wants to employ all of the liberties of the American people.

Now, friends, do you suppose for one minute that this Government is big enough and strong enough and powerful enough to stop men who will not engage in the war because they don't want the war, because they don't believe in the war, because they are not going to fight a war for Mr. Morgau? What is the Government going to do with them? They're going to lock them up. You haven't prisons enough to lock up all the people. [Applause.]

We believe in violence and we will use violence. Remember, friends, that the very Government which worships at the altar of the Christian religion, that this Government knows perfectly well, that they attempted to silence them. And so, if it is their intention to make us quiet, they may prepare the noose, they may prepare the gallows, they may build more prisons, for the spread of revolt and conscience. [Applause.]

How many people are going to refuse to conscript, and I say there are enough. I would count at least 50,000, and there are enough to be more,

150770—19—S. Doc. 153, 66-1—9

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### 130 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

and they're not going to when only they're conscripted. They will not register. [Applause.]

I realize perfectly, that it is possible to gather up 50 and 100 and 500 people, and what are you going to do if you have 500,000 people? It will not be such an easy job, and it will compel the Government to sit up and take notice and, therefore, we are going to support, with all the means at our command, support with money and publicity, we are going to support all the men who will refuse to register and who will refuse to fight. [Applause.]

We want you to fill out these slips and as you go out drop them into the baskets at the door. We want to know how many men and women of conscriptive age, and they're going to take women and not soldiers. It is the same thing as if you fight in the war. Don't let them tell you that they will send you to the farm. Every stroke of what you do you are supporting the war, and the only reply that you can make against the war is that you are making men, that you are busy fighting your internal enemy, which is the capitalistic class. [Applause.]

I hope that this meeting is not going to be the first and last. As a matter of fact, we are planning something else.

Friends, listen, think of it. Not only are you going to be compelled, coerced to wear the soldier's uniform, but on the day when you leave to be educated to the master war, on the day when it will be decided that you shall be driven into the trenches and battle field, on that day we are going to have a demonstration [applause], but be careful whom [applause] you might bury yourself and not the working class. [Applause.] We will have a demonstration of all the people who will not be conscripted and who will not register. We are going to have the largest demonstration this city has ever seen, and no power on earth will stop us.

I will say, in conclusion, that I, for one, am quite willing to take the consequences of every word I said and am going to say on the stand I am taking. I am not afraid of prison—I have been there often. It isn't quite so bad. I am not afraid of the authorities—I have dealt with them before—and, rather, they have dealt with me, and am still living and stand here before you. I am not afraid of death. I would rather die the death of a lion than live the life of a dog. [Applause.]

For the cause of human liberty, for the cause of the working class, for the cause of men and women who live and till the soil, if I am to die for them, I could not wish a more glorious death ever in my wildest dreams. And so, patriots and police and gentlemen, who represent wealth and power, help yourself; you can not stop the revolutionary spirit. It may take as long as one year or two. You can not do it, because the spirit of revolution has a marvelous power of liberty. It can break through bars; it can go through safely; it can come out stronger and braver. If there is any man in this hall that despairs, let's look across Russia; let's look across. [Applause.] Also, who was tortured by the Russian soldiers, who never believed that she would see Russia and see her people alive, and yet see the wonderful thing that revolution has done. It has thrown the Czar and his clique and his ever-staunch henchmen into prison. It has opened Siberia and all the dungeons, and the men and women are going to be free. They are not going to be free according to American democracy. [Applause.]

Friends, I insist it is a good place for them in Russia. Let's go back home to-morrow. So, friends, don't be afraid. Take this marvelous meeting, take this wonderful spirit, and remember that you are not alone; that to-night, in every city, in every hamlet, and in every village and town there are hearts beating that they don't want war; that they don't want conscription; that they are not going to be conscripted.

The ruling classes fight a losing game. The Wall Street men are fighting a losing game. They represented the past and we represent the future. [Applause.]

The future belongs to the young men, who are barely of age and barely realizing their freedom. The future belongs to the young girls and young boys. They must be free from militarism; they must be free from the military yoke. If you want war, help yourself. Fight your own battle. We are not going to fight it for you. [Applause.]

So, friends, it is our decision to-night. We are going to fight for you; we are going to assist you and cooperate with you, and have the grandest demonstration this country has ever seen against militarism and war. What's your answer? Your answer to war must be a general strike, and then the governing class will have something on its hands.

### INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 131

So, friends, before I close I want to make an appeal to you. I want to make you know that this meeting sprang simultaneously from a group of people. It cost money; and therefore I ask you to contribute as much as you can. I wish to say that Mother Earth is opening pledges with \$50. I hope that those who can do so will do so. We want to have money; we want to have more literature; we want to have a demonstration; and we want to prove that, with little money, no public support, with no militia, with no soldiers, we can support the point of real freedom and liberty and brotherhood. (Finished speaking about 10.15 p. m.)

#### EXHIBIT XII.

[Certificate of citizenship, United States of America.]

STATE OF NEW YORK, Monroe County, ss.

Be it remembered, That on the 13th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1894, Abraham Goldman, late of Russia, at that time of Rochester, in the State of New York aforesaid, appeared in the county court (the said court being a court of record, having common law jurisdiction, and a clerk and a seal), and applied to the said court to be admitted to become a citizen of the United States of America, pursuant to the directions and requisitions of the several acts of Congress in relation thereto; and the said Abraham Goldman having hereunto produced to the court such evidence, made such declaration and renunciation, and taken such oaths as are by the said acts required; thereupon, it was ordered by the said court that he be admitted, and he was accordingly admitted to become a citizen of the United States of America.

In witness whereof, the seal of the said court is hereunto affixed, this 18th day of October, 1919.

By the court.

[SEAL]

JAMES L. HOTCHKISS, Clerk.

#### EXHIBIT XIII.

To the Surrogate's Court of the County of Monroe, in the State of New York:

The petition of Samuel Cominsky of Rochester, in the county of Monroe and State of New York, respectfully shows that Abraham Goldman died on the 14th day of January, 1909, at Rochester in the county of Monroe and State of New York, leaving personal property within said county and leaving a will of personal property bearing date the 20th day of December, 1908, executed in presence of Louis E. Lazarus and Jacob Hochstein at witnesses, as prescribed by the laws of the State of New York, in which will Samuel Cominsky is designated as executor.

That the said testator was, at the time of his death, a resident of said county of Monroe and resided at Rochester, in said county.

That the said testator left him surviving, his wife, Theresa Goldman, who resides at Rochester in the State of New York and that the following are all the heirs and all the next of kin of said testator, and their respective ages and places of residence, to wit:

Theresa Goldman, widow, residing at Rochester, in the State of New York; Emma Goldman, daughter, aged 39 years, residing at New York, in the State of New York; Herman Goldman, son, aged 37 years, residing at Rochester, in the State of New York; Morris Goldman, son, aged 29 years, residing at New York, in the State of New York.

That no petition for probate of said will has been filed in any surrogate's court.

That your petitioner is informed and believes that the personal estate of said decedent does not exceed in value the sum of \$5,000, and that the decedent left no real property.

Your petitioner therefore prays that the said will may be proved, and that the said widow, Theresa Goldman, and the said heirs and next of kin of the said testator may be cited to attend the probate thereof.

Dated the 15th day of February, 1909.

SAMUEL COMINSKY, Petitioner.

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## 132 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
City of Rochester, County of Monroe, ss:

Samuel Cominsky, being duly sworn, says he is the petitioner named in the foregoing petition, and that the said petition is true to his knowledge, except as to the matters therein stated to be alleged on information and belief, and that as to those matters he believes it to be true.

SAMUEL COMINSKY,

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 16th day of February, 1909.

KATHERINE VETTER,  
Commissioner of Deeds.

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
City of Rochester, County of Monroe, ss:

Samuel Cominsky, being duly sworn, says that he will faithfully and honestly discharge the duties of his office as executor of the will of Abraham Goldman, the testator named in the within petition.

SAMUEL COMINSKY,

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 16th day of February, 1909.

KATHERINE VETTER,  
Commissioner of Deeds.

[Surrogate's Court, Monroe County, N. Y. In the matter of the probate of the last will and testament of Abraham Goldman, deceased.]

I, Emma Goldman, of the city of San Francisco, Calif., one of the next of kin of Abraham Goldman, late of the city of Rochester, county of Monroe, N. Y., deceased, being of full age, do hereby waive the issue and service on me of a citation in the above-entitled proceeding; I appear in person herein, and consent that an order or decree may be made and entered in said proceeding accordingly.

Dated this 25th day of January, 1909.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,  
San Francisco, ss:

On this 25th day of January, 1909, before me personally came Emma Goldman, to me known to be the person described in and who executed the foregoing instrument and acknowledges the execution thereof.

J. J. KERRIGAN,  
Notary Public in and for the City and County of  
San Francisco, State of California.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,  
City and County of San Francisco, ss:

I, H. I. Mulcrevy, county clerk of the city and county of San Francisco, and ex officio clerk of the superior court thereof, the same being a court of record, do hereby certify: That J. J. Kerrigan, whose name is subscribed to the certificate of the proof or acknowledgment of the annexed instrument and thereon written, was, at the time of taking such proof and acknowledgment, a notary public in and for said city and county, residing therein, duly commissioned and sworn, and authorized by the laws of said State to take the acknowledgments and proofs of deeds or conveyances for lands, tenements, or hereditaments in said State to be recorded therein. And further that I am well acquainted with the handwriting of such notary public, and verily believe that the signature to said certificate of proof or acknowledgment is genuine.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court the day of January 25, 1909.

[L. S.]

H. I. MULCREVY, Clerk.

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
City of Rochester, County of Monroe, ss:

Herman Goldman, of the city of Rochester, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is well acquainted with Emma Goldman, the person mentioned in the foregoing waiver, and with her manner and style of handwriting, hav-

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 133

ing often seen her write, and that deponent verily believes that the signature purporting to be the signature of the aforesaid person signed to the said instrument, is the true and genuine handwriting and signature of the above-named person.

HERMAN GOLDMAN.

Sworn to before me this 11th day of February, 1909.

KATHERINE VETTER,  
Commissioner of Deeds.

STATE OF NEW YORK, Monroe County, ss:

I, Andrew Ludolph, clerk of the surrogate's court of the said county of Monroe, being a court of record and having a clerk and seal, do hereby certify that I have compared the foregoing papers, viz: A copy of the petition and waiver of citation in the matter of the estate of Abraham Goldman, late of the city of Rochester, county of Monroe and State of New York, deceased, with the original filings thereof, now remaining in the surrogate's office of said county of Monroe, and in my care and custody as the clerk of said surrogate's court, and that I have found the same to be a full, exact, and correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of such original filings.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at the city of Rochester, N. Y., this 17th day of October, 1919.

[SEAL.]

ANDREW LUDOLPH,  
Clerk of the Surrogate's Court.

STATE OF NEW YORK, Monroe County, ss:

I, Selden S. Brown, surrogate of said county of Monroe, and sole judge and presiding magistrate of the said surrogate's court, do hereby certify that Andrew Ludolph, the person attesting the above certificate, is the clerk of said surrogate's court; that his signature to said attestation is genuine, that he is the legal custodian of the records and files of said court, and that said certificate and attestation are in due form.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at the city of Rochester this 17th day of October, 1919.

[SEAL.]

SELDEN S. BROWN, Surrogate.

STATE OF NEW YORK, Monroe County, ss:

I, Andrew Ludolph, clerk of the surrogate's court of the county of Monroe, N. Y., do hereby certify that the Hon. Selden S. Brown is the surrogate of said county of Monroe, duly commissioned and qualified, and the sole judge and presiding magistrate of the said surrogate's court, and that his signature to the foregoing certificate is genuine.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at the city of Rochester this 17th day of October, 1919.

[SEAL.]

ANDREW LUDOLPH,  
Clerk of the Surrogate's Court.

OCTOBER 18, 1919.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss:

Joseph Raymond McCuen, duly sworn, deposes and says that he was employed as a reporter on the staff of the New Haven Palladium during the month of May, 1909; that on or about the 12th of May, 1909, he called on Dr. Ben Reisman, who submitted to deponent information in article appearing in the New Haven Palladium newspaper published at New Haven, Conn., under date of May 13, 1909, under headline "Reisman doesn't blame Czolgosz." Further the deponent saith not.

JOSEPH RAYMOND MCCUEN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th day of October, 1919.

JOHN H. HOLLINSWORTH, Notary Public.

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## 134 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

### REITMAN DOESN'T BLAME CZOLGOSZ.

Dr. Ben Reitman, general manager of Miss Emma Goldman's lecture tour, said last night that he was going right ahead to make arrangements for the women anarchist's advent into this city next Friday and Saturday nights, despite the warning yesterday of Chief of Police Cowles that he would not allow Miss Goldmann to speak in this city.

Dr. Reitman further stated that he did not see what right the chief has to stop their meeting. He says it is unconstitutional and that the chief will only be able to stop the meeting by force.

During the course of conversation Reitman was asked if anarchy taught violence. He replied that it didn't but that it tolerated violence.

"Do the anarchists tolerate such an act as Czolgosz's, who killed President McKinley?"

"Most certainly they do. I certainly would," he replied.

### EXHIBIT XIV.

And yet the 1st of May looms big with promise. Arrayed against the harbingers of new wars that sit in Paris and Washington, in London, aye and in Berlin, there will stand a working-class that understands, better than it ever understood before, the meaning of proletarian brotherhood, a working-class that is ready, more desperately ready than ever before to give that last full measure of devotion to a cause that has become to them a tremendous, living reality.

Let it be a 1st of May worthy of the greatness of the year that has passed, worthy of the future that lies before us.

The National Government, the capitalist State, had stepped in. The steel trust was in danger of being beaten. It might have to submit before the power of the workers. To save itself it brought into the field the instrument forged by the capitalists to uphold their system of exploitation and oppression, the State, which in spite of all its democratic pretensions is but the physical expression of the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Workingmen of the United States, the capitalists are challenging you!

They are demonstrating before your very eyes that the governmental power is theirs, for use against you when you dare strike against the enslavement which they force upon you.

The homes of the workingmen of Gary are being raided, their meetings forbidden, their literature confiscated by the military régime which controls Gary. Martial law is supreme. The instruments to destroy lives of the workers are ready.

Are you, workingmen of this country, going to submit meekly to the use of military invasion and force to break your strikes? Shall the iron heel rule unchallenged?

This is the hour to rouse the workers.

Gather in great mass meetings. Bring to the attention of the unenlightened workers the meaning of martial law at Gary. Show them that it is not enough to strike against low wages and bad working conditions, but that the strike must be directed against capitalism.

The workers must capture the power of the State. They must wrest from the capitalists the means through which the capitalist rule is maintained.

The answer to the dictatorship of the capitalists is the dictatorship of the workers. (Printed in the New York Times.)

### EXHIBIT XV.

#### HOW TO HELP.

This paper is distributed by volunteer committees organized in the shops by the workers themselves. Do you like it? Do you think it worth while helping?

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 135

If you do, this is how you can help:

Organize a committee in your shop—or among your fellow-workers; fellows you know are "all right"—even if there are only one or two of you. Get together and talk it over. Have a smoker, a lecture of some kind or an entertainment by which you can raise a little money. If you want speakers, write to us.

With this money order a few hundred copies of The Voice of Labor, and distribute them to the workers On The Job. If you can sell them, so much the better; if not, give them away.

Increase your committee by adding to it other workers who are interested. Start new committees in other shops.

Use these committees to spread the ideas of Industrial Unionism. Make them the basis for shop committee which will control your jobs, which can deal with the bosses direct, without the interference of reactionary Union officials.

This is your paper. Write us articles. Criticize the paper. Ask for anything you want to know about, and we'll try to tell you. Get subscribers. Get people interested. It is up to you.

If the paper succeeds, we'll make it larger, publish pictures, and keep you thoroughly informed of what is really going on in the labor movement, both here and abroad.

Were you versed as a Congressman ought to be, in sociology and economics, you would know just as well as we do that all of the cities where large groups of Negroes dwell are magazines of race prejudice dynamite, ready to explode at any moment upon lighting the fuse. To be very frank, your own State is an arsenal at this very moment, where something may happen any day to prove that the Negroes of your State are not so satisfied and contented as you think. You had better look around you—you and all your Southern colleagues. You had better cut out your Jim-crow car pretty quick. You had better extend the vote to Negro citizens at once. You had better relinquish your time-worn reaction and make way for democracy unstreaked by race or color lines.

Lastly, you say, "Neither political equality nor social equality is essential to the happiness of the Negro." On the contrary, we hold that both are not only essential, but inevitable. We have made considerable headway along both lines and the period of acceleration is not far away. And even you, Mr. Byrnes, may yet sit with us in Congress or in Pullman and dining cars in South Carolina.

The old order is passing. It is passing in race relations. It is passing in class relations. The old relations are yielding to the magic touch of the new democracy. They struggle to hold their own, but are doomed to disappointment, as under the corroding tooth of time they wear away and cease to be. The new order of society is upon us. It is sweeping away the system which maintains you, Mr. Byrnes, and all your ilk. With the passing of the system, the representatives of the system will follow in a slow, sad cadence to the cosmic tread of democracy. For us there is hope; for you despair. We have all to gain; you all to lose. As we watch your frantic alarm and your myopic desperation, we remember that the nearness of a ruling class to the end of its reign can be judged by the rashness of statement and the severity of measures to which it resorts.

The sword of Damocles dangles over your so-called white man's domination! Rumblings of revolution are heard in the distance! Nemesis is at hand!

And what did she do, she who put that uniform on them,

And bade them to do and die if needs be for her?

Did she raise an arm to protect them?

Did she raise her voice to frighten away the reptilian thing?

Did she lift a finger or shy a word of rebuke at it?

Did she do anything in defence of her black soldiers?

She did nothing. She sat complacent, indifferent in her seat of power.

She had eyes but she refused to see what Houston was doing to her black soldiers,

She had ears but she stuffed them with cotton,

That she might not hear the murmured rage of her black soldiers.

They suffered alone, they were defenseless against insult and violence,

For she would not see them nor hear them nor protect them.

Then in desperation they smote the reptilian thing.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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## 136 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

They smote it as they had smitten before her enemies,  
For was it not her enemy, the reptilian thing, as well as their own?  
They in an hour of madness smote it in battle furiously,  
And it shrank back from their blows hysterical,  
Terror and fear of death seized it, and it cried unto her for help.  
And she, who would not hear her black soldiers in their dire need,  
She, who put her uniform on them, heard their enemy.  
She flew at its call and hanged her brave black soldiers.  
She hanged them for doing for themselves what she ought to have done for them,  
She hanged them for reseating insult to her uniform,  
She hanged them for defending from violence her brave black soldiers.  
Loyal to the last were they and obedient.

### EXHIBIT XVI.

See in Exhibit No. 10.

When the riots between French and American soldiers and sailors occurred at Brest, the French made it emphatically clear that American Negroes, "camarades," could walk the streets without molestation. To show how well the French people received American Negroes, various estimates place the number of marriages of American Negroes and French girls between one and two thousand. Though most of these marriages were among the bourgeoisie and proletariat, a surprisingly fair percentage was found among women of culture and refinement. It was quite the custom for Negro officers to spend their leaves with French families to whom they had become endeared. Barring misunderstandings, due to differences in language, American Negroes in France enjoyed the highest degree of social equality compatible with current conditions. While enjoying unrestricted social equality among the French population, Negroes saw among other things: Negro deputies in the French Chamber; French Negro officers commanding French soldiers, white and colored; no color or caste discrimination whatsoever; in short—a country characterized by the fullest social, religious, and political equality for every class and race and nationality.

### EXHIBIT XVII.

And once again it has been made but too apparent that not only have the authorities no intention of protecting the Negro in his rights, but that when he heats back the wanton aggression of white mobs these are usually reinforced, aided and abetted by the white Militia or Regulars called out to preserve "law and order." At Knoxville as in Washington the white police and Militia protected only their kind and in many instances they were the worst offenders in the attacks on Negro life and property.

We do not know whether it would be considered seditious to cull the President a liar, but one does not need to exercise a great stretch of the imagination to know that the rude and naughty word is finding place to-day on the lips and in the hearts of millions of Irishmen, Egyptians, Indians, Chinese, and Africans, who can by their own experience at the hands of the New Holy Alliance repudiate every democratic argument that Mr. Wilson has so far advanced or is ever likely to advance in favor of the treaty.

### BOLSHEVIST!

Bolshevist is an epithet that present-day reactionaries delight to fling around loosely against those who insist on thinking for themselves and on agitating for their rights. We do not know exactly what the reactionaries desire to convey by the term—we do not think they know themselves. However, if, as appears by its frequent use against those who are agitating in the people's interests and for justice for the oppressed, the term is intended to cover those "bad agitators," who are not content that the people shall forever be enslaved in the clutches of the cutthroat, child-exploiting, capitalist-imperialist crew, then assuredly we are Bolsheviks. This epithet nor any other holds any terrors

## INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 137

for us. If to fight for one's rights is to be Bolsheviks, then we are Bolsheviks and let them make the most of it!

And for the further information of the asses who use the term so loosely we will make the statement that we would not for a moment hesitate to ally ourselves with any group, if by such an alliance we could compass the liberation of our races and the redemption of our Fatherland. A man pressed to earth by another with murderous intent is not under any obligation to choose his weapons. He would be a fool if he did not use any or whatever weapon was within his reach. Self-preservation is the first law of human nature.

### EXHIBIT XVIII.

WHY WE MUST ORGANIZE.

The Negroes and Industrial Workers of the World have interests not only in common, but interests that are identical. For example, those who largely constitute the Industrial Workers of the World are unskilled. So is the Negro. They are migratory workers and have no political rights. Neither has the Negro. Hence, the Negro and white migratory workers have no political action. The suffrage laws of residence have disfranchised the white migratory worker. The Southern States have disfranchised the Negro, along with the profiteering landlords who move both of them so fast that they can't stay in a house long enough to vote. Hence, there is no other course, then, to adopt but industrial action.

The Negro who is disfranchised must join other voteless workers. The Negro, who is largely the unskilled worker in industry, must join that organization in which the workers are organized upon the basis of industry, thereby giving the skilled and unskilled equality of rights.—The Messenger.

### EXHIBIT XIX.

Here the steel workers catch the tang of the real fight. Here they are recalled to the truth that the steel union and the steel strike is only an incident; at behind it, is the background of a world-wide class struggle and that this struggle will bring victory only when the workers are capable of industrial control. Here they find themselves by the side of I. W. W. miners, I. W. W. lumber jacks, I. W. W. construction workers, I. W. W. transport men. They are no longer bound in a single union; they are in a class organization, and the spirit of class wideness gives the vision of a new society.

Let Foster build his one big union; may it grow, may it increase, may it win its battle with the steel trust. But though we may be called "Orthodox," we of the I. W. W. will still toll for our I. W. W. one big union—and we know that when we have at last built it, we have also built a new society.

### EXHIBIT No. 7.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

Alexander Berkman is a Russian subject and not a citizen of the United States. He was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and is stated to be about 50 years of age. His occupation has been that of an editor and publisher. He has stated that he was single; that his parents were dead. Prior to his arrest in June, 1917, Alexander Berkman was the publisher of The Blast, a publication issued in San Francisco, several issues of which were barred from the mails because they violated section 211 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits in the circulation of the mail matter intended to incite arson, murder, or assassination.

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Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 1" is a copy of a book written by Alexander Berkman in the first person, entitled "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association in 1912. This book contains the story of certain phases of the career of Alexander Berkman, and the title "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" plainly refers to Berkman himself, in which he designated himself as an anarchist. Particular attention is called to the following quotations found in this book:

From pages 4 and 5 of said book I quote the following:

I could no longer remain indifferent. The moment was urgent. The tollers of Homestead had defied the oppressor. They were awakening. But as yet the steel workers were only blindly rebellious. The vision of anarchism alone could imbue discontent with conscious revolutionary purpose; it alone could lend wings to the aspirations of labor. The dissemination of our ideas among the proletariat of Homestead would illuminate the great struggle, help to clarify the issue, and point the way to complete ultimate emancipation.

My days were feverish with anxiety. The stirring call, "Labor, awaken!" would fire the hearts of the disheartened, and inspire them to noble deeds. It would carry to the oppressed the message of the new day, and prepare them for the approaching social revolution. Homestead might prove the first blush of the glorious dawn. How I chafed at the obstacles my project encountered! Unexpected difficulties impeded every step. The effort to get the leaflet translated into popular English proved unavailing. It would endanger me to distribute such a fiery appeal, my friend remonstrated. Impatiently I waved aside his objections. As if personal consideration could for an instant be weighed in the scale of the great cause! But in vain I argued and pleaded. And all the while precious moments were being wasted and new obstacles barred the way. I rushed frantically from printer to compositor, begging, imploring. None dared print the appeal. And time was fleeting. Suddenly flashed the news of the Pinkerton carnage. The world stood aghast.

The time for speech was past. Throughout the land tollers echoed the defiance of the men of Homestead. The steel workers had rallied bravely to the defense; the murderous Pinkertons were driven from the city. But loudly called the blood of manum's victims on the banks of the Monongahela. Loudly it called. It is the people calling. Ah, the people! The grand, mysterious, yet so near and real, people.

From pages 7 and 8 of said book I quote the following:

The people—the tollers of the world, the producers—comprise to me the universe. They alone count. The rest are parasites, who have no right to exist. But to the people belongs the earth—by right, if not in fact. To make it so in fact, all means are justifiable, nay, advisable, even to the point of taking life. The question of moral right in such matters often agitated the revolutionary circles I used to frequent. I had always taken the extreme view. The more radical the treatment, I held, the quicker the cure. Society is a patient; sick constitutionally and functionally. Surgical treatment is often imperative. The removal of a tyrant is not merely justifiable; it is the highest duty of every true revolutionist. Human life, is, indeed, sacred and inviolate. But the killing of a tyrant, of an enemy of the people, is in no way to be considered as the taking of a life. A revolutionist would rather perish a thousand times than be guilty of what is ordinarily called murder. In truth, murder and attentat—an act of political assassination—are to me opposite terms. To remove a tyrant is an act of liberation, the giving of life and opportunity to an oppressed people. True, the cause often calls upon the revolutionist to commit an unpleasant act; but it is the test of a true revolutionist—any, more, his pride—to sacrifice all merely human feeling to the call of the people's cause. If the latter demand his life, so much the better.

Could anything be nobler than to die for a grand, a sublime cause? Why, the very life of a true revolutionist has no other purpose, no significance whatever, save to sacrifice it on the altar of the beloved people. And what could be higher in life than to be a true revolutionist? It is to be a man, a complete man. A being who has neither personal interests nor desires above the necessities of the cause; one who has emancipated himself from being merely human and has risen above that, even to the height of conviction which excludes all

doubt, all regret; in short, one who in the very inmost of his soul feels himself revolutionist first, human afterwards.

Such a revolutionist I feel myself to be. Indeed, far more so than even the extreme radicals of my own circle. My mind reverts to a characteristic incident in connection with the poet Edelstadt. It was in New York, about the year 1890. Edelstadt, one of the tenderest of souls, was beloved by everyone in our circle, the Pioneers of Liberty, the first Jewish anarchist organization in American soil.

From pages 9 and 10 of the said book I quote the following:

No; the thorough revolutionist needs no such self-doubting preparations. For I know I do not need them. The feeling is quite impersonal, strange as it may seem. My own individuality is entirely in the background; aye, I am not conscious of any personality in matters pertaining to the cause. I am simply a revolutionist, a terrorist by conviction, an instrument for furthering the cause of humanity; in short, a Rakhmetov. Indeed, I shall assume that name upon my arrival in Pittsburgh.

From page 11 of said book I quote the following:

The horrible vision revives in my mind a similar incident, lived through in imagination before. It was the sight of an executed nihilist. The nihilists! How much of their precious blood has been shed; how many thousands of them line the road of Kussin's suffering! Inexpressibly near and soul kin I feel to those men and women, the adored, mysterious ones of my youth, who had left wealthy homes and high station to "go to the people" to become one with them, though despised by all whom they held dear, persecuted and ridiculed even by the beighted objects of their great sacrifice.

Webster's New International Dictionary gives the following definition for nihilism:

(a) The doctrine that conditions in the social organization are so bad as to make destruction desirable for its own sake, independent of any constructive program or possibility; (b) the program or doctrine of a Russian party, or succession of parties of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, proposing various schemes of revolutionary reform, and, in reprisal for the persecution of the Russian Government, resorting to terrorism and assassination for the promotion of its ends. (c) In loose usage, violent revolutionary propaganda; terrorism; anarchism.

Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary gives the following definitions of nihilist:

(a) One who denounces existing social and political institutions; a disbeliever in all existing creeds and systems, and bent on the destruction of all; (b) a Russian anarchist; after 1878, often, a terrorist. "The nihilists are revolutionists who would overthrow the existing State by violence. They are divided and subdivided into sects, but generally into two parties—those who would promote open revolt, and those who will resort to the assassination of obstructive officers and of the Emperor himself." J. M. Buckley, *The Midnight Sun*, page 356.

From chapter 4 of said book, entitled "The Attentat," pages 33, 34, and 35, the following is quoted:

The door of Frick's private office, to the left of the reception room, swings open as the colored attendant emerges, and I catch a fleeting glimpse of a black-bearded, well-knit figure at a table in the back of the room.

"Mistah Frick is engaged. He can't see you now, sah," the negro says, handing back my card.

I take the pasteboard, return it to my case, and walk slowly out of the reception room. But quickly retracing my steps, I pass through the gate separating the clerks from the visitors, and, brushing the astounded attendant aside, I step into the office on the left, and find myself facing Frick.

For an instant the sunlight, streaming through the windows, dazzles me. I discern two faces at the further end of the long table.

"Fr—" I begia. The look of terror on his face strikes me speechless. It is the dread of the conscious presence of death. "He understands," it flashes



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through my mind. With a quick motion I draw the revolver. As I raise the weapon I see Frick clutch with both hands the arm of the chair and attempt to rise. I aim at his head. "Perhaps he wears armor," I reflect. With a look of horror he quickly averts his face as I pull the trigger. There is a flash, and the high-ceilinged room reverberates as with the booming of cannon. I hear a sharp, piercing cry, and see Frick on his knee, his head against the arm of the chair. I feel calm and possessed, intent upon every movement of the man. He is lying head and shoulders under the large armchair, without sound or motion. "Dead?" I wonder. I must make sure. About 25 feet separate us. I take a few steps toward him, when suddenly the other man, whose presence I had quite forgotten, leaps upon me. I struggle to loosen his hold. He looks slender and small. I would not hurt him; I have no business with him. Suddenly I hear the cry, "Murder! Help!" My heart stands still as I realize that it is Frick shouting. "Alive?" I wonder. I hurl the stranger aside and fire at the crawling figure of Frick. The man struck my hand—I have missed! He grapples with me, and we wrestle across the room. I try to throw him, but, spying an opening between his arm and body, I thrust the revolver against his side and aim at Frick, cowering behind the chair. I pull the trigger. There is a click—but no explosion! By the throat I catch the stranger still clinging to me, when suddenly something heavy strikes me, on the back of the head. Sharp pains shoot through my eyes. I sink to the floor, vaguely conscious of the weapon slipping from my hands.

"Where is the hammer? Hit him, carpenter!" Confused voices ring in my ears. Painfully I strive to rise. The weight of many bodies is pressing on me. Now—it's Frick's voice! Not dead? \* \* \*. I crawl in the direction of the sound, dragging the struggling men with me. I must get the dagger from my pocket—I have! Repeatedly I strike with it at the legs of the man near the window. I hear Frick cry out in pain—there is much shouting and stamping—my arms are pulled and twisted, and I am lifted bodily from the floor.

Police, clerks, workmen in overalls surround me. An officer pulls my head back by the hair, and my eyes meet Frick's. He stands in front of me, supported by several men. His face is ashen gray; the black beard is streaked with red, and blood is oozing from his neck. For an instant a strange feeling, as of shame, comes over me; but the next moment I am filled with anger at the sentiment, so unworthy of a revolutionist. With defiant hatred I look him full in the face.

"Mr. Frick, do you identify this man as your assailant?" Frick nods weakly.

The following is quoted from page 55 of said book:

Not that lying is to be condemned, provided it is in the interest of the cause. All means are justified in the war of humanity against its enemies. Indeed, the more repugnant the means, the stronger the test of one's nobility and devotion. All great revolutionists have proved that. There is no more striking example in the annals of the Russian movement than that peerless nihilist—what was his name? Why, how peculiar that it should escape me just now, I knew it so well. He undermined the Winter Palace, beneath the very dining room of the Tsar. What debasement, what terrible indignities he had to endure in the rôle of the servile, simple-minded peasant carpenter. How his proud spirit must have suffered, for weeks and months—all for the sake of his great purpose. Wonderful man! To be worthy of your comradeship.

From page 57 of this book, the following is quoted:

To be sure, an attempt on a Frick is in itself splendid propaganda. It combines the value of example with terroristic effect.

Following is quoted from page 58 of said book:

As if the mere death of Frick was my object! The very thought is impossible, insulting. It outrages me that even a bourgeois should so meanly misjudge the aspirations of an active revolutionist. The insignificant reptile, Frick—as if the mere man were worth a terroristic effort! I aimed at the many-headed hydra whose visible representative was Frick.

The following is quoted from page 59 of the book:

But this is the first terrorist act in America. The people may fail to comprehend it thoroughly. Yet they will know that an anarchist committed the deed. I will talk to them from the courtroom. And my comrades at liberty

will use the opportunity to the utmost to shed light on the questions involved. Such a deed must draw the attention of the world. This first act of voluntary anarchist sacrifice will make the workmen think deeply. Perhaps even more so than the Chicago martyrdom. The latter was preeminently a lesson in capitalist justice. The culmination of a plutocratic conspiracy, the tragedy of 1887 lacked the element of the voluntary anarchist self-sacrifice in the interests of the people. In that distinctive quality my act is initial. Perhaps it will prove the entering wedge. The leaven of growing oppression is at work. It is for us, the anarchists, to educate labor in its great mission. Let the world learn of the misery of Homestead. The sudden thunderclap gives warning that beyond the calm horizon the storm is gathering. The lightning of social protest—

The following is quoted from page 61 of the book:

In vain I strove to explain to him: I don't believe in your laws, I don't acknowledge the authority of your courts. I am innocent, morally.

The following, quoted from page 67, of book in question:

Our whole civilization, false to the core as it is, must be destroyed, to be born anew. Only with the abolition of exploitation will labor gain justice. Anarchism alone can save the world.

The following is quoted from page 73 of the book:

The Russian tyrant has frequently attempted to bait his prey with a beautiful woman. Our comrades there are careful not to associate with any woman, except of proved revolutionary character.

The following is quoted from page 91 of the book:

"I address myself to the people," I begin. "Some may wonder why I had declined a legal defense. My reasons are twofold. In the first place, I am an anarchist. I do not believe in man-made law, designed to enslave and oppress humanity. Secondly, an extraordinary phenomenon like an attempt can not be measured by the narrow standards of legality. It requires a view of the social background to be adequately understood. A lawyer would try to defend or palliate my act from the standpoint of the law. Yet the real question at issue is not a defense of myself, but rather the explanation of the deed. It is mistaken to believe me on trial. The actual defendant is society—the system of injustice, of organized exploitation of the people."

The following is quoted from page 497 of the book:

The very exaggeration of my self-estimate was a source of strength; I looked upon myself as a representative of a world movement; it was my duty to exemplify the spirit and dignity of the ideals it embodied. I was not a prisoner, merely; I was an anarchist in the hands of the enemy; as such, it devolved upon me to maintain the manhood and self-respect my ideals signified.

The example of the political prisoners in Russia inspired me, and my staying in the penitentiary was a continuous struggle that was the breath of life.

Was it the extreme self-consciousness of the idealist, the power of revolutionary traditions, or simply the persistent will to be? Most likely it was the fusing of all three that shaped my attitude in prison and kept me alive. And now, on my way to Pittsburgh, I feel the same spirit within me at the threat of the local authorities to prevent my appearance in the city. Some friends seek to persuade me to cancel my lecture there, alarmed at the police preparations to arrest me. Something might happen, they warned me; legally I am still a prisoner out on parole. I am liable to be returned to the penitentiary, without trial, for the period of my commutation time—eight years and two months—if convicted of a felony before the expiration of my full sentence of 22 years.

But the menace of the enemy stirs me from apathy, and all my old revolutionary defiance is roused within me. For the first time during the tour I feel a vital interest in life and am eager to ascend the platform.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 2" is a booklet entitled, "Trials and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman in the United States District Court in the City of New York, July, 1917." This contains the speech of Alexander Berkman before the



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court when he was charged with obstructing the draft and upon which charge he was convicted and sentenced to two years in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 3 is a copy of The Blast, dated August 15, 1916, volume 1, No. 17, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 4 written by Alexander Berkman, entitled "Violence and Anarchism." In this article it is stated:

Anarchism is the science of social order, as opposed to existing disorder; of brotherhood, as against present Ishmaelism; of individual liberty and well-being, as opposed to legal oppression, robbery, and universal misery.

In the same article the following appears:

Our graves will speak louder than the voices you strangle! In spite of all the strenuous governmental, capitalistic, and journalistic efforts to misrepresent and suppress anarchists and anarchism—because of those efforts—the people will yet learn the truth.

Attached hereto and marked "Exhibit 4" is a copy of The Blast, dated May 1, 1916, volume 1, No. 12, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 thereof, entitled "To Hell with the Government," by Alexander Berkman. This whole article breathes with the most radical revolutionary sentiments.

Attached hereto and marked as "Exhibit 5" is a copy of the publication entitled "The Blast," dated February 12, 1916, volume 1, No. 5, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 4 entitled, "A Word to You," and to an article on page 6 thereof entitled, "Direct Action v. Respectability," which is an attack upon the conservative and sane policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 6 is a copy of The Blast for June 1, 1917, volume 2, No. 5, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 entitled "To the Youth of America," an article written by Alexander Berkman in which the following is set forth:

But if you know anything at all, then you should know that the cry of democracy is a lie and a snare for the unthinking. You should know that a republic is not synonymous with democracy, and that America has never been a real democracy, but that it is the vilest plutocracy on the face of the globe.

If you are not deaf, dumb, and blind, then you know that the American bourgeois democracy and capitalistic civilization are the worst enemies of labor and progress, and that instead of protecting them you should help to fight to destroy them.

In the same issue of The Blast, appears an article entitled "War Dictionary." It is particularly illuminating to note some of the definitions contained in the so-called War Dictionary. Mailed at the same time with this issue of The Blast was a circular letter written upon stationery of The Blast emanating from Berkman's office in which an appeal is made to the revolutionary element of this country. This letter offers to subscribers of The Blast, a copy of The Anarchist's Morality by Kropotkin, the notorious anarchist writer and also the book of Bakunin entitled "God and the State."

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 7 is a copy of The Blast for January 15, 1916, volume 1, No. 1, and especial attention is called to the article on page 2 thereof, entitled "Why the Blast," this article being an open admission of the doctrine of The Blast which was not only constructive but destructive as well.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 8 is a copy of The Blast dated January 22, 1916, volume 1, No. 2, and especial attention is called to an article appearing on page 7 thereof entitled "A blast from Youngstown."

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 9 is a copy of The Blast for February 19, 1916, volume 1, No. 6, and particular attention is called to the article entitled "Reflections," appearing on pages 4 and 5, also to the articles on page 7 as follows: "Involuntary servitude" and "A step toward conscription—same fake."

Attached hereto and marked Exhibit 10 is a copy of The Blast, for February 26, 1916, volume 1, No. 7, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 entitled "Patriotism," in which Berkman refers to the American flag as a "striped rag."

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 11 is a copy of The Blast for June 1, 1916, volume 1, No. 14, and particular attention is called to the article appearing therein on page 5 entitled "The New Strike."

The publication entitled "The Blast" hereinbefore mentioned contains the statement that it is a revolutionary labor paper and that Alexander Berkman is the editor and publisher.

There is also attached hereto and marked Exhibit 12 a copy of a publication entitled "Mother Earth Bulletin," dated January 18, 1918, volume 1, No. 4, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 8 entitled "The Surgeon's Duty," by Alexander Berkman.

There is also attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 13 a copy of the transcript of the record of the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1917, No. 702, entitled, "Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, plaintiffs in error, v. The United States." Especial attention is called to page 511 of the transcript, upon which appears an article headed "A Gauge of Change," by Alexander Berkman. The following is a quotation from this article:

Do you still ask me what the anarchists have accomplished in the last quarter of a century? Just this: They have taught the people that violence is justified, aye, necessary in the defensive and offensive struggle of labor against capital. They have freed the public mind, to a remarkable extent, from the superstition of bourgeois morality, as is evident from the Union Square demonstration and from the numerous expressions of sympathy and encouragement we are receiving from heretofore indifferent if not unsympathetic sources.

On page 507 of the transcript of the record is set forth Alexander Berkman's open address contained in the edition of Mother Earth for July, 1914, volume 9, No. 5. In referring to the death of three persons named in this article, Berkman makes the following statement:

There is another possibility, and that is that our friends had themselves prepared the infernal machine, bomb, or whatever it was. And, of course, if that is the case, then I am quite sure that they did so with the intention of using it upon the enemy. The facts so far do not prove either the one supposition or the other; but if the latter be correct, then their death as a result of a perhaps premature explosion lies at the door of that iniquitous social system of capitalism which has brought our comrades to the point where persecution, tyranny, and oppression drove them to the climax of resisting by the might of dynamite. If society has forced our friends to resist oppression with violence, then capitalist society is guilty of creating the spirit which can find expression only in such violent methods. Therefore, whatever the actual facts, our comrades are either victims of capitalism or they are martyrs to the cause of labor and of humanity in general.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice [excerpt] / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — p. 6-161; 22 cm. In Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919).  
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Notes: Eighty-two shots of 160 pages. For typed draft of pages about Goldman, possibly used as deportation brief, see 830214183 and 830214184. For typed draft of pages about Berkman, see 800321004.

On page 49 of the transcript of the record appears a letter written by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to the United States District Attorney, under date of June 8, 1917, in which letter the following appears:

• • • We hereby state in the most emphatic manner that we, the undersigned, are anarchists and firm believers in the principles enunciated by the no conscription league.

As pointed out above this letter was signed by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman and contains the specific statement that they are anarchists of their own admission.

At the conclusion of the Berkman trial the Assistant United States Attorney advised the court of the criminal record of Alexander Berkman and referring to page 446 of the transcript of the record it will be found that Alexander Berkman on July 22, 1892, was convicted in Pittsburgh, Pa., upon an indictment charging him with attempted murder. He was sentenced upon that conviction to serve 21 years in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.

In the testimony given by Berkman in his trial in New York in 1917, he endeavored to show that he did not believe in violence but the record shows that in Pittsburgh in 1892 he went to the office of Henry C. Frick and there shot him down in cold blood and attempted to do so without giving him a chance to fight for his life.

## EXHIBIT No. 8.

[Novonirsky—Manifesto of anarchists—Communists—Published by the Federation of Unions of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada. New York, 1919. Price 8 cents.]

### THE STRUGGLE OF CLASSES.

The collective struggle for existence lies at the foundations of social life. The organization and history of the long and mighty struggle is also society in its development.

In order to make this struggle successful, people must harmonize their efforts as much as possible; in other words, adapt their work to their instruments as much as possible. These relations of people to the combat with nature are of an economic or productional character. Their form depends upon the instruments of toil, and upon the degree of development of the productive powers of society.

Every form of production corresponds to the precise form of its appropriation; that is, to the precise form of property ownership which is preserved by the governing system of law.

The productional relations of people depend but little upon human will, inasmuch as they constitute the semielementary process of adaptation to lifeless instruments of labor.<sup>1</sup> But the forms of prop-

<sup>1</sup>In an issue of the present work in 1905, the author, in treating of the question of estimating the degree of influence of the powers of production upon the historical development of society, undoubtedly was still under the influence of bourgeois and social democratic economists; whereas in his latest work, "From the Program of Syndical Anarchism," editions of 1907, he already appraised this influence from the anarchistic point of view, directly stating, on page 15: "We do not regard the instruments, but the owner of the instruments, as the maker of history—the conscious activity of man; they fall (come!) from man." According to such a deduction, the views of the author should have changed concerning the rôle of the productional forces, namely, productional forces do not govern man, but man governs the forces of production, adapting the instruments of labor to his purposes. Publisher.

erty ownership are entirely the products of the destruction of the existing law.

In primitive times, instruments of labor were very simple, and economic conditions were equally simple, and the division of labor into organization and production was in the most embryonic stage.

But when the powers of production developed, naturally the organizational and productional functions were separated. Society was divided into classes. The productive class carried on a struggle immediately with nature, changing and assimilating it by an expenditure of their energy. The organizational class guides people in this struggles, and organizes their relation to production.

In the course of time the producing class, bearing the heavy burden of toil by reason of their ignorance and downtrodden condition, became subservient to the organizational class, who performed their social functions as an enlightened and powerful people. Society was divided into two hostile classes—the persecutors and the persecuted, the exploiters and the exploited, lords and slaves.

Every governing class naturally wishes to maintain for all time its privileged position. With this purpose it must firmly defend the existing form of ownership and its outward expression—a given system of law.

But how can this be done? First of all, it is necessary to consecrate, in the eyes of the persecuted ones, the existing conditions of law and economics, and various religious or philosophical systems of morals are created or developed. For this purpose force is needed, and courts, police, and armies are created. Thus does Government inevitably grow up.

So long as social organization fulfills its basic function of co-operating in a collective struggle with nature, and the governing class proves itself to be an actual organizer of production, society lives and peacefully develops. But sooner or later technical improvements lead to revolution on the lives of production. In order that there be a normal functioning of society, there must be a corresponding change in the form of property ownership. But this necessary change comes in conflict with the interests of the exploiting class and its formidable organized force—governmental authority.

As a result, the form of appropriation of the product (that is, the form of ownership) finds itself in conflict with the form of its production (that is, with economic conditions). All the advantage is on the side of the governing class, and all the suffering is the lot of the oppressed. Society ceases to be an organization for collective struggle with nature, and becomes the cause of degeneration of the working masses.

That is not all. The governing class not only became an obstacle to the further development of society, but made itself a socially useless parasite. Its destiny was to organize general production. With the change of the conditions of production as a consequence of mechanical improvements, this rôle of organizer was relegated to another social group, arising from the ranks of the hitherto homogeneous masses of the oppressed.

Then the class struggle assumed an especially violent form. A new organizational class entered the struggle with the old in order



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to wrest from it the class dictatorship or political hegemony. As the old régime led the masses of the people through great hardships, they would gladly follow new organizing leaders, and with their blood, help to overthrow their old lords, but alas! only in order to place new burdens upon their shoulders and begin the harsh struggle anew.

So, the objective class struggle has as its final aim the creation of new forms of ownership for new forms of products; that is a struggle for right. But with a change in economic conditions, old creeds and ideals wither and die, and a new morality grows up among the oppressed; the struggle of classes subjectively assumes the character of a struggle for new ideals and a new morality.

The class struggle can not enter upon nor end in a compromise like its fountain-head social organization, the division of society into exploiting organizers and exploited producers. There are necessarily opposing interests and opposing ideals among the struggling classes. Their struggle is the struggle of two worlds, the past and the future; the old world must perish in order to make place for the new.

The entire historical life of humanity is written in the blood of the struggles of classes. In it the East pined away and the classic world was stifled.

After centuries of the most savage class struggle, Roman society lapsed into a dull by-lane, where it has writhed convulsively to this day where it was not wiped out by innumerable masses of fair-haired barbarians.

It had to perish, because not one social class could take upon itself the initiative of regenerating the antiquated forms of property ownership corresponding to new conditions of production arising from the development of production forces.

As a matter of fact, slavery as a form of ownership finished its career, for it was no longer possible even to feed the producing slaves, and the dominating class were transformed into the parasites of to-day, as even the organization of production passed into the hands of intelligent slaves. No further development was possible in the line of slavery, and it was necessary to free the slaves; that is, to change the form of ownership. But a full emancipation of the slaves in view of the low productivity of labor would have been tantamount to the ruin of the dominating class. It is clear that they, one and all, as a class, could not take upon themselves the initiative steps for their own ruin.

But the slaves, owing to their ignorance, diversity of race, and scattered condition, did not perfect a clear class consciousness and class organization which could assume the grand task of social revolution.

The impulse came from without. Deerepit Roman society fell beneath the blows of barbarians and their allied slaves, as formerly the East had fallen under the blows of Rome. Still class exploitation did not disappear, but only changed its form; slavery was replaced by serfdom.

Centuries of technical development again drew from the midst of the one oppressed mass of people a new social class—that of the bourgeoisie—which, in fact, became the organizer of production, and perverted the feudal nobleman into just such a parasite as the slaveholder of old. But hunger, suffering, and the revolt of the people

well showed that the feudal form of ownership acted as a brake upon bourgeois production. The fight and triumph of the bourgeoisie over the nobility again changed the form of exploitation; the serf became a "free" laborer, and the feudal form of ownership gave place to that of the bourgeoisie. The dominant class were no longer in position to feed their feeder workers. Unemployment, crises, famines, and sickness among the working classes tell of this too eloquently. But the bourgeoisie itself already became parasitical, as did the former nobility. The ruin of the bourgeois class—that is, a new change in ownership—became inevitable. The solemn hour of the great social revolution had struck.

### THE EMPIRE OF CAPITAL.

The contemporary bourgeois form of appropriation, private ownership, grew out of the earlier bourgeois form of production, out of so-called handicraft.

But the great technical revolution of the eighteenth century radically changed all forms of industry. Small artisans with their primitive implements of labor could not compete with the mighty implements of large capitalists. Step by step, big capital with its machinery has forced its way into every corner of small industry.

The free artisan had to give up his accustomed workbench with the accustomed atmosphere of family labor, and subject himself to the harsh commands of capital. Labor lost all its charm of variety; the individual workman degenerated into a part of a soulless machine. Neither the former frequent holidays, nor the former short working days, nor the high wages of old! Capital has the tendency to seize within its cruel talons the entire life of the worker, and to turn day, night, and week day into one continuous working time; into one continuous penal servitude. At the same time the capitalist dreams to himself of a lowering of the working wage to the limit beyond which death begins.

Capital has but one longing; uninterruptedly and boundlessly to increase the number of additions to its treasures; the quantity of squeezed-out and unpaid-for toil. Once the machine did work accessible to all; capital drew whole throngs of women and children into its sanctuary, where the sweat of delicate women and the hands of children were transmuted into lace and tissue. But the influx of these new rivals still further lowered the worker's wage, shockingly lengthened the working day, rendered the condition of the laborer still more precarious and hopeless. The terrible death rate, incredible increase of occupational diseases, mental dulling, and moral hardening, formed a marvelous culmination to this brilliant capitalistic progress.

But it is not sufficient to squeeze all the working force possible from the lifeblood of the workman, the capitalist must sell the wares created by labor. And here, after a shameless, wasteful expenditure of human forces of slaves of to-day, a senseless struggle for the sale of the products of blood, and a competition, begins between the capitalists themselves. And in this conflict the richer scores a victory and snatches wealth from the hands of his vanquished rival.

Crises and colonial wars come as results of this insatiable thirst to produce and sell as much as possible. The market is inevitably



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filled with wares which can not be bought by the impoverished masses of the people. A powerful slump in prices begins. The capitalists curtail or suppress production and commercial and financial settlements. Whole masses of workers are left on the street without employment and threatened with hunger, poverty, and crime. This terror continues so long as the superfluous masses of goods are not sold, and the prices do not rise and the equilibrium is not restored; then the crisis gradually gives way to the daybreak in order again to make place for a still more prolonged, profound, and more severe crisis.

There can be but one means of protection against crises with capitalists: The opening of new markets. And the capitalist ransacks the whole world with fire and sword in order to gain, not glory—oh, no!—but a market. Woe unto the laggard nation that does not wish to comprehend the magnanimous impulses of the enlightened bourgeoisie to endow and bestrew it with his wares! The "honor" of a cultured nation demands revenge, and bayonets and cannons are needed to compel "barbarians" to use products of national industries. In this way capitalism inevitably leads to cruel colonial wars.

In order to keep for themselves the markets which they have gained by plunder and violence, and restrain the growing revolt in the spirit of the working class, the bourgeoisie have imposed such a heavy burden of militarism and marinism on the shoulders of the people that society will be stifled if it is not liberated by labor's revolution.

Crises, unemployment, and hunger, a tremendous percentage of mortality among the workers, an intolerable burden of taxation, recruiting for the Army, which kills in man all that is free, proud, and enlightened—prostitutes—these are what the bourgeoisie have brought to the world. But it not only destroyed the well being of the laboring masses, it rudely invaded all the recesses of human life and soiled and debased it. It turned the comfortable workshop into dirty manufacturing barracks, and the family into prostitution; made the restless spirit of gain the very soul of life, war of all against all—these are its laws.

It was not ashamed to bring falsehood and vice into that sacred temple of science where not long ago it most reverentially offered sacrifices to the god of reason. Its lackeys, hired scholars, began a shameful sermon on religion and metaphysical idealism, to create and restore the most senseless system of morals; they began to raise from the dust all that which itself had thrown so insolently on the ground in time of youth. And all this merely in order to poison the working class with spiritual venom, to lull their consciousness with metaphysical opium, and, under the protection of God and morality, maintain their cruel dominion, the empire of cash and profit.

Without doubt the world expected a new, complete barbarism; an incredible growth of wealth upward, and a frightful misery downward. Gigantic development of scientific knowledge in a small, privileged circle, and boundless ignorance among the masses. On the one hand, the growth of man's dominion over nature, and on the other hand the swift degeneration of the working class.

But, happily for humanity and culture, forces were born in the bosom of contemporary society which must and can put an end to the empire of capital. And these forces grow with every day. No one can stop their growth. Against them, prison, army, and false

science are powerless. Slowly and faithfully they are blowing up the very roots of the present order of things. These forces are the consciousness and organization of the working class.

### SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

All the sufferings and torments of former oppressed toiling classes could not give full freedom to the toiler because the producing forces were too feeble for a full economic equality, that is, a completely free organization of labor, to bring humanity forward and not backward, and because the toiling class were not sufficiently developed in order themselves to undertake the direction of production. But, when organizing production, the organizers inevitably placed themselves at its head, economic inequality sooner or later led them to political dominion, to a class dictatorship. Were not the ancient patriarchs generally useful, and persons necessary to production? And yet, out of these peaceful patriarchs grew the Greek and Roman aristocrats. And could European society have dispensed with the profoundly useful activities of the feudal landlords, who, in the beginning of the Middle Ages, built mills and highways, kept peaceable toilers and lived no better than the lowest laborer? But in the course of time they degenerated into the vilest, most presumptuous, useless, and despotic caste. And our lewd, licentious, cruel bourgeoisie? Was it not born in the bosom of our peaceful city workshops? All history irrefutably convinces us that where there is an organizational group, sooner or later an economic inequality will be created, which inevitably crowns the organizers with political dominion. Only a free anarchistic organization of society gives room for the formation of new classes of the oppressed. But it was capitalism only that first made the terms for the complete liberation of the working class.

The gigantic implements of the present have increased the productivity of labor a thousandfold. Any country now produces, or can produce, enough to satisfy even the demands of luxury for all society. And a rational agriculture could feed one hundred times the present population. Only absolute ignorance or blind devotion to the interests of the dominating class can deny the fact that the present immense productive forces render communism perfectly possible.

But what shall we say of our means of communication, our theaters, museums, universities, and clubs? How much intellectual and artistic enjoyment can they afford to a liberated humanity? Yes; only at present is there a material foundation for a complete emancipation of labor; for a complete emancipation of the sacred human personality.

Capital did still more; it created that social force which can and must assume the task of destroying bourgeois society—it created the proletariat of the present. And not only created it but aroused its consciousness and drove it to the work of class organization.

In the nature of capital lies the tendency to level all the working class before the despotic will of capital. A uniform working day, a uniform hour for beginning and ceasing work, a uniform discipline, the same exploiter, and almost a uniform wage! All this involuntarily develops among workers the idea of the solidarity of their interests, and awakens a mutual, brotherly sympathy. Moreover, capi-

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talism concentrates the industrial and commercial working classes in some places, and thereby immeasurably increases their force, renders them masters of industrial centers; and, it may boldly be said, masters of nearly all countries.

Mutual work, mutual struggle, mutual sufferings create among the working classes noble dreams and the consciousness of their great social significance and high historic mission. And the growth of this consciousness is parallel with that of capitalism.

When capitalism was still weak in its development it represented something casual and transitory. The struggle of the working classes is still of a casual and transitory nature. We then see only solitary outbursts from the laborers, often because of silly nothings. At this stage of capitalism the struggle of the laborers is purely elementary. They have no conception of social antagonism. They attribute their hard condition to abuse by the boss or master. It is quite clear that the idea does not enter their heads of forming any sort of labor organization to protect their interests; you see they have the haziest sort of conception of those interests. In order to remove this or that "abuse" by the master it seems sufficient to punish well the guilty party—the factory must be burned, machines broken, the master murdered, but a permanent organization is superfluous.

But the further development of capitalism establishes, by the general conditions of labor, also the position of laborers in a large number of enterprises and in whole branches of industry. Separate and particular trifles are relegated to the rear; the matter of primary importance for the whole mass of workers is to acquire for them common conditions of labor and common pains of exploitation. The time has come for mass strikes or partial ones. Then will be buried the former naive, Utopian view of capitalism and social conditions; then for the first time will mature the idea of the solidarity of workers, or at least of their professional solidarity. Elementary strikes will give way to thorough ones. Workmen's battling professional organizations will be created.

In the subsequent development of capitalism, with the complete triumph of big production, machinery will forge the chains, binding the worker to the capitalist, the master and sovereign of the country. Society will be converted into one prodigious factory, where the same capitalist will be in command, with the same oppressed and crushed worker. Disputes between separate groups of exploiters will disappear more and more. Industrial capitalists, merchants, financiers, and agriculturists will turn into one mass, one closely united class, living upon the lifeblood of workers. But differences among the workers will also disappear; distinctions and rivalry between skilled and unskilled laborers will die out; and intelligent workers will be converted into real proletarians. Then it will not be a struggle of separate groups of workmen with separate capitalists; proletariat will battle with bourgeois and labor with capital. At that stage of development there will be an enormous national and international union of workmen and the idea will mature of a united and world-wide organization of labor. That will be the epoch of general strikes.

What will there be further?

One must be blind in order not to see how new and recent phases of the struggle of the working class are outlining themselves on the horizon.

Through a general strike within the bounds of the existing order of things an eight-hour, or even seven-hour working day, may be secured, as well as considerable increase in pay. But further mechanical improvements, the growth of the army of the unemployed, the entry of new capitalistic competitors into the arena, crises, increased cost of articles of prime necessity, the growth of the burden of taxation, will almost nullify the significance of the amelioration heretofore won by conquest. It is imperatively necessary for workers to throw themselves against the barrier—against capitalism. They must then understand that it is not a matter of the capitalists of one country or of the whole world, but of the capitalistic order of things itself. Then the direct purpose of the struggle will be social revolution, and the program of the day will be the destruction of private ownership by all the means of production.

In that manner the proletariat with their revolution will remove the fundamental abnormality of present-day society—a private form of appropriation where there is a general form of production, and private ownership on the basis of collectivism.

But what effect will the form of property have upon articles of consumption? Will they remain as private property, or will they become the property of all? In other words, in the future will production alone be general, or will consumption also be likewise? Upon this point there is dispute between collectivism and communism.

### COMMUNISM INEVITABLE.

What lies at the foundation of communism? A clear and exact principle: To everyone according to his needs. That means that all members of labor societies have the same right to the satisfaction of all their daily necessities. We have already stated that present society made communism possible. It is now necessary to show only that every other form is impossible, and that communism is necessary.

In fact, what does collectivism say? "To everyone according to his labor," or, in other words, "To everyone the product of his labor."

What a pitiful Utopia!

To every one according to his labor! But how measure the quantity of labor of separate individuals? Every branch of labor is so crowded, so indissolubly linked with the rest that it is quite impossible to determine what share of the product belongs to each of them. How will the general product be distributed upon which, not two or three branches of industry, but all mankind, not only in the present, but also in the past, were employed?

Now, in every item of present production there is concealed an immense amount of work of all past generations. More than that: How is to be determined what belongs to every member of society?

If labor is to be measured by the hours of work, how is the working time to be measured? Is it necessary to admit that all aspects of labor and all hours of labor are equal?

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If all hours of labor are equal on one and the same working day, all wages will also be equal. Now, this plainly shows that every member of society will have the right to an equal share of the general wealth. This is a round-about recognition of communism, which anarchists are openly aiming at.

If, then, the aspects of labor are not equal among themselves how will the social democratic leaders establish relations between them? Now they carry on a merciless competition in an elementary manner. But that, now, will disappear along with private ownership of means of production. Who, then, will establish relations between the labor of the weaver, the tailor, and the teacher? When and by whom shall be found a criterion for an appraisal of all the varieties of human labor? Nowhere and by no one except on arbitrary law-making authority.

The law determines by whom, where, how, and how much work shall be done. Thus the law establishes the relations between all aspects of labor; that is, who should get such and such pay for his labor.

It is clear that from the pay of each workman the Government will deduct (1) the expense of maintaining the law-making authority and the executive officers; (2) means for maintaining those incapable of working; (3) the expense of keeping up public institutions, and (4) for compensation higher than average wages for those kinds of work which the law recognizes as more complicated. How much ignorance and impudence are needed to declare that under such circumstances everyone should be paid according to his work! Now, with the same right, the present-day bourgeois may claim that in bourgeois society every workman should be paid according to his work, according to the amount of energy expended.

In what way, then, is the renowned collectivism distinguished from capitalism? The wages of labor remain untouched, the working day is regulated by law, economic inequality remains, and, most important of all, there still remains the most shameful institution of the times—hired labor. What has been changed? In all probability wages have been somewhat increased. That is all. Will unemployment, that scourge of the workman, disappear? Not at all. You see the State will pay only for work that it recognizes as generally useful at the time. For that reason it is not impossible that many workmen will not have work because of a plethora of labor in this or that branch of work. For if the State will pay every laborer for any work that he likes, it will be quite unable to regulate production, and can not prevent nonproduction. Production will fall into an absurd chaos such as not anarchy, but its foulest caricatures, can show.

The State can escape this chaos in only two ways: Either by not paying superfluous workers, and in that way forcing them to seek other lines of labor, where working forces are needed, or by compelling them to take up this or that employment.

The first means completely restores contemporary capitalism, and the second goes farther and resurrects all the charms of slavery. The only difference is that now the employer or proprietor of labor is voluntarily selected by the people by means of a general election, and their yoke will be all the more lasting because they will content themselves with the fiction of national self-sovereignty. The historical irony will be repeated which attached to the Roman proleta-

riat when by law they were considered the rulers of the world, and overlords of all the earth and all nations, but who, themselves, lived but half-fed upon the bounty of their own masters, the authorities of the state. Many things in common with the Roman Republic are promised us by our future socialistic republic. The radical difference will consist only in the fact that the Roman State was constructed upon a foundation of slavery, but the socialistic state will be founded upon hired labor. We can, therefore, say with confidence that collectivism is only a further development of capitalism. And capital already feels the need of a nationalization of land. The nationalization of the remaining means of production is being completed little by little by the trusts. Collectivism crowns this elementary process and delivers all means of production to one trust, selected by the people. But as the slave could not be made free by giving him the right to choose his master, so the hired laborer remains a slave of the present time, although he obtains the right to choose his employers. Collectivism is merely State capitalism. The workman becomes a complete slave to his master state, since the only barrier to the arbitrary will of the present-day capitalist vanishes, namely, competition between the capitalists themselves. The State becomes the sole owner of capital, the sole employer, and the sole holder of authority. The authority of owners, judges, and police will be concentrated in the hands of a single monster—the State, omnipresent and almighty.

It is clear that the judges, and functionaries, and in general the so-called intelligent workers, would obtain an unprecedented influence. From the feudal aristocracy of the sword and the bourgeois aristocracy of the sack of gold would grow the new aristocracy: that of knowledge. How terrible this yoke would be it is difficult now to imagine.

Fortunately, collectivism shows itself to be just such a utopianism as feudalism. The new social revolution would wind up with this new form of slavery, and there would come that social order of things which alone can be the lasting successor of capitalism, namely, complete communism; that is, common ownership of all means of production, and of products for consumption.

But communism in the economic field must inevitably be crowned with anarchy in the field of politics. Therefore, along with complete destruction of private ownership must go complete destruction of the state.

### THE STATE.

What is the State? We already know the answer to this question. The State is an organization for the preservation of existing forms of ownership; that is, of given forms of exploitation. In all times from the era of the Orient down to our day, class society rested upon the state. China, Egypt, India, Judea, Rome, and Greece, the municipal communes of the Middle Ages, free cities, monarchies—and republics—in a word, all the societies of history worked out only certain forms of state authority only as class antagonism was developed within them. The diversity of forms of state corresponded to the various conditions of warring classes.

But Oriental despotism, the city commune, and free Novgorod, like every state, have one fundamental task—to preserve the existing



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form of property ownership. How is this to be done? There is but one means; to prevent and punish any attempt upon it.

This is attained first of all by the gradual building up of a whole system of mutual binding norms, a system of law. Upon this basis sooner or later will arise a special organ—the lawgiving authority. In societies having a ruling class few in number, concentrated in one center, such an organ consists of the entire ruling class altogether, assembled in common council. In more extensive societies, with the deepening of the class struggle, the lawgiving function passes to the leader of the ruling class—the king or some prominent group of families from among the lords. In bourgeois society, the official law-giver is the sovereign nation, the actual assembly of delegates of the bourgeoisie parliament, the same as officially in bourgeois society every man draws from the national wealth proportionately to his general usefulness, but as a matter of fact all wealth is in the hands of the bourgeoisie alone; as in production the workman spends his life only in order to augment the material might of the bourgeoisie, so in parliament the representatives of workers only strengthen the authority of the political dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Besides the law-making authority an organ is needed whose function is to decide questions as to whether the law has been violated, and which law. This is the court. Whether the judicial authority is chosen by the ruling class by means of the ballot or by lot, whether appointed by a king or elected by the whole people, it can have but one task to perform: that of punishing every violation of the existing law.

The crowning feature of the State is its executive authority in, which is vested the material power which, day in and day out, forestalls, or cuts off and punishes. It is government, with police, spies, gendarmes and armies. A distinct organization of governmental authority at various times and places arose only from the necessity of the best possible adaptation to given social conditions.

All these parts of State authority are bound to each other with indissoluble ties, like the links of one chain. Where there exists the smallest embryo of authority, even if only in the form of mutually binding laws, sooner or later through natural necessity the whole State machine will arise: at first the court, and then a more or less mitigated form of government, and subsequently also a suitable form of organized forces. Whether the laws shall simply be called rules for regulating production, or whether the Government shall bear the modest title of central industrial committee, or any sort of social group is tagged with the name even of noble citizens—preservers of the legal order—it is all the same; we have before us an embryo which will soon turn into a real State vampire. Therefore, negation of the army and police is negation also of government, court and law.

We see such a complete absence of State authority only in primitive society, where there was no division into classes; that is, property was held in common. There we see no laws; customs take their place. There is no court, because all society shares the customs as well as property. There is also no executive authority, as there is no foundation for it—laws and courts. So, in spite of all conscious and unconscious idealists of the fist and the police, mankind lived and de-

veloped for thousands of years and carried on the same hard struggle with nature without any beneficent state authority.

The history of the State is the history of the enslavement of the toiling masses, the history of oppression, plunder, and violence. The State has always crushed every phase of human activity with its heavy paws. Under its poisonous breath art has withered, poetry has died, and noble aspirations to liberty and light have fruitlessly perished.

Examine the history of mankind; if you come upon some bright oasis you are at once convinced that it was a time of absence or weakening of the State authority. Why was the development of the oriental people arrested so early at a certain stage? Because with a recrudescence of class contradictions there was created and strengthened a powerful State authority, which killed all impulses toward spiritual creative power and strangled culture. When did the golden age of Hellenism reach its zenith? When the municipal commune, although living off the lifeblood of slaves, in its own midst knew no class contradictions and had no need to exert forcible authority. But as soon as deep antagonism manifested itself in the municipal commune a State authority grew up and Hellenism began to decay. Rome never knew an independent culture which could be compared with that of the Greeks, because the stern authority of the State, which from earliest times pressed upon the Roman people, killed free creative power. And so the Roman ruling class drew its material sustenance by shamelessly sucking the lifeblood of the slaves of the whole world. So it also lived on the spiritual food of conquered nations. Only one thing was created by this people—a State product par excellence—this was Roman law, which ever afterwards served as an instrument of oppression, enslavement of toilers, and justification of every sort of violence and ferocity. But how about the municipal communes and free cities at the beginning of the Middle Ages? What was the cause of their sudden and marvelous bursting into bloom? It was because, in their struggle with feudalism, the ruling class needed the constant and active assistance of the people, and therefore created a weak and hardly noticeable State authority. But as soon as the State was strengthened in the communes their death warrant was signed and they died a spiritual death; the songs of the troubadours were hushed; the wonderful national art died; everything began to wither away and was extinguished. And how do you explain the cultural preeminence of England except by the fact that she never experienced such ferocious State authority as did continental Europe?

The State kills human personality and thereby tears up the noble roots of intellectual and moral life. There are no free people in the State—they are all officials and subjects. Its ideal is to make subjects even of its officials, in order that all may be bound to its infamous chariot and to extirpate every possibility of a social revolution.

In Rome the ruling class made a great effort to take as their pay a whole class of people, namely, the Roman proletariat, and in that manner really delayed their downfall. But Rome realized only a part of the State ideal, for behind the bribed proletariat there remained still one class, the slaves, who could not be taken into the State service, because no one would be left to feed the aristocrats and give "bread and circus" to the imbruted populace. The union of this class with the barbarians destroyed Roman society.

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The bourgeoisie likewise make every effort to bind the proletariat in the bourgeois State and in that way to bribe and corrupt them. It attacks intelligent proletarians directly into the State service. It tries to bind the industrial workers by means of State insurance. The State attempts to take over the greatest possible number of enterprises and become the master of the greatest possible masses of workers. But it directs all these efforts to make the revolutionary elements of present society themselves interested in its existence; with this end in view it creates the so-called "State socialism" and invites workmen to take part in legislative activities. In that way the social democracy, with its parliamentary tactics, is forging chains which bind the working class and make them a tool of the bourgeois State.

But the ideal of enslavement by the State realizes only the socialistic State, where all are officials; even more, "soldiers of industry."

It is difficult to imagine a more powerful State or to think of a more fearful slavery. Woe unto mankind if the proletariat should sell their sacred right to freedom of personality for the mess of pottage of rude, beastly, herdlike ease. No! The proletariat will not place upon themselves the fearful yoke of State authority, for it is not only useless but hurtful to them.

The State is unnecessary, because, with the extermination of classes, its principal function will cease—the preservation of the dominion of one class. All the other functions can well be performed by voluntary sectional associations. The posts, telegraphs, and lines of transportation not only do not gain through State monopoly, but lose much, as the State subjects them to its interests of dominion and exploitation. Still more does public education lose through the interference of the State, which by its officialism, bureaucracy, ignoring of individuality, and its authoritativeness instills an actual poison into the spiritual food of the people and nourishes their prejudices, which constitute the greatest obstacle to their own liberation. And the universities flourish the more as they keep the more distant from the path of the spider of State. Even in its own special field, in military art, the State is powerless, and the progress of military science is connected only with free society, as not one genius has yet come forth from the patented universities and academies. Authority kills initiative, without which nothing great can be accomplished.

Why is the State necessary to the proletariat? It can not oppress anyone, as the triumph of the proletariat is the death of classes and privileges. To preserve the existing form of property ownership is an absurdity where complete communism dominates; that is, the property of everybody. To protect the established order from change is repugnant to the fundamental interests of laboring society, which can gain only by the uninterrupted development of new forms of communal life. Who, then, in the future will need State authority, where it can only do harm, bring with it the vice of love of authority, become a menace to national and individual liberty, and kill the fearless impulses of human personality?

But perhaps it may be necessary as a guide to production! What narrowness of view! Would it, then, be possible to direct production without guiding the producers? Is it, then, possible to "manage things" without managing the masters of things—people? It is

End of Chapter 11, "Kom Man."

clear that the innocent "management of production" conceals within itself just such a form of domination as capitalism or slavery, as we have already shown. Free labor organizations can abolish overproduction and underproduction by means of free agreements, just as trusts very often do now. Why can capitalists regulate production excellently without the assistance, and sometimes behind the back, of the Government, by means of simple contracts, while labor organizations are unable to do the same? Why should not well-arranged statistics under present means of intercourse still further lighten the task of regulating production?

Take a general view of the industry of the present day. Fundamentally, it represents a whole system of labor organizations. Every one of them having turned out a mass of products, turns them over to a person who is entirely superfluous in production—the capitalist. From him the wares go into the hands of a large number of middlemen, leaving a good share of profit with each, and finally fall partly into the hands of the organizations who produced them and partly into the hands of other workmen's associations. Why should the product follow such a roundabout way instead of the naturally direct route to the producing labor organizations? Private ownership of property requires this. It is plain what it costs only the labor organizations of the present day to refrain from prejudice against private ownership and to recognize the fact that everything belongs to everybody; and as soon as the whole pack of parasites goes overboard, hunger, unemployment, and hired labor will disappear, and with the disappearance of capitalism, as the world will be merely a union of labor organizations, society will become communistic and anarchistic.

Who can hinder this? Only one force—the State. For the bourgeoisie themselves, few in number and cowardly, could not offer even the slightest opposition to the multitudinous, closely joined, and revolutionary proletariat. That is why the destruction of the State means the principal work in the formation of the new society. We do not wish to make some sort of a new world. No! We wish to remove only such obstacles as hinder present-day society from passing peacefully into another phase, and manifestly drive it to new barbarism and ruin. We see that the beginnings of communism and anarchy have already fully matured in the bosom of present-day society, but government forcibly maintains the present order of poverty, injustice, and ignorance; and naturally the slogan suggests itself, "Down with the State! Long live anarchy!"

### OUR TACTICS.

What should be our means of carrying on the fight?

The tactics of the working class should not be a matter of invention or contrivance, nor imparted from without, any more than their ideal, the overthrow of capital and the State. No! It must be revealed in the bosom of present-day society. It is necessary carefully to learn where are those elements, the development of which will destroy present society and create a new one. Having discovered these elements, we must with our tactics consciously hasten their development.

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As the labor organizations of the present are the germs of future free associations, as the natural weapon of the laboring class, the strike is the seed of our tactics.

We see that the proletariat, along with the development of capitalism, more and more broaden and deepen their struggle, partial strikes lose their significance and mass strikes pass into general ones.

What must we do, the vanguard of the proletariat? We must consciously hasten the elementary movement of the struggle of the working class; we must convert small strikes into general ones, and convert the latter into an armed revolt of the laboring masses against capital and State.

At the time of this revolt we must at the first favorable opportunity proceed to an immediate seizure of all means of production and all articles of consumption, and make the working class the masters in fact of all general wealth. At the same time we must mercilessly destroy all remains of governmental authority and class domination, liberating the prisoners, demolish prisons and police offices, destroy all legal papers pertaining to private ownership of property, all field fences and boundaries, and burn all certificates of indebtedness—in a word, we must take care that everything is wiped from the earth that is a reminder of the right to private ownership of property; to blow up barracks, gendarme, and police administration, shoot the most prominent military and police officers must be the important concern of the revolting working people. In the work of destruction we must be merciless, for the slightest weakness upon our part may afterwards cost the working class a whole sea of needless blood. In completely destroying all vestiges of the dominion of capital and State, we must try as soon as possible to start production upon new foundations. That is, extend the existing labor organizations and their unions, and give production over to them. Every city should begin the work separately, and proclaim a commune; that is, the union of all free labor organizations will become masters of the city. At the first favorable opportunity the city commune will get in touch and establish relations with the surrounding village communes. The extension of the union and the unification of all communes into one grand national and international federation is a matter of further development.

But is such a general strike possible now? Is it not a Utopian effort to call for a general and simultaneous stoppage of work, production, and commerce? Skepticism upon this point is founded upon a simple misunderstanding of that close interdependence which exists between all branches of toil; hardly any one can work without the others; and a stoppage of work in some fields of industry must inevitably cause a strike in all the others.

We are asked: Does a universal strike have any chance of success? How can the entire laboring class be fed, even if but for a few days? Would not such a strike inevitably end in a complete defeat of the workers? Undoubtedly a general strike system of "folded arms" would have to suffer a complete failure. But we will not summon the working class to a social revolution in order to strengthen in them a respect for private ownership of property created by their bloody toil. On that day, when all workers go forth upon the street, we will say to them: "See how all productive and commercial life is stilled, how dark and dismal stand the silent mills, manufactories, workshops, and warehouses from that minute when we stopped work. Who

created all this wealth if not you workers? To whom should it belong if not to you, the proletariat? What, then—is it possible that you will suffer and starve in the midst of this sea of products created by your toil? Throw away your slavish respect for the law; take everything you need! Feed all the hungry! And everybody put on clean, holiday attire! Destroy your dirty cellars and move into the luxurious palaces of the idle rich! Whosoever shall hinder you, remove him from your path as a foe of your freedom!" As is evident, we anarchists have beautiful means of feeding the working class who stop work.

But they may tell us that the advantages of a general strike will not warrant the fearful sacrifices which it must cost. To that we will give a clear answer. We would like to save the proletarian from needless suffering. But how is this to be done? We are convinced that legislative reforms will accomplish almost nothing for workers, or will be rendered futile by the bourgeoisie. It is therefore necessary for the working class themselves, through their activities and their struggles to gain for themselves a better existence. But for the workers there is only one weapon of war—the strike. But the partial strike loses in importance every day with the growth of the power of capital and with the augmentation of capitalistic unions. But one mighty, irresistible, and fearful weapon remains in the hands of the workers—a general strike. How can we desist from it? Where was it ever seen that any class obtained freedom without great effort and severe sufferings? Look around and ask yourselves how much blood the bourgeoisie have drunk every hour all over the world. We note these senseless sheddings of blood only because they are committed under the protection of shameless law. What are we afraid of then? For the working class there is the choice only between eternal slavery and bloody struggle. Our choice is made, and we call all workers to a merciless war upon capital and government.

But they may still say to us: Is it possible that you dream of breaking such a formidable force as that of present-day government? We answer that the general strike is the best means of weakening and destroying that force. The Army is strong only at that time when it is concentrated at a few points and fully maintains a strict discipline. But what will become of the Army when it has to be scattered all over the country? What will become of discipline when the soldier is convinced that he has to do, not with a little bunch of "internal enemies," but with the whole of the working people? Will he not remember that he left kindred in his homeland who are also on a strike and who are also threatened with death at the muzzle of a gun? Does not the heart of the worker in uniform quake before the grand majesty of a people in revolt? Does there not awaken in him a fraternal feeling of the solidarity of all toilers, of all the oppressed? In that hour the Army will at once stand powerless in the face of rebellious toil and government will crumble away to the exulting shouts of liberated humanity.

So that for us anarcho-communists the economic struggle and the political struggle do not in themselves represent two entirely separate provinces set apart from each other. No! They flow together for us in one and the same struggle of the same working class against all forms of oppression—against capital and against government.



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### 160 INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

We alone give life to the great principles: "The liberation of workers must be the business of the working class themselves," for we do not entrust the liberation of the toilers to a gang of politicians unloading upon the shoulders of the proletariat only the grievous struggle for small reforms. We are convinced that only the direct struggle of the working class can and must lead to a complete destruction of the existing order of things.

We may therefore formulate our tactics thus: By participating in the struggle of the working class, guiding it, and uninterruptedly widening and deepening that struggle, kindle and maintain the conflagration of civil war until we have torn up by the roots capitalism and government.

This is our teaching and this is our means of struggle. Let the absurd tale about the "New barbarians" disappear! We do not wish to destroy culture (civilization?) but the yoke of slavery; we are "Barbarians" only for the Messrs. present-day slaveholders.

Harsh are the means of our struggle. But is this our fault? Cruel life pushes us into the fight and puts into our hands an iron hammer to smash enemies without mercy and attain the goal, our glorious goal.

We go tranquilly, cheerfully, not because it is not painful to us eternally to be calling to bloody combat. No! No! But because there, far beyond the corpses of heroes, beyond the blood-covered barricades, beyond all the terrors of civil war, there already shines for us the magnificent, beautiful form of man without a God, without a master, and free of authority.

We hate religion because it lulls the spirit with lying tales, takes away courage and faith in the power of man, faith in the triumph of justice here on the real earth and not in a chimerical Heaven. Religion covers everything with fog; real evil becomes visionary, and visionary good a reality. It has always sanctified slavery, grief, and tears. And we declare war upon all gods, and religious fables. We are atheists.

We hate slavery in all its forms. And is a "Free workman" not a slave? Does the knout of the master not hang over the head of the proletariat? The workman has ceased being the slave of one lord, of one master. But is he not the slave of the whole class of masters? Let the present-day slave rise and cast off his lord—it is all the same; hunger will drive him to another master, and the collar of perpetual toil, hunger, and slavery will be tightened upon him anew. It is necessary to tear up by the roots the division of people into lords and slaves. We are communists.

We hate authority, that eternal preserver of slavery and foe of freedom. The lords having been destroyed, why leave the whip of the lords; the power of capital having been destroyed, why allow its safeguard, the State, to remain. Does giving man bread mean depriving him of freedom? Even pigs in their sty have food. Not to the happiness of citizenship do we call the workers—we call them to liberty—to absolute liberty. We are anarchists.

We wish to disperse darkness and ignorance and abolish prejudices, so that the proletarian may understand the whole world, and understand himself and all the majesty of man. We wish to divert the workman from eternal anxiety about his stomach, give him a chance

### INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. 161

to unbend his back and to open to him a whole new world—a world of beautiful forms and marvelous sounds.

To you we address our speech, our brother workmen: Wake up, look around you! See how poor and degraded you are! Remember that you are a man, and that you—you created all that world of wealth! Understand that the workers of all countries are your brothers, and that you all have one task—to destroy the world of gain and create a world of freedom; for all there is one means—an armed insurrection and forcible seizure of all instruments and all products of toil. \* \* \* Woe to the enemies of the laboring class!

#### EXHIBIT No. 9.

#### FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS.

The present society is divided into two opposing classes—the downtrodden workers and peasants, on the one side, producing by their work all the riches of the world; the rich people, on the other side, who have grabbed all the riches into their hands.

Many a time the class of the oppressed stood up against the rich parasites and their faithful servant and protector—the Government—to conquer its full liberation from the yoke of capitalism and political power, but every time is suffered defeat, not being fully conscious of its own final goal and means, by which victory can be accomplished, thus remaining only a weapon in the hands of its enemies.

The struggle between these two classes is being fought also at the present time and will end only when the toiling masses, organized as a class, will understand their true interests and will make themselves masters of all the riches of this world by means of a violent social revolution.

Having accomplished such a change and having annihilated at the same time all the institutions of Government and State, the class of the disowned must establish the society of free producers, aiming at satisfying the needs of every individual person who, on its side, is giving to the society its labor and its knowledge.

For the attainment of these aims, we consider as of the primal importance the necessity of building up a wide revolutionary organization of toilers, which, by conducting a direct struggle with all the institutions of capitalism and Government, must train the working class to initiative, and an independent action in all its acts, thus educating in its the consciousness of the absolute necessity of a general strike—of the social revolution.

#### EXHIBIT No. 10.

#### RADICALISM AND SEDITION AMONG THE NEGROES AS REFLECTED IN THEIR PUBLICATIONS.

Since the first report was prepared there have occurred the several race riots in Washington, Knoxville, Chicago, Omaha, and Arkansas, 150770—19—S. Doc. 153, 66-1—11

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Summary: The Department of Justice prepares a report on Goldman's citizenship, advocacy of violence, and anarchist beliefs.

Notes: For printed version, see 810206085. For attached Exhibits A through Y, see 830214184. Probably originally written by J. Edgar Hoover as a deportation brief and enclosed with 810113079.

1.

EMMA GOLDMAN

FILED APR 5 1927

## Birth

Emma Goldman, daughter of Abraham Goldman and Taube Goldman, was born at Popolan, County of Shavel, State of Kovno, Russia, on June <sup>22</sup>16, 1870, Russian date. (American date June 29, 1870) (This fact established in the investigation of Mr. S. G. Chambers, Assistant United States Attorney, Pittsburgh and Mr. A. L. Zamosh, Naturalization Examiner, in March 1908 by interviewing persons residing in Rochester, N. Y., who were intimate with the Goldman family.)

According to the statement made by Emma Goldman to the court in the case of United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, on July 9, 1917, in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York she was born "about 1869" (Certified copy of minutes of pedigree taken in United States court, Southern District of New York on July 9, 1917, attached as Exhibit I.)

In the book entitled "Anarchism and Other Essays" by Emma Goldman, there is a biographical sketch by Hippolyte Havel in which, on page 8, the following statement appears:

"Emma Goldman was born of Jewish parentage on the 27th day of June, 1869, in the Russian province of Kovno."

(This book was published by the "Mother Earth" Pub. Association, 226 Lafayette Street, New York City, of which Emma Goldman was the head. The publication contains the principal essays of Emma Goldman.)

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2.

Parentage: Abraham Goldman, father of Emma Goldman, was born at Shavel, County of Kovno, Russia, about 1847; lived in Kovno until his marriage when he moved to Popolan, County of Shavel, State of Kovno, where he remained for about nine years; he then moved to St. Petersburg, where he lived for about ten years. ✓ In September, 1886, he came to the United States and went direct to Rochester, New York, which place he made his home. He declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States on September 28, 1892, in the Monroe County Court, Rochester, New York, and was naturalized in the same court October 13, 1894. (It is to be noted that Emma Goldman by her own statement was twenty four (24) years of age at the time of her father's naturalization.) Exhibit XIII.

Mrs. Taube Goldman, wife of Abraham Goldman, and mother of Emma, was born in Urberig, Russia, and is about seventy-three (73) years of age. Abraham Goldman was her second husband, her first husband being one Labe Zodokoff. Her maiden name was Taube Binowitz. By her first husband she had two children, Lena and Helena. The former married Samuel Cominsky, May 28, 1885, and the latter married Jacob Hochstein in 1888.

Abraham and Taube Goldman had three children; Emma, the oldest; Herman, a machinist in Rochester; and Morris, a physician.

355

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152



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3.

Early Life: Emma Goldman remained in Popolan, the place of her birth, until she was about seven years of age, when, according to the biographical sketch contained in the book "Anarchism and Other Essays" she was sent by her parents to her grandmother at Konigsberg in Eastern Prussia, where she remained until she was thirteen years of age, at which time she removed to St. Petersburg where her father and mother had previously gone. She remained in St. Petersburg until December, 1885, at which time with her half sister, Helena Zodikoff, she left for the United States and arrived at the port of New York from Hamburg on the S. S. GALLAT on December 31, 1885. She was at that time fifteen (15) years of age. On arrival in New York they left the same day and arrived in Rochester on January 1, 1886 and went directly to the house of Mrs. Samuel Cominsky, another half sister of Emma Goldman and a full sister of Mrs. Hochstein. She obtained employment as a tailoress in Rochester at which trade she worked for about one and one-half (1½) years. In the meantime, Emma Goldman's parents had left St. Petersburg and arrived in the United States on or about September 18, 1886, and went immediately to Rochester.

356

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153

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4.

Marriage. ✓ Emma Goldman was married to Jacob Kersner in the spring of 1887. This ceremony was performed by Rev. Kalmon Bardin, who at that time lived at No. 12 Joiner St., Rochester, N. Y. There is no official record in Monroe County of this marriage, nor of any license having been issued to these parties. It is further stated that the Reverend Bardin had no right to perform the marriage ceremony under the laws of New York as he was not a regularly ordained minister or Rabbi, but what is known as "Shochet", a man who slaughters cattle for "Kosher" meat according to the Jewish law.

✓ In the latter part of 1888 or the early part of 1889 Emma Goldman and her purported husband were divorced, according to the Jewish law by Rabbi Abe C. Levinson, at one time chief Rabbi in Baltimore. After this divorce Emma Goldman and her husband lived together again for a few months until she fell in love with Alexander Berkman, with whom she has kept continued company except for the periods during which he has been incarcerated in penitentiaries and jails.

Jacob Kernser is the son of Abraham Kersner and was born in Niemirow, State of Kaminitz Podolsk, Russia, on the first day of the Jewish Easter in 1865, and came to the United States for the first time in the summer of 1882.

357

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5.

Jacob A. Kersner, husband.

Citizenship  
Status:

On October 18, 1884, Jacob A. Kersner received a certificate of citizenship in the County Court of Monroe County, New York. It will be noted that at the time he obtained his certificate of naturalization he was but nineteen (19) years of age and had resided in the United States for only a period of two (2) years.

As a result of an investigation made by the naturalization authorities, suit was instituted against Jacob A. Kersner, April 8, 1909, to have his certificate of naturalization cancelled for the reason that Kersner was not at the time he was naturalized and procured such certificate of naturalization entitled thereto and was not entitled to admission as a citizen of the United States of America and for that reason was not a duly naturalized citizen of the United States of America. Certified copies of the decree of the cancelling certificate of naturalization of Jacob A. Kersner, together with a certified copy of the findings of the court rendering such decree are attached hereto and marked "Exhibits II and III".

360  
Prior to the institution of the suit for the cancellation of Kersner's naturalization certificate of American citizenship, there was some discussion as to the advisability of making Emma Goldman a party to the suit. Mr. Wm. R. Harr, Assistant Attorney General, in a memorandum to the Attorney General, dated February 2, 1909, assumed that Emma Goldman was the wife of Jacob A. Kersner, but advised against making Emma Goldman a party to the suit. The question that arose at the time of the institution of denaturalization proceedings against Jacob A. Kersner was as to

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155



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6.

Citizenship  
Status, p.2.

whether or not it would be necessary to join his wife, Emma Goldman, in order to affect her citizenship rights. The Act of Congress, approved Feb. 10, 1855, Section 1994, Revised Statutes, provides that "Any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized shall be deemed a citizen". Prior to this act the courts had held that the naturalization of her husband did not confer citizenship upon the wife. The wife's citizenship therefore now depends entirely upon the rights given her under this act. If, therefore, the husband's citizenship be based upon fraudulent statements made at the time of its being procured (which is a fact in the Kersner case) it would seem that any super-structure such as the naturalization of a wife or children which might be based upon this fraudulently obtained citizenship would fall if the foundation should fall. Beside this, the act of naturalizing, being a proceeding in rem and the judgment granted thereon being a judgment in rem it would seem that the action of a court which would denaturalize a party would in as much as this action also changes a status, be a proceeding in rem. If it is a proceeding in rem the judgment thereon would bind all parties interested; and, consequently, Emma Goldman.

361  
In her case she acquired her status not by any act of her own but merely by grant from the government. This grant was based upon a condition that she married a citizen. In the eyes of the law it

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156

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7.

Citizenship  
Status, p.3.

may be said that if her husband's certificate of naturalization was obtained by fraud he was never a citizen and therefore his wife acquired no rights of citizenship. As pointed out above, the proceeding being one in rem, it is not necessary to join the wife in order for her to obtain the citizenship of her husband in naturalization proceedings. Consequently, it would follow that it would be unnecessary to join the wife in a suit to set aside the husband's citizenship in order to affect her citizenship.

One of the elements entering into the decision to not join Emma Goldman in the denaturalization proceedings was that it was hoped that if unwarned of the likelihood of having lost American citizenship she might return to Russia on a visit. Should she endeavor to re-enter the United States, the matter of her citizenship status could then be determined by the immigration authorities. Under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States the question of the right of a person to enter the United States is one for the determination of the immigration authorities and their decision is final, unless an abuse of authority appears. The fact that their decision is wrong does not constitute ground for the interference of the courts. Chin Yow v. United States, 208 U. S. page 8. Assistant Attorney General Harr assumed that the immigration authorities would follow this decision should Emma Goldman endeavor to re-enter the United States.

362

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8.

To recapitulate, two claims may be advanced by Emma Goldman to American citizenship: one, that obtained through her father's naturalization; two, that obtained through the naturalization of her husband. In answer to the first claim it will be noted as pointed out above that at the time of her father's naturalization Emma Goldman was twenty-four (24) years of age, and consequently could not obtain any rights to the naturalization of her father. In answer to the second contention, the fact appears that her husband, Jacob A. Kersner, was denaturalized on the grounds of having obtained his original papers through fraud. It, however, may be advanced by the subject that the government in failing to join her husband with her in the denaturalization proceedings thereby erred and did not succeed in denaturalizing the wife as pointed out above. However, such contention is fallacious as the wife's status is obtained through marriage to the husband and under section 1994 of the Revised Statutes such status is dependent upon the fact of the wife marrying an American citizen, which, in the case of Emma Goldman was not effected, as the husband had obtained his American citizenship through fraud.

363

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158



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9.

### ACTIVITIES OF EMMA GOLDMAN.

Advocation  
of  
Violence.  
Explosion  
at N. Y.  
July 1914.

I. On July 4, 1914, there occurred in the apartment at 1626 Lexington Avenue, New York, a terrific explosion of dynamite, resulting in the complete destruction of the three upper floors of the house. This explosion occurred in the apartment of Carl Hanson and resulted in the death of Arthur Caron, Charles Berg and Carl Hanson and Marie Chavez. It is conceded that the explosion was caused by dynamite and that these three persons were in the act of preparing a bomb and that through a premature explosion their plans for carrying out the details of their plot were frustrated. An examination of the copy of "MOTHER EARTH", Vol. IX, No. 5, July 1914 gives an illuminating view of the connection of Caron, Berg and Hanson with the Emma Goldman group. On page 130 appears an article entitled "The Lexington Explosion" and in which the three men referred to are spoken of as "comrades".

On page 133 appears a statement in which Alexander Berkman is stated to have announced that he regarded Caron, Berg and Hanson as anarchists martyrs.

On page 135 it is stated that the ashes of the three comrades would be delivered to the offices of "MOTHER EARTH". It is to be noted that Emma Goldman was the proprietor of the Mother Earth organization at this time, such statement being contained on page 1 of the issue of Mother Earth for July 1914.

364

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159

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10.

### Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 2.

On pages 136 to 137 are given the names of the various organizations represented at the Union Square demonstration and it will be noted that the majority of them were organizations composed entirely of anarchists.

On page 138, Alexander Berkman in his address at the Union Square demonstration stated that the death of the three comrades might have been brought about either, first, through the agents of the capitalists, or second, through the premature explosion of an infernal machine which the comrades intended to use. It is stated by Berkman that he hopes the latter is the case and he hopes the comrades themselves prepared the bomb intending to use it upon the enemy.

On page 143 Leonard B. Abbott, in his speech, states that if Arthur Caron and his friends decided to resort to violence they were not to be blamed for they had exhausted all peaceable methods.

On page 144 Rebecca Eddlestone, in her speech, states that these persons died in the interests of the working class and again on page 145 she states that if their deaths were caused by a premature explosion then it wasn't the comrades of which they must be ashamed, but the society at large who would force the comrades to resort to such acts.

On page 145 the same speaker states that she believed in violence and would use violence whenever it was necessary and again on page 146 she stated that

365

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### 11.

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 3.

she hoped the day would not be far distant when the working class would say that they were in favor of using violence for the real revolutionists are not afraid of the word "violence" nor even of the word "dynamite".

On page 153 Charles Robert Plunkett in his speech stated that he had often advocated the use of violence and that he believed in the use of violence not only "defensive violence" but "offensive violence" and that he was not afraid of proclaiming the probability that their comrades had met their death while preparing to strike a blow of terror at the hearts of the enemy, and in closing his speech he uses the following words:

"To oppression, to exploitation, to tyranny, to jails, clubs, guns, armies and navies, there is but one reply: dynamite!"

Immediately following this on page 154 appears the following telegram signed "Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman" which was sent by these persons from San Francisco:

"Our deepest sympathy with all oppressed of the world, of whom our dead comrades were the conscious and brave spokesmen. We honor the memory of our dead comrades, the victims of the capitalist system and the martyrs of labor."

It will be noted from the above that the Emma Goldman group which made its headquarters at the "Mother Earth Publishing Plant" heartily approved and sanctioned the theory that Caron, Berg and Hanson had been killed by <sup>a</sup> premature explosion of dynamite. It will be further noted that throughout

366

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12.

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 4.

the speeches of the persons appearing at the Union Square demonstration open advocacy of violence was made and particular note is to be taken of the telegram from Emma Goldman, speaking of Caron, Berg and Hanson as "dead comrades" and that she was "honoring their memory".

Another notation should also be made of the fact that these speeches openly advocating violence and the use of dynamite are contained in the publication of "Mother Earth" of which Emma Goldman was proprietor.

On page 165 of the same issue of "Mother Earth" appears the following statement:

"A large tenement house on Lexington Avenue was destroyed and three well-known Anarchists -- Arthur Caron, Charles Berg and Carl Hanson -- were killed. The ruin was evidently caused by a large quantity of dynamite exploding in the flat occupied by our comrades. "

This quotation is taken from an article entitled "DYNAMITE" by Charles Robert Plunkett. In the same article, on page 166 appears the following statement:

"Although we know nothing of the facts, we do not hesitate to admit the possibility, nor fear to face the accusation that our comrades met their death in an attempt to retaliate upon the violence of the ruling classes in the only possible way -- with violence.

If they did, we own them proudly, and we honor them for their intelligence, their initiative, and their courage. They did the only logical thing, the only courageous thing, the only revolutionary thing under the circumstances. When Free Speech is suppressed, when men are jailed for asking food, clubbed for assembling to discuss their grievances, and stoned for expressing their opinions, there is but one recourse -- violence. The ruling class has guns, bullets, bayonets, police, jails, militia, armies and navies. To oppose all this the worker has only -- dynamite."

367

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162

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13.

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 5.

In an article written by Alexander Berkman, entitled "A GAUGE OF CHANGE", appearing on pages 167-168 are the following statements:

\*\* \* \* I have publicly said in Union Square that I hoped that our comrades were not the victims of the enemy's conspiracy, but that they had planned to employ dynamite either in revenge for wrongs suffered or in the defense of the rights of themselves and their fellow-workers, of labor at large."

\* \* \*

"Do you still ask me what the Anarchists have accomplished in the last quarter of a century? Just this: They have taught the people that violence is justified, aye, necessary in the defensive and offensive struggle of labor against capital. \* \* \*"

On page 168 of the same issue of "Mother Earth" appear the following definitions:

"DIRECT ACTION -- Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

ANARCHISM -- The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

ANARCHY -- Absence of government; disbelief in, and disregard of, invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government."

The July 1914 issue is typical of the issues of "Mother Earth" and it will be noted that this publication was distributed and circulated through the instrumentality of Emma Goldman. The entire issue of July 1914 is attached as "Exhibit I".

368

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163

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14.

Activities of Emma Goldman, -p 6

### ADVOCATION OF VIOLENCE.

II.  
Los Angeles  
Times  
Dynamited

Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan are now serving sentences in the San Quentin Penitentiary, California, having been convicted of connection with the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times Building.

It is interesting to note that Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan were both intimates of Emma Goldman and her group. Caplan and Schmidt were disclosed through the investigation of Donald Vose who through close association with Emma Goldman was able to obtain the information necessary to convict Caplan and Schmidt. The best exposition of the Caplan and Schmidt connection with Emma Goldman is expressed in her own words in the issue of "Mother Earth", Vol. X, No. 11, January, 1916, on pages 353 to 357 in which she gives expression to her views of Donald Vose who obtained her confidence and met Matthew A. Schmidt in her own home.

In the issue of "Mother Earth", pages 358 and 359, Schmidt and Caplan are pictured as martyrs to their cause.

On page 363 of the same issue of "Mother Earth" appears a list of the various anarchist publications appearing in the country and it will be noted that these publications are ones which have advocated the extreme anarchistic doctrines and that Albert Parsons, the publisher of the "Alarm" was also the expositor of the use of dynamite as an equalizing influence in society.

349

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15.

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. -7-

On page 374 of the same issue in an article written by Ben Mandell appears the following:

"And Anarchism has for its champion in this country Emma Goldman."

This article by Mandell praises Emma Goldman and her various doctrines.

✓ On page 375 of the same issue in the same article previously referred to reference is made to the great demand for anarchist books as a result of Emma Goldman's lectures in Chicago.

The issue of "Mother Earth" for January, 1916, is annexed and marked "Exhibit K".

### ADVOCATION OF VIOLENCE.

#### III. Inciting to riot, Sept. 9, 1893.

On Sept. 9, 1893, Emma Goldman was arrested in the City of New York under an indictment charging her with inciting to riot and unlawful assembly. She was convicted as charged on October 16, 1893 and sentenced to one year on Blackwell's Island, New York, by Judge Martine. A photostat copy of the indictment by the grand jury is attached hereto and marked "Exhibit IV".

#### IV. McKinley's Assassina- tion.

On September 6, 1901, at Buffalo, New York, Leon Czolgosz shot and fatally wounded President William McKinley. Upon arrest Czolgosz was closely examined by the authorities and made a lengthy statement giving in detail his history, together with the names of the persons with whom he had associated and the matter which

370

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16.

### Activities of Emma Goldman, -8-

he had read. Annexed hereto as "Exhibit V" is a certified copy of the statement made by Czolgosz at police headquarters in the presence of three witnesses-- Frank Haggerty, a former court reporter who is no longer living; John Martin, former chief of police of Buffalo; and M. O'Laughlin, a former officer connected with the district attorney's office at that time. The exhibit attached contains an affidavit of Mr. O'Laughlin, stating that the statement to which his affidavit is attached is the statement made by Czolgosz at that time in his presence and there is also attached to Exhibit V an affidavit of Miss Clara M. Ragan, stating that the statement is a true and correct statement and a part of the files of the district attorney of Erie County. Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit VI is another statement made by Czolgosz to Mr. Penney, district attorney at that time, and to which an affidavit of Horace E. Story, the stenographer who took this statement is attached also an affidavit of Miss Clara M. Ragan, stating that she did make a transcript and true and correct copy of the statement attached and referred to of Horace E. Story.

Referring to pages 4 and 5 of Exhibit V, being the confession of Czolgosz, it will be noted that Czolgosz stated that he frequented a club in Cleveland at which place he had seen Emma Goldman. He further stated that she talked about government and said "she didn't believe in voting and didn't believe in government". He further stated that she had also made the

371

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17.

### Activities of Emma Goldman, -p 9-

remark that "government was tyranny" and that "she believed in anarchy". Czolgosz stated that he was an anarchist and that "anarchy" as he understood it meant "self-government". It is to be further noted that Czolgosz states in his confession that the only time he saw Emma Goldman was in Cleveland. He further stated that Emma Goldman wrote for a newspaper in Chicago which he frequently read, entitled "Free Society". Referring to Exhibit VI, being the detailed statement of Czolgosz to the district attorney, attention is called to the following answers made by Czolgosz to questions put to him:

Q. You believe it is right to kill if necessary?  
Don't you? p. 4.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you talk it (assassination) over with anyone or say it was something you had read that suggested it to you or something else? p.5.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Something you had read, was it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was the last one you heard talk? p. 8.

A. Emma Goldman.

Q. What did she say or what did she say to you about the President?

A. She says -- -- she didn't mention no Presidents at all, she mentioned the government.

Q. What did she say about it?

A. She said she didn't believe in it.

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18.

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 10.

Q. You got the idea that she thought it would be a good thing if we didn't have this form of government? p. 9.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can't you give us some idea what first put it into your mind? p. 9.

A. I didn't believe in government. .

Q. What was the name of the papers you were reading? p. 10.

A. "Free Society".

Q. And the reason for your intention to kill him was that you didn't believe in having rulers over us or in having presidents? p. 15.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't believe in our form of government?

A. Yes, sir.

Particular attention is called to the fact that Czolgosz stated that he had heard Emma Goldman speak at the Cleveland Club and that he had heard her state that she was an anarchist and didn't believe in any form of government. Czolgosz, in his statement, said that the time he heard Emma Goldman speak in Cleveland was the only time he had seen her. However, it appears that this statement is an absolute falsehood, for, when referring to the copy of "Free Society" for October 6, 1901, which is attached hereto as Exhibit V, there is found on page 3 an article written by Abraham Isaak, the editor of the paper, and headed "Why we consider Czolgosz a spy". In this article

378

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168

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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19.

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 11.

it is stated by Isaak that on July 12, 1901, the day of Emma Goldman's departure for Buffalo, Emma Goldman pointed Czolgosz out to Isaak at the station as being a young man who desired to speak to Isaak. It will thus be seen that, notwithstanding Czolgosz's statement that he personally didn't know Emma Goldman, it appears that Czolgosz was at the station at the time of Emma Goldman's departure from Chicago, July 12, 1901 and was pointed out to Isaak.

Attention is also to be called to the fact that Czolgosz's reason for assassinating President McKinley was that he didn't believe in this form of government. He stated that the same doctrines opposing this form of government were enunciated by Emma Goldman in her speeches and writings.

Czolgosz stated that he had read a great deal in the publication entitled "Free Society". This is a publication originally issued under the title of "Fire Brand" and was published in San Francisco. It later moved its headquarters to Chicago and reference to its columns shows it to be the typical anarchist paper. The heading contains the statement that the paper is an exponent of "anarchist communism" and there is contained in every issue of it the following definition of anarchy for which this paper stands:

"Anarchy - - a social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute, individual liberty".

379

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169

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20/

### Activities of Emma Goldman, -12-

In the issues of "Free Society" we find many articles by Emma Goldman. One of particular interest is that appearing in the issue of February 17, 1901, a photostat copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit VII. The article appears on page 3 and is headed "An open letter". In this article Emma Goldman states that she has been accused of being against force or propaganda by deed. She specifically states as follows:

"I have never opposed force or propaganda by deed, either publicly or privately. I demand and acknowledge the right of an individual or a number of individuals to strike back at organized power and defend themselves against invasion; and I have and always will stand on the side of the one who has been courageous enough to give his own life in taking or attempting to take the life of a tyrant, whether industrially or politically. I am on the side of every rebel, whether his act has been beneficial or detrimental to our cause; for I don't judge an act by its result but by its cause; and the cause of each and every rebellious act has been organized despotism, robbery and exploitation on the part of society, and the innate sense of justice and a rebellious spirit on the part of the individual.

If I stand on the side of the rebel or if I approve of an act of violence it is only because I know that organized force -- government -- leaves us no other method of propaganda -- because we are the invaded and not the invaders.

I think I need say no more about my position towards individual or collective revolt; so I will only repeat that I am a revolutionist by nature and temperament and as such I claim the right for myself and all those who follow with me to rebel and resist invasion by all means, force included; consequently, a destructionist. But I am also an anarchist and as such a constructionist. In order to construct a new sanitary building fit for human beings to live in, I must, if I do not find clear ground, tear down the old rotten decayed obstacles which stand in the way of that beautiful and magnificent mansion called 'anarchy'."

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170



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21.

### Activities of Emma Goldman, -13-

The above is a sample of the literature read by Czolgosz and which apparently molded his ideas along the lines of determining to commit the act of murder.

Again, in "Free Society" for the issue of June 2, 1901, page 1, a copy of which issue is annexed as Exhibit VIII, appears a eulogistic article by Emma Goldman upon Gaetano Bresci, the anarchist who assassinated the King of Italy. In this article Emma Goldman makes Bresci a martyr to the cause.

In the article quoted from in the issue of February 17, 1901, we find that Emma Goldman openly admits that she believes in the use of violence and states that she not only is an anarchist but that she is likewise a destructionist. Czolgosz read and carefully perused, according to his own statements, the various issues of "Free Society" and, even though it be conceded that Emma Goldman was not a direct party to his crime in the assassination of President McKinley, yet she was instrumental in helping to form the unnatural ideas which Czolgosz held toward government and authority.

In the issue of "Free Society" for October 6, 1901, which appeared less than a month after the death of President McKinley, Emma Goldman wrote an article appearing on pages 1 and 2 of the issue referred to, entitled "The Tragedy at Buffalo". A copy of this issue is annexed as Exhibit IX.. In this article she endeavors to justify the act of Czolgosz and closes her article with the following statement:

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171

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22.

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 14-

"And my heart goes out to you in deep sympathy and to all those victims of a system of inequality and the many who will die the fore-runners of a better, nobler and grander life."

382

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172

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23.

Activities of Emma Goldman, -p-14A-

Advocation of Violence.

V.  
Harlem River  
Casino Speech  
May 18, 1917.

Under the heading of "ADVOCATION OF OPPOSITION TO LAW" the activities of Emma Goldman in connection with the opposition to the Selective Service Act will be dealt with in detail and under the same, reference will be found to a speech delivered by the subject at the Harlem River Casino on May 18, 1917. In this speech the subject openly stated that she believed in violence and would use violence. X  
Annexed hereto and marked as Exhibit X. is an affidavit of Edward J. Caddell who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the evening of May 18, 1917 and who took stenographic notes of Emma Goldman's speech.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit XI. is an affidavit of William H. Randolph who was likewise present at the Harlem River Casino on the evening of May 18, 1917, and who took stenographic notes of Emma Goldman's speech. Both of these persons have sworn to the fact that the subject stated that she believed in violence and would use violence.

383  
The enunciation by the subject of the fact that she was an advocate of violence at the Harlem River Casino, however, is not new, for we find the same advocacy in her writings in "Free Society", particularly the issue of February 17, 1901, and referred to as Exhibit XII.

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24

Activities of Emma Goldman, -p. 15.-

### Advocation of Opposition to Law.

On June 15, 1917, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were arrested in New York for obstructing the draft. Through the medium of "Mother Earth" "The Blast" and literature of the "No Conscription League" Emma Goldman had carried on an extensive campaign for the purpose of blocking the effective administration of the Draft Act.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit XII is a certified copy of the Transcript of the Record in the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, plaintiffs in error, v. the United States. This record contains all of the testimony in the trial of United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman in connection with their efforts to obstruct the draft.

The following are certain parts of the record to which particular attention is called: p. 161, testimony of William H. Randolph, who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the night of May 18, 1917, and who took down in shorthand the speech delivered by Emma Goldman:

" Q. Is there any question -- will you look at your notes with me -- is there any question that you heard her use these words, 'We believe in violence and we will use violence'?  
p. 161.

A. No, sir. There is no question about that."

384

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174

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25

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 16-

On page 241 Mary Eleanor Fitzgerald, testifying relative to a letter written by Emma Goldman, gives the following as some of the contents of the letter which was referred to:

"As an anarchist, I could not do that, because that would be taking the same position as the Government, by telling someone to do this or that; I refuse to advise young men to refuse to register, it must be left to the individual."

On page 269, Pietro Allegra, testifying, stated that he had heard Emma Goldman at the Harlem River Casino state "as an anarchist".

Page 402, Jacob J. Lynn, testifying on behalf of the defendants stated that he heard Miss Goldman make the following statement:

"We will resist conscription by all means within our power".

On page 409-411, Edward J. Caddell who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the night of May 18, 1917, and who took stenographic notes of the speech delivered by Emma Goldman testified that she used the words:

"We believe in violence and we will use violence".

Again on page 418 the same witness, testifying, stated that he distinctly recalled Miss Goldman's use of the phrase "I defy your law".

On page 154 in Government Exhibit No. 1, a circular issued by the "No Conscription League" appears the terse statement: "Resist Conscription". This circular was issued by the "No Conscription League" of which Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were the principal organizers.

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175

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.26

### Activities of Emma Goldman, -p. 17-

On page 456 in the Government's Exhibit No. 4 appears the following statement: "We will resist conscription by every means in our power and we will sustain those who for similar reasons refuse to be conscripted." Exhibit 10-B contains the same statement as Exhibit 4 and is identical with Exhibit 4, except that it is signed by "Emma Goldman".

On pages 471 to 473 in the Government's Exhibit No. 25 appears an article by Emma Goldman which was originally published in the June, 1917 issue of "Mother Earth". The whole article is one urging opposition to the law providing for the draft.

On pages 478 to 486 appears the Government's Exhibit No. 31 which is a transcript of the speech delivered by Emma Goldman in the Harlem River Casino on May 18, 1917.

On page 482 of the transcript in the same speech appears the statement made by the subject to the effect "We believe in violence and we will use violence".

On page 485 the subject states as follows:

"Your answer to war must be a general strike and then the governing class will have something on its hands."

On page 494 in the Government's Exhibit No. 33, which is a transcript of the speech of Emma Goldman, delivered at the Hunt's Point Palace, June 4, 1917, the subject states as follows:

386

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176



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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27

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 18-

X "Therefore, I, as an anarchist, who became an American out of choice, protest."

On page 495 she states as follows:

X "My friends, the only reason prevents me telling you men of conscriptable age not to register is because I am an anarchist."

On pages 499 to 501 appears the Government Exhibit No. 35, being a letter addressed by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to the Assistant United States Attorney H. A. Content, in which the following paragraph appears:

X "Anarchism stands for individual liberty and social wellbeing. It is opposed to personal invasion as well as to the organized form of violence known as government. If the belief in Anarchism or the holding of the opinions represented by the No-Conscription League (the principles of which you will find clearly stated on our letter-head) is a crime, then why are only unknown boys like Kramer and Becker prosecuted and not the more prominent men and women guilty of a similar 'crime'? We hereby state in the most emphatic manner that we, the undersigned, are Anarchists and firm believers in the principles enunciated by the No-Conscription League."

387

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177

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28

### WRITINGS OF EMMA GOLDMAN

Emma Goldman has been a most prolific writer upon all subjects, varying from discourses upon "drama" to the "advocation of birth control" and the "exposition of "anarchy".

There are attached to this memorandum and marked as exhibits digests of various publications written by Emma Goldman and in which her views are expressed. Particular attention is called in these exhibits to certain excerpts, but it is to be noted that these excerpts are merely the most flagrant parts of the publications and each of the publications marked as exhibits are to be considered in connection with the case of this subject.

The following is a list of the exhibits attached:

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit A is a copy of a pamphlet issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, containing the essay by Emma Goldman entitled "WHAT I BELIEVE".

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit B is a pamphlet by Emma Goldman entitled "SYNDICALISM, THE MODERN MENACE TO CAPITALISM".

Annexed hereto as Exhibit C is a copy of her pamphlet "PREPAREDNESS, THE ROAD TO UNIVERSAL SLAUGHTER", written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit D is a pamphlet entitled "PATRIOTISM, A MENACE TO LIBERTY", written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit E is a pamphlet entitled "ANARCHISM, WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR" by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit F is a pamphlet entitled "THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE" by Emma Goldman.

388

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178

## The Emma Goldman Papers

830214183

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29

Writings of Emma Goldman, continued, p2.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit G is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH", Vol. XII, No. 4, June 1917, containing articles for which Emma Goldman is responsible.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit H is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. XII, No. 1, March 1917, in which is contained an article by Emma Goldman upon the "WAR MANIA".

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit I is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. IX, No. 5 July, 1914, containing the exposition of the "Lexington Street Explosion".

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit J is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. VIII, No. 12, February, 1914, containing articles written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit K is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. X, No. 11, in which is contained Emma Goldman's article upon Donald Vose, relative to the Matthew A. Schmidt and Arthur Caplan case.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit L is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. XI, No. 8, October 1916, containing illuminating articles written by persons as anarchistically inclined as Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit M is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH", Vol. XII, No. 3, May 1917, indicative of the type of publication issued by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit N Vol. XII, No. 5 July 1917 containing a recital of the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman trial.

389  
Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit O is a leaflet entitled "McKINLEY ASSASSINATION FROM THE ANARCHIST STAND-POINT" by Emma Goldman.

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179



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30

Writings of Emma Goldman, continued p. 3.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit P is a leaflet entitled "ANARCHIST LITERATURE".

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit Q is a copy of a letter written by Emma Goldman to Mr. H. A. Content, in which the doctrine of anarchism is set forth.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit R is a copy of a publication issued by the "Mother Earth Publishing Association" entitled "ANARCHY ON TRIAL", containing a detailed description of the Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman trial.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit S is a copy of MOTHER EARTH, Vol. XII, No. 4, June, 1917, being an issue upon which the prosecution in the federal court of New York was based.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit T is a copy of "THE BLAST", Vol. I, No. 1, January 15, 1916, containing greetings to this publication from Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked "Exhibit U" is a copy of "THE BLAST" Vol. II, No. 1, January 15, 1917, containing greetings from Emma Goldman to this publication.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit V is a copy of a pamphlet entitled "THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BOYLSHEVIKI" by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit W is a copy of the pamphlet "PHILOSOPHY OF ATHEISM AND THE FAILURE OF CHRISTIANITY", being two lectures by Emma Goldman.

390  
Annexed hereto and marked as Exhibit X is a file of the "MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN" being Vol. I, Nos. 1 to 7, containing articles written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit Y is a copy of a leaflet entitled "DOWN WITH THE ANARCHISTS".

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180

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31.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit Z is a copy of a book published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association and entitled "ANARCHISM and OTHER ESSAYS" by Emma Goldman. It contains all of the principal essays of the subject. Attention is called to the following which have not already been included in the previous exhibits:

"MINORITIES v. MAJORITIES".

"PRISONS AND SOCIAL CRIME AND FAILURE".

"FRANCISCO FERRER' and the MODERN SCHOOL".

"THE HYPOCRISY OF PURITANISM".

"THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN".

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE".

"THE TRAGEDY OF WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION".

"MARRIAGE AND LOVE".

391

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181

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### (EXBITIT A)

"WHAT I BELIEVE".

By Emma Goldman.

The above is a pamphlet issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 E. 13th St., N.Y.C. and is a reprint from the New York World, July 19, 1918. It will be noted that on the last two pages of the pamphlet are contained advertisements of works on Anarchism, being principally those of Peter Kropotkin, the notorious Russian Anarchist.

Pages 5 and 6.

"I BELIEVE government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary only to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only. As a promoter of individual liberty, human well-being, and social harmony, which alone constitute real order, government stands condemned by all the great men of the world.

I therefore believe, with my fellow-Anarchists, that statutory regulations, legislative enactments, constitutional provisions, are invasive."

Page 11.

"Religion is a superstition that originated in man's mental inability to solve natural phenomena. The Church is an organized institution that has always been a stumbling block to progress.

Organized churchism has stripped religion of its naivete and primitiveness. It has turned religion into a nightmare that oppresses the human soul and holds the mind in bondage. "The Dominion of Darkness," as the last true Christian, Leo Tolstoi, calls the Church, has been a foe of human development and free thought, and as such it has no place in the life of a truly free people."

Page 14.

"Every institution to-day rests on violence; our very atmosphere is saturated with it. So long as such a state exists we might as well strive to stop the rush of Niagara as hope to do away with violence. I have already stated that countries with some measure of freedom of expression have had few or no acts of violence. What is the moral? Simply this: No act committed by an Anarchist has been for personal gain, aggrandizement, or profit, but rather a conscious protest against some repressive, arbitrary, tyrannical measure from above."

392

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-2-

"What I Believe" By Emma Goldman

Page 15.

"~~lastly~~, and the most powerful weapon, is the conscious, intelligent, organized, economic protest of the masses through direct action and the general strike.

The general contention that Anarchists are opposed to organization, and hence stand for chaos, is absolutely groundless. True, we do not believe in the compulsory, arbitrary side of organization that would compel people of antagonistic tastes and interests into a body and hold them there by coercion. Organization as the result of natural blending of common interests, brought about through voluntary adhesion, Anarchists do not only not oppose, but believe in as the only possible basis of social life."

393

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183

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### EXHIBIT B.

#### "SYNDICALISM, A MODERN MENACE TO CAPITALISM"

By Emma Goldman

The pamphlet was published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 58 W. 28th St., New York City in 1913. On the last pages are contained advertisements of the work "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" by Alexander Berkman and the anarchistic works of PETER KROPOTKIN.

P.4 "The revolutionary philosophy of labor, that is the true and vital meaning of Syndicalism."

P.5 "In fact it was this determined radical stand which eventually brought about the split in the revolutionary movement of that day, and its division into two factions: the one, under Marx and Engels, aiming at political conquest; the other, under Bakunin and the Latin workers, forging ahead along industrial and Syndicalist lines. The further development of those two wings is familiar to every thinking man and woman: the one has gradually centralized into a huge machine, with the sole purpose of conquering political power within the existing capitalist State; the other is becoming an ever more vital revolutionary factor, dreaded by the enemy as the greatest menace to its rule."

P.5 "On my return to America I immediately began to propagate Syndicalist ideas, especially Direct Action and the General Strike. But it was like talking to the Rocky Mountains - no understanding, even among the more radical elements, and complete indifference in labor ranks.

In 1907 I went as a delegate to the Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam and, while in Paris, met the most active Syndicalists in the Confederation Generale du Travail: Pouget, Delesalle, Monatte, and many others. More than that, I had the opportunity to see Syndicalism in daily operation, in its most constructive and inspiring forms."

P.6 "It lies in the constructive and educational effect upon the life and thought of the masses."

P.6 \*\*\*Syndicalism works in two directions: first, by undermining the existing institutions; secondly, by developing and educating the workers and cultivating their spirit of solidarity, to prepare them for a full, free life, when capitalism shall have been abolished."

394

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### Exhibit B - P. 2

P.7 "Syndicalism is, in essence, the economic expression of Anarchism. That circumstance accounts for the presence of so many Anarchists in the Syndicalist movement. Like Anarchism, Syndicalism prepares the workers along direct economic lines, as conscious factors in the great struggles of to-day, as well as conscious factors in the task of reconstructing society along autonomous industrial lines, as against the paralyzing spirit of centralization with its bureaucratic machinery of corruption, inherent in all political parties."

P.9 "Now as to the methods employed by Syndicalism-Direct Action, Sabotage, and the General Strike."

"DIRECT ACTION - Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers."

"Sabotage has been decried as criminal, even by so-called revolutionary Socialists. Of course, if you believe that property, which excludes the producer from its use, is justifiable, then sabotage is indeed a crime. But unless a Socialist continues to be under the influence of our bourgeois morality—a morality which enables the few to monopolize the earth at the expense of the many—he cannot consistently maintain that capitalist property is inviolate. Sabotage undermines this form of private possession. Can it therefore be considered criminal? On the contrary, it is ethical in the best sense, since it helps society to get rid of its worst foe, the most detrimental factor of social life.

Sabotage is mainly concerned with obstructing, by every possible method, the regular process of production, thereby demonstrating the determination of the workers to give according to what they receive, and no more. For instance, at the time of the French railroad strike of 1910, perishable goods were sent in slow trains, or in an opposite direction from the one intended. Who but the most ordinary philistine will call that a crime? If the railway men themselves go hungry, and the "innocent" public has not enough feeling of solidarity to insist that these men should get enough to live on, the public has forfeited the sympathy of the strikers and must take the consequences!"

P.11 "\*\*\* I think that the General Strike will become a fact the moment labor understands its full value—its destructive as well as constructive value, as indeed many workers all over the world are beginning to realize."

395

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

830214184

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( EXHIBIT C )

"PREPAREDNESS, THE ROAD TO UNIVERSAL SLAUGHTER".

Page 4.

"To uphold the institutions of our country-- that is it--the institutions which protect and sustain a handful of people in the robbery and plunder of the masses, the institutions which drain the blood of the native as well as of the foreigner, and turn it into wealth and power; the institutions which take from the alien whatever originality he brings with him and in return give him cheap Americanism, whose glory consists in mediocrity and arrogance".

Page 6.

"I am no more pro-German than pro-Ally. As an Anarchist I refute both, as the "two thieves who are too cowardly to fight".

Page 9.

"Those who appreciate the urgent need of co-operating in great struggles must oppose military preparedness imposed by the state and capitalism for the destruction of the masses. They must organize the preparedness of the masses for the overthrow of both capitalism and the state. Industrial and economic preparedness is what the workers need. That alone leads to revolution at the bottom as against mass destruction from on top".

396

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186

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### ( EXHIBIT D )

#### "PATRIOTISM: A MENACE TO LIBERTY"

This pamphlet was published by The Mother Earth Publishing Association, 74 W. 119th St., N.Y.C.

The pamphlet is a reprint of the essay appearing in Emma Goldman's work entitled "Anarchism and other essays".

Page 134.

"Patriotism, on the other hand, is a superstition artificially created and maintained through a network of lies and falsehoods; a superstition that robs man of his self-respect and dignity, and increases his arrogance and conceit".

Page 138.

"The awful waste that patriotism necessitates ought to be sufficient to cure the man of even average intelligence from this disease. Yet patriotism demands still more. The people are urged to be patriotic and for that luxury they pay, not only by supporting their "defenders," but even by sacrificing their own children. Patriotism requires allegiance to the flag, which means obedience and readiness to kill father, mother, brother, sister".

Page 143.

"While on a recent lecture tour in San Francisco, I visited the Presidio, the most beautiful spot overlooking the Bay and Golden Gate Park. Its purpose should have been playgrounds for children, gardens and music for the recreation of the weary. Instead it is made ugly, dull, and gray by barracks, --barracks wherein the rich would not allow their dogs to dwell. In these miserable shanties soldiers are herded like cattle; here they waste their young days, polishing the boots and brass buttons of their superior officers. Here, too, I saw the distinction of classes: sturdy sons of a free Republic, drawn up in line like convicts, saluting every passing shrimp of a lieutenant. American equality, degrading manhood and elevating the uniform!"

397

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187

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( EXHIBIT E )

### "ANARCHISM, WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR"

This is a pamphlet published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 20 E. 105th St., N.Y.C. in 1906.

Page 4.

"I also shall begin with a definition, and then elaborate on the latter.

'ANARCHISM:-The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary'."

Page 6.

"Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, the State, and society are non-existent, that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination."

Page 7.

"Religion, the dominion of the human mind; Property, the dominion of human needs; and Government, the dominion of human conduct, represent the stronghold of man's enslavement and all the horrors it entails. Religion! How it dominates man's mind, how it humiliates and degrades his soul. God is everything, man is nothing, says religion. But out of that nothing God has created a kingdom so despotic, so tyrannical, so cruel, so terribly exacting that naught but gloom and tears and blood have ruled the world since gods began. Anarchism rouses man to rebellion against this black monster. Break your mental fetters, says Anarchism to man, for not until you think and judge for yourself will you get rid of the dominion of darkness, the greatest obstacle to all progress".\*\*\*\*\*

"Property is robbery," said the great French Anarchist Proudhon. Yes, but without risk and danger to the robber."

Page 11.

"Indeed, the keynote of government is injustice".

Page 13.

398 "The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime. Aside from the fact that the State is itself the greatest criminal, breaking every written and natural law, stealing in the form of taxes, killing in the form of war and capital punishment, it has come to an absolute standstill in coping with crime. It has failed utterly to destroy or even minimize the horrible scourge of its own creation."

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-2-

"Anarchism, What It really stands for"

Page 17.

"Anarchism does not stand for military drill and uniformity; it does, however, stand for the spirit of revolt, in whatever form, against everything that hinders human growth. All Anarchists agree in that, as they also agree in their opposition to the political machinery as a means of bringing about the great social change."

Page 19.

"Anarchism therefore stands for direct action, the open defiance of, and resistance to, all laws and restrictions, economic, social, and moral. But defiance and resistance are illegal. Therein lies the salvation of man. Everything illegal necessitates integrity, self-reliance, and courage."

Page 20.

"Direct Action against the authority in the shop, direct action against the authority of the law, direct action against the invasive, meddlesome authority of our moral code, is the logical, consistent method of Anarchism."

Page 21.

"Will it not lead to a revolution? Indeed, it will. No real social change has ever come about without a revolution. People are either not familiar with their history, or they have not yet learned that revolution is but thought carried into action."

Anarchism, the great leaven of thought, is today permeating every phase of human endeavor. Science, art, literature, the drama, the effort for economic betterment, in fact every individual and social opposition to the existing disorder of things, is illumined by the spiritual light of Anarchism. It is the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual. It is the theory of social harmony. It is the great, surging, living truth that is reconstructing the world, and that will usher in the Dawn."

399

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-3-

"Anarchism, What It Really Stands For". Exhibit E

Page 10.

✓ *Jan*  
"Such free display of human energy being possible only under complete individual and social freedom, Anarchism directs its forces against the third and greatest foe of all social equality; namely, the State, organized authority, or statutory law,--the dominion of human conduct."

Pages 11 and 12.

✓ *Jan*  
"The State is the altar of political freedom and, like the religious altar, it is maintained for the purpose of human sacrifice."

In fact, there is hardly a modern thinker who does not agree that government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary only to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only".

Page 15.

✓ *Jan*  
"Anarchism aims to strip labor of its deadening, dulling aspect, of its gloom and compulsion". \* \* \*

"To achieve such an arrangement of life, government, with its unjust, arbitrary, repressive measures, must be done away with". \* \* \*

"In destroying government and statutory laws, Anarchism proposes to rescue the self-respect and independence of the individual from all restraint and invasion by authority."

400

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190

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### EXHIBIT F.

#### "PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE"

By Emma Goldman

This is a pamphlet published by Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 E. 13th St., New York City 1911.

- ✓ Jm P.1 "To the earnest student it must be apparent that the accumulated forces in our social and economic life, culminating in a political act of violence are similar to the terrors of the atmosphere, manifested in storm and lightning."
- ✓ Jm P.4 "Last, but not least, the man who probably better than anyone else understands the psychology of the Attentater is M. Hamon, the author of the brilliant work, *Une Psychologie du Militaire Professionel*, who has arrived at these suggestive conclusions:
- "The positive method confirmed by the rational method enables us to establish an ideal type of Anarchist, whose mentality is the aggregate of common psychic characteristics. Every Anarchist partakes sufficiently of this ideal type to make it possible to differentiate him from other men. The typical Anarchist, then, may be defined as follows: A man perceptible by the spirit of revolt under one or more of its forms, - opposition, investigation, criticism, innovation, - endowed with a strong love of liberty, egoistic or individualistic, and possessed of great curiosity, a keen desire to know."
- ✓ Jm P.12 "Poor Leon Czolgosz, your crime consisted of too sensitive a social consciousness."
- P.13 "But, it is often asked, have not acknowledged Anarchists committed acts of violence? Certainly they have, always however ready to shoulder the responsibility. My contention is that they were impelled, not by the teachings of Anarchism, but by the tremendous pressure of conditions, making life unbearable to their sensitive natures. Obviously, Anarchism, or any other social theory, making man a conscious social unit, will act as a leaven for rebellion."
- P.15 "Hundreds of voices were raised in protest, calling on Frick to desist, not to go too far. Yes hundreds of people protested, - as one objects to annoying flies. Only one there was who actively responded to the outrage at Homestead-Alexander Berkman. Yes, he was an Anarchist. He gloried in that fact, because it was the only force that made the discord between his spiritual longing and the world without at all bearable. Yet not Anarchism, as such, but the brutal slaughter of the eleven steel workers was the urge for Alexander Berkman's act, his attempt on the life of Henry Clay Frick."
- 401

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### Exhibit F.-P.2

P.19 "Will anyone say that Vaillant was an ignorant, vicious man, or a lunatic? Was not his mind singularly clear, analytic? No wonder that the best intellectual forces of France spoke in his behalf, and signed the petition to President Carnot, asking him to commute Vaillant's death sentence.

Carnot would listen to no entreaty; he insisted on more than a pound of flesh, he wanted Vaillant's life, and then the inevitable happened: President Carnot was killed. On the handle of the stiletto used by the Attentater was engraved, significantly, Vaillant!"

P.25 "He was garrotted. His body lay, sun-kissed, till the day hid in twilight. And the people came, and pointing the finger of terror and fear, they said: "There-the criminal-the cruel murderer."

How stupid, how cruel is ignorance! It misunderstands always, condemns always."

In pages 25 to 27 of the pamphlet the writer condoles the act of Gaetano Bresci in endeavoring to assassinate King Umberto of Italy.

402

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### EXHIBIT G

#### MOTHER EARTH

Vol. XXI.- June, 1917 - No. 4

P.102

"Apropos of the refusal of passports to the Socialist delegates to the Stockholm Conference, what a vindication for the Anarchists, what triumph of the logic of our attitude towards government. The war has pointed out the utter stupidity of expecting economic justice or human rights from the machinery of government or from centralized power. Our quarrel with the Socialists, which began in the International with Bakunin, Marx and Engels, to this day centers around the one issue: the Socialists clamor for more laws, greater political power in the hands of the State and more centralized machinery of the government; while we Anarchists, as federalists, insist upon the necessity of undermining the State through the economic solidarity and action of the workers, which alone is the greatest menace to the capitalist regime and to the ever growing tyranny of authority. And now it has all come to pass, even though at the terrible price of war.

The various Socialists who for political ends compromise their ideals, curry favor with the government, and who waste the time and substance of the workers in political campaigns, are now made to feel the mailed fist of the newly constituted American autocracy. They have been denied passports, or better yet, they have been told to behave themselves as behooves law-abiding citizens. What else can those expect who move within the limited confines of the State and blind the workers to the arbitrary and coercive tendency of all government, to the utter waste of time and energy spent on political action."

#### "THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

P.112

Conscription has now become a fact in this country. It took England fully 18 months after she engaged in war to impose compulsory military service on her people. It was left to free America to pass a conscription bill six weeks after war was declared.

P.114

What becomes of the patriotic boast of America to have entered the European war in behalf of the principle of democracy? But that is not all. Every country in Europe has recognized the right of conscientious objectors - of men who refuse to engage in war on the ground that they are opposed to taking life.

Yet this democratic country makes no such provision for those who will not commit murder at the behest of the profiteers through human sacrifice. Thus the "land of the free and the home of the brave" is ready to coerce free men into the military yoke.

Liberty of conscience is the most fundamental of all human rights, the pivot of all progress. No human being may be deprived of it without losing every vestige of freedom of thought and action. In these days when every principle and conception of democracy and individual liberty is being cast overboard under the pretext of democratizing Germany, it behooves every liberty loving man and woman to insist on his or her right of li-

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Exhibit G - P.2

dividual choice in the ordering of his life or action. The NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE has been formed for the purpose of encouraging conscientious objectors to affirm their liberty of conscience and to translate their objection to human slaughter by refusing to participate in the killing of their fellow men. The NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE is to be the voice of protest against war and against the coercion of conscientious objectors to participate in the war. Our platform may be summarized as follows:

We oppose conscription because we are internationalists, anti-militarists, and opposed to all wars waged by capitalistic governments.

We will fight for what we choose to fight for; we will never fight simply because we are ordered to fight.

We believe that the militarization of America is an evil that far outweighs, in its anti-social and anti-libertarian effects, any good that may come from America's participation in the war.

We will resist conscription by every means in our power, and we will sustain those who, for similar reasons refuse to be conscripted.

The first important public activity of the NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE took the form of a large mass-meeting on May 18th, attended by 8,000 people. The enthusiasm was so great that the uniformed patriots who came to break up the meeting, soon slunk courageously away. A Mothers' No-Conscription meeting has been arranged for June 4th. Besides 100,000 No-Conscription manifestos have been circulated broadcast.

We are not unmindful of the difficulties in our way. But we have resolved to go ahead and spare no effort to make the voice of protest a moral force in the life of this country. The initial efforts of the conscientious objectors in England were fraught with many hardships and danger but finally the government of Great Britain was forced to give heed to the steadily increasing volume of public protest against the coercion of conscientious objectors. So we, too, in America will doubtless meet the full severity of the government and the condemnation of the patriotic jingo, but we are nevertheless determined to go ahead. We feel confident in bringing out thousands of people who are conscientious objectors to the murder of their fellow men and to whom a principle represents the most vital thing in life.

Will you help us in this great undertaking? Will you enable us to carry on the fight? Send your contribution to me at once, to 20 E. 125th St., New York. Send for manifestos.

Emma Goldman."

404

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( EXHIBIT H )

In the issue of Mother Earth, Vol 12, No. 1, March 1917, appears an article entitled "The Promoters of the War Mania" by Emma Goldman. On page 11 of the publication including this article the following appears:

"I for one will speak against war so long as my voice will last, now and during war. A thousand times rather would I die calling to the people of America to refuse to be obedient, to refuse military service, to refuse to murder their brothers, than I should ever give my voice in justification of war, except the one war of all the peoples against their despots and exploiters—the Social Revolution".

405

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195

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### EXHIBIT I.

Copy of "Mother Earth" for July 1914, Vol. IX, No. 5, giving in detail the story of the explosion at 626 Lexington Avenue, New York City, on July 4, 1914, when Arthur Caron, Charles Berg and Carl Hanson were killed. This matter is referred to under the activities of Emma Goldman in the attached memorandum. R.

406

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### (EXHIBIT J)

In the issue of Mother Earth, Vol 8, No. 12, February 1914, on page 1 it appears that Emma Goldman was the sole proprietor of this magazine at the date of the issuance of this number.

On page 354 of the editorials the following statement appears:

"If the unemployed would realize this, they would refuse to starve; they would help themselves to the things they need. But as long as they meekly wait for the governmental miracle, they will be doomed to hunger and misery".

Pages 358 and 359.

"We extend our heartiest greetings and welcome to our brave Mexican Comrades, Ricardo Flores Magon, Enrique Flores Magon, Anselmo Figueroa, and Librado Rivera, on their release from the Federal Penitentiary at McNeill's Island, Wash.

After serving over a year and a half in an American bastille for their devotion to the cause of the Mexican proletariat, our Comrades are now again joining in the great struggle of the oppressed and exploited for liberty and well-being.

Such men are not daunted by danger or broken by persecution and prison torture. The clear vision of the ideal gives them strength and courage to withstand all hardship and misery. To live, with them, means ceaselessly to fight the battle of the disinherited, with the devotion and spirit that knows no defeat.

Hail, Comrades! The example of men like you is ever the inspiration and hope of the Social Revolution".

From the above it will be noted that Mother Earth extended condolences through its editorial columns to persons who had violated the Federal Laws of the United States and thereby encouraged such violators in their acts, endeavoring to make martyrs of them.

On pages 363 to 370 appears an article entitled "Intellectual Proletarians" by Emma Goldman. On page 369 of this article the following is a quotation:

"Strikes, conflicts, the use of dynamite, or the efforts of the I.W.W. are exciting to our intellectual proletarians, but after all very foolish when considered in the light of the logical, cool-headed observer".

407

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(Exhibit J)

-2-

On pages 379 to 380 appears correspondence showing the close association of the anarchistic societies to Mother Earth organization.

In their issue of Mother Earth, February 1914, is attached as "Exhibit J" and reference to the various articles containing the same in addition to the quotations set forth above show the extreme anarchistic doctrines enunciated in its pages.

408

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198

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### EXHIBIT K.

The January, 1916 issue of "Mother Earth" Vol. X, No. 11, contains an article in which is set forth by Emma Goldman her own version of her association with Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan and the attack made by her upon Donald Vose for what she considered his traitorous action.

404

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### Exhibit L.

The issue of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. XI, No. 8, for October, 1916, contains on pages 625, 626, an appeal by Emma Goldman for subscriptions to these publications and in offering inducements she offers the book of Alexander Berkman entitled "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" or "Voltaireine de Cleyre's book, "Selected Works"; Kropotkin's timely book, "The Great French Revolution". It will be noted that the first of these books, namely, Alexander Berkman's work "The Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" contains open advocacy of the use of the "Attentat" which was invoked in the shooting of H. C. Frick by Berkman. This book from the demands and offers contained in "Mother Earth" is being distributed through the instrumentality of Emma Goldman. At this point the meaning of "attentat" should be observed.

In the German Dictionary of Morwitz, the following following definition appears:

"attentat" -- premeditated outrage;  
premeditated attempt on anyone's life.

The second of the books offered for sale, namely, Voltaireine de Cleyre's book ~~"The French Revolution"~~ <sup>Selected Works</sup> bears consideration likewise. This book contains the poems, essays, sketches and stories by the writer Voltaireine de Cleyre. The titles of some of the essays are sufficient to indicate the type of works of Voltaireine de Cleyre. "Anarchism"--"The making of an anarchist;" "Direct Action"; "In defense of Emma Goldman". The third work offered, namely, "The Great French Revolution" by Kropotkin needs little or no reference, for it is well known that Kropotkin is probably the most famous of the Russian anarchists. The following are a few of the doctrines advocated by Kropotkin:

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] / [A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice].  
— 34 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

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Exhibit L, contained p. 3.

X  
652 in closing the article Magon refers with great feeling  
to the great act of Czolgosz in assassinating President  
McKinley.

411

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201

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### Exhibit M.

In the issue of "Mother Earth" Vol. VII No. 3, for May 1917, on page 70 under "Observations and Comments" appears a short article relative to the suppression of certain anarchists periodicals in the United States and the whole tenor of the article is one openly defying the government and supporting the papers which had been excluded from the mails, owing to their anarchistic contents and their articles in opposition to war methods.

On page 89 of the same issue of "Mother Earth" appears an article entitled "Press Censorship in India" by Ram Chandra, who, it will be recalled, was the Indian revolutionist who was arrested for a violation of the neutrality laws of the United States.

The above is indicative of the type of magazine which "Mother Earth" has been ever since its first issue, opening its pages to all mal-contents, persons anarchistically inclined and persons intent upon opposition to law and order.

412

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202

## The Emma Goldman Papers

830214184

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### (EXHIBIT N)

The issue of Mother Earth for July 1917, Vol 2, No. 5 contains the story of the trial and conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman referred to elsewhere in the memorandum upon this subject. Particular attention is called to the following excerpts from this issue:

Page 129.

"The end of Anarchism will only be in sight when Liberty itself is dead or dying".

Page 132.

"But they had decided that, as Anarchists, it would be more consistent to go into court without a lawyer".

On page 132 in the speech of Alexander Berkman delivered to the jury on behalf of himself and Emma Goldman the following appears:

"We stand here accused of being Anarchists. A vain accusation! We are Anarchists and I for one am proud of being an Anarchist and I am sure I may say the same for my defendant Miss Goldman".

Page 140.

"We all believe in violence and we all disbelieve in violence; it all depends upon the circumstances. Under ordinary circumstances no one wants violence, no one wants blood-shed; and yet certain circumstances arise when violence seems to be necessary in order perhaps to combat greater violence, in order to combat a greater evil that may menace humanity".

Page 148.

"And it is really Anarchism that is on trial here, and I am glad it is, because it is well for you to know what Anarchism is, since we are Anarchists".

In the speech of Emma Goldman on page 151 appears the following:

"What is a scrap of paper in the form of a search warrant, when it is a question of raiding the offices of Anarchists or arresting Anarchists?"

Page 154.

"And what is the cause? Is it conditioned in the individual who commits an act of individual violence? It is not. An act of political violence at the bottom is the culminating result of organized violence on top. It is the result of violence which expresses itself in war, which expresses itself in capital punishment, which

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203



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Exhibit N-

-2-

expresses itself in courts, which expresses itself in prisons, which expresses itself in kicking and hounding people for the only crime they are guilty of: of having been born poor".

Page 161.

"Please forget that we are Anarchists. Forget that we said that we propagated violence".

414

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204

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### Exhibit O.

A leaflet entitled "McKinley's Assassination" from the Anarchist Standpoint appeared and it is said that the same was written by Emma Goldman, though there is no actual evidence to establish this fact. Attention is called to this leaflet, however, for the reason that at the top of it appears the significant question made by Voltairine de Cleyre: "Which was the martyr, McKinley or Czolgosz?". Voltairine de Cleyre was the notorious anarchist whose works were collected and published by the "Mother Earth Publishing Association and as an inducement for subscriptions Emma Goldman offered copies of her works. It shows the attitude of mind adopted by Voltairine towards the assassination of McKinley and the approval of such attitude by Emma Goldman.

415

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205

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### Exhibit P.

This is a small leaflet entitled "Anarchist Literature" and contains a list of all the publications offered for sale by the "Mother Earth Publishing Association" of which Emma Goldman is the head. In the leaflet, besides the offer of Anarchist Literature, there was contained definitions of "Anarchism", "Direct Action", "Anarchy" and "Free Communism".

4/16

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206



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### Exhibit Q.

Exhibit Q is a copy of a letter written by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to United States District Attorney, Mr. H. A. Content, who prosecuted the case against these two persons in the United States Court, Southern District of New York, for obstructing the draft. Particular attention is called to the third and fourth paragraphs where each of these subjects stated that they are anarchists and set forth their views upon anarchism.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### Exhibit R.

19u  
X  
The "Mother Earth Publishing Association" issued a pamphlet entitled "Anarchy on Trial" containing a complete history of the trial of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman for obstructing the draft. The detailed statements set forth in these speeches are referred to in another exhibit, being an issue of "Mother Earth". The present exhibit, however, is interesting from several view-points: first, the statement contained on page 11 by Miss Goldman that she stood for everything in "Mother Earth" because as she added, she was the sole owner of the publication; second, on page 87 is a reprint from "Mother Earth" Vol. 4, 1909-10 entitled "A New Declaration of Independence", written by Emma Goldman. Particular attention is called to this article as being one setting forth principles and ideas entirely contrary to those upon which this government was founded and upon which its present institutions exist.

4/8

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208

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### Exhibit S.

Exhibit is an issue of "Mother Earth" for June 1917, Vol. XII, No. 4, which is referred to in the transcript of record of the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, plaintiffs in error, v. the United States. Particular attention is called to pages 97, 98 and 112, which deal with the activities of Emma Goldman.

419

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209



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### Exhibit T.

The issue of "The Blast" for January 15, 1916, Vol. I, No. 1, the anarchist publication issued by Alexander Berkman in San Francisco. There appears on page 2 --"Greetings from Emma Goldman". Significant with this is the statement contained on page 1 as to the purposes of ~~The Blast~~, one of which is "Thus the Blast will be <sup>must</sup> Destroyed" referring to the greetings received from Emma Goldman, the following statement is to be noted:

"May The Blast tear up the solidified ignorance and cruelty of our social structure. Blast away."

420

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210

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### Exhibit U.

The issue of the "Blast" for January 15, 1917, Vol. II, No. 1, contains on page 6 "Birthday Greetings from Emma Goldman" to the Blast, a publication which had removed its activities from San Francisco to New York, in view of the energetic efforts of the California authorities to free the state of such publications. Examination of either of the issues of "The Blast" referred to as "T" and "U" will convince one of its nature.

421

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211

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### Exhibit V.

As Exhibit V, a pamphlet issued by Emma Goldman as her last contribution before going to the Jefferson City Penitentiary is presented entitled "The Truth About The Bolsheviki". The conclusion obtained from reading this publication is that the Bolsheviki was a justified element in the world and that their success has been both beneficial not only to Russia but through the example which they have set to the rest of the world will result in such movements in all parts of the world.

422

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212



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### EXHIBIT W.

This is a pamphlet entitled "PHILOSOPHY OF ATHEISM AND THE FAILURE OF CHRISTIANITY" by Emma Goldman, issued by the "Mother Earth" Pub. Association 1916, which deals with the typical anarchist doctrine of the non-necessity of God and the Church.

423

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213

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### EXHIBIT X.

Following the publication of "Mother Earth" and its discontinuance after the conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the Mother Earth Publishing Association issued what was known as the "Mother Earth Bulletin". Exhibit X contains the following numbers of this Bulletin:

- Vol. I, No. 1,
- Vol. I, No. 2,
- Vol. I, No. 3,
- Vol. I, No. 4,
- Vol. I, No. 5,
- Vol. I, No. 6, and
- Vol. I, No. 7.

Attention is particularly called to Volume I, No. 1, pages 1, 2, 3 and 8.

- Vol. I, No. 2, pages 1, 3 and 8.
- Vol. I, No. 3, pages 1 and 3.
- Vol. I, No. 4, pages 1, 2, and 3.
- Vol. I, No. 5, pages 1, 2, 3 and 5.
- Vol. I, No. 6, pages 1, 2 and 3.
- Vol. I, No. 7, pages 1, 2, 3, and 4.

424

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### Exhibit Y.

"DOWN WITH THE ANARCHISTS!" is a leaflet which was issued by The Blast Group, Group Freedom, Italian Anarchist Group Volonta and Union of Russian Workers. As appears upon the last page of the leaflet it will be noted that demand for anarchist literature is set forth and it is stated that the same might be obtained from "The Blast" published by Alexander Berkman, and the "Mother Earth Publishing Association" headed by Emma Goldman. The contents of the leaflet was typical of those issued by anarchists.

Particular attention is called to the fact that the leaflet appears over the signature of the UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS, which organization has been declared to be anarchistic by the Commissioner-General of Immigration. The form of signature would lead one to believe that the names of the organizations affixed were signed "Per Emma Goldman - Alexander Berkman".

425

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215



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165:

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Early draft of 830214183.

## EMMA GOLDMAN.

### Birth

Emma Goldman, daughter of Abraham Goldman and Taube Goldman, was born at Popolan, County of Shavel, State of Kovno, Russia, on June 16, 1870, Russian date. (American date June 29, 1870) (This fact established in the investigation of Mr. S. D. Chambers, Assistant United States Attorney, Pittsburgh and Mr. A. I. Gerosch, Naturalization Examiner, in March 1908 by interviewing persons residing in Rochester, N. Y., who were intimate with the Goldman family.)

According to the statement made by Emma Goldman to the court in the case of United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, on July 9, 1917, in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York she was born "about 1869". (Certified copy of minutes of pedigree taken in United States court, Southern District of New York on July 9, 1917, attached as Exhibit 1.)

In the book entitled "Anarchism and Other Essays" by Emma Goldman, there is a biographical sketch by Hippolyte Havel in which, on page 8, the following statement appears:

"Emma Goldman was born of Jewish parentage on the 17th day of June, 1869, in the Russian province of Kovno."

(This book was published by the "Mother Earth" Pub. Association, 226 Lafayette Street, New York City, of which Emma Goldman was the head. The publication contains the principal essays of Emma Goldman.)

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-2-

### Parents

Abraham Goldman, father of Emma Goldman, was born at Shavel, County of Kovno, Russia, about 1847; lived in Kovno until his marriage when he moved to Popolan, County of Shavel, State of Kovno, where he remained for about nine years; he then moved to St. Petersburg, where he lived for about ten years. In September, 1886, he came to the United States and went direct to Rochester, New York, which place he made his home. He declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States on September 28, 1892, in the Monroe County Court, Rochester, New York, and was naturalized in the same court October 3, 1894. (It is to be noted that Emma Goldman by her own statement was twenty four (24) years of age at the time of their father's naturalization.) Petition for Probate of the last will and Testament of Abraham Goldman who died on Jan. 14, 1909 in Rochester shows Emma Goldman to have been 14 years of age at time of her father's naturalization in 1894, Exhibit XIII.

Mrs. Taube Goldman, wife of Abraham Goldman, and mother of Emma, was born in Urberig, Russia, and is about seventy-three (73) years of age. Abraham Goldman was her second husband, her first husband being one Labe Sodokoff. Her maiden name was Taube Binowitz. By her first husband she had two children, Lena and Helena. The former married Samuel Coninsky, May 28, 1885, and the latter married Jacob Hochstein in 1888.

Abraham and Taube Goldman had three children; Emma, the oldest; Herman, a machinist in Rochester; and Maurice a physician in New York City.

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-3-

### Early Life .

Emma Goldman remained in Popolan, the place of her birth, until she was about seven years of age, when according to the biographical sketch contained in the book "Anarchism and Other Essays" she was sent by her parents to her grandmother at Konigsberg in Eastern Prussia, where she remained until she was thirteen years of age, at which time she removed to St. Petersburg where her father and mother had previously gone. She remained in St. Petersburg until December, 1885, at which time with her half sister, Helena Rodchoff, she left for the United States and arrived at the port of New York from Hamburg on the S. S. GERMAT on November 23, 1885. She was at that time fifteen (15) years of age. On arrival in New York they left the same day and arrived in Rochester on January 1, 1886, and went directly to the home of Mrs. Samuel Coninsky, another half sister of Emma Goldman and a full sister of Mrs. Hochstein. She obtained employment as a tailoress in Rochester at which trade she worked for about one and one-half (1½) years. In the meantime, Emma Goldman's parents had left St. Petersburg and arrived in the United States on or about September 18, 1886, and went immediately to Rochester.

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218



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-4-

### Marriage

Emma Goldman was married to Jacob Kerner in the spring of 1887. This ceremony was performed by Rev. Nelson Bardin, who at that time lived at No. 12 Joiner St., Rochester, N. Y. There is no official record in Monroe County of this marriage, nor of any license having been issued to these parties. It is further stated that the Reverend Bardin had no right to perform the marriage ceremony under the laws of New York as he was not a regularly ordained minister or Rabbi, but what is known as "Shechet", a man who slaughters cattle for "Kosher" meat according to the Jewish law.

In the latter part of 1888 or the early part of 1889 Emma Goldman and her purported husband were divorced, according to the Jewish law by Rabbi Aho C. Levinson, at one time Chief Rabbi in Baltimore. After this divorce Emma Goldman and her husband lived together again for a few months until she fell in love with Alexander Berkman, with whom she has kept continued company except for the periods during which he has been incarcerated in penitentiaries and jails.

Jacob Kerner, is the son of Abraham Kerner and was born in Niesvizh, State of Kunitz Podolsk, Russia, on the first day of the Jewish Easter in 1865, and came to the United States for the first time in the summer of 1882.

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Jacob A. Kerener, husband.

### Citizenship Notes:

On October 18, 1894, Jacob A. Kerener received a certificate of citizenship in the County Court of Monroe County, New York. It will be noted that at the time he obtained his certificate of naturalization he was but nineteen (19) years of age and had resided in the United States for only a period of two (2) years.

As a result of an investigation made by the naturalization authorities, a suit was instituted against Jacob A. Kerener, April 8, 1909, to have his certificate of naturalization cancelled for the reason that Kerener was not at the time he was naturalized and procured such certificate of naturalization entitled thereto and was not entitled to admission as a citizen of the United States of America and for that reason was not a duly naturalized citizen of the United States of America. Certified copies of the decrees of the cancelling certificate of naturalization of Jacob A. Kerener, together with a certified copy of the findings of the court rendering such decree are attached hereto and marked "Exhibits II and III".

Prior to the institution of the suit for the cancellation of Kerener's naturalization certificate of American citizenship, there was some discussion as to the advisability of making Emma Goldman a party to the suit. Mr. Wm. R. Herr, Assistant Attorney General, in a memorandum to the Attorney General, dated February 2, 1909, assumed that Emma Goldman was the wife of Jacob A. Kerener, but advised against making Emma Goldman a party to the suit. The question that arose at the time of the institution of denaturalization proceedings against Jacob A. Kerener was as to

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-6-

Citizenship  
Status, p.2.

whether or not it would be necessary to join his wife, Emma Goldman, in order to affect her citizenship rights. The Act of Congress, approved Feb. 10, 1855, Section 1994, Revised Statutes, provides that "Any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized shall be deemed a citizen." Prior to this act the courts had held that the naturalization of her husband did not confer citizenship upon the wife. The wife's citizenship therefore now depends entirely upon the rights given her under this act. If, therefore, the husband's citizenship be based upon fraudulent statements made at the time of its being procured (which is a fact in the Kersner case) it would seem that any super-structure such as the naturalization of a wife or children which might be based upon this fraudulently obtained citizenship would fall if the foundation should fall. Beside this, the act of naturalizing, being a proceeding in rem and the judgment granted thereon being a judgment in rem it would seem that the action of the court which would denaturalize a party would in as much as this action also changes a status, be a proceeding in rem. If it is a proceeding in rem the judgment thereon would bind all parties interested; and, consequently, Emma Goldman.

In her case she acquired her status not by any act of her own but merely by grant from the government. This grant was based upon a condition that she married a citizen. In the eyes of the law it

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Citizenship  
status, p. 8.

- 7 -

may be said that if her husband's certificate of naturalization was obtained by fraud he was never a citizen and therefore his wife acquired no rights of citizenship. As pointed out above, the proceeding being one in rem, it is not necessary to join the wife in order for her to obtain the citizenship of her husband in naturalization proceedings. Consequently, it would follow that it would be unnecessary to join the wife in a suit to set aside the husband's citizenship in order to affect her citizenship.

To recapitulate, two claims may be advanced by Emma Goldman to American citizenship: one, that obtained through her father's naturalization; two, that obtained through the naturalization of her husband. In answer to the first claim it will be noted as pointed out above that at the time of her father's naturalization Emma Goldman was twenty four (24) years of age, and consequently could not obtain any rights to the naturalization of her father. In answer to the second contention, the fact appears that her husband, Jacob A. Kerner, was denaturalized on the grounds of having obtained his original papers through fraud. It, however, may be advanced by the subject that the government in failing to join her husband with her in the denaturalization proceedings thereby erred and did not succeed in denaturalizing the wife as pointed out above. However, such contention is fallacious as the wife's status is obtained through marriage to the husband and under section 1994 of the Revised Statutes such status is dependent upon the fact of the wife marrying an American citizen, which, in the case of Emma Goldman was not affected, as the husband had obtained his American citizenship through fraud.

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- 8 -

## ACTIVITIES OF EMMA GOLDMAN.

Advocation  
of  
Violence.  
Explosion  
at N. Y.  
July 1914.

I. On July 4, 1914, there occurred in the apartment at 1626 Lexington Avenue, New York, a terrific explosion of dynamite, resulting in the complete destruction of the three upper floors of the house. This explosion occurred in the apartment of Carl Hanson and resulted in the death of Arthur Caron, Charles Berg and Carl Hanson and Mario Chavez. It is conceded that the explosion was caused by dynamite and that these three persons were in the act of preparing a bomb and that through a premature explosion their plans for carrying out the details of their plot were frustrated. An examination of the copy of "MOTHER EARTH", Vol. IX, No. 5, July 1914 gives an illuminating view of the connection of Caron, Berg and Hanson with the Emma Goldman group. On page 130 appears an article entitled "The Lexington Explosion" and in which the three men referred to are spoken of as "comrades."

On page 133 appears a statement in which Alexander Berkman is stated to have announced that he regarded Caron, Berg and Hanson as anarchists martyrs.

On page 135 it is stated that the ashes of the three comrades would be delivered to the offices of "MOTHER EARTH." It is to be noted that Emma Goldman was the proprietor of the Mother Earth organization at this time, such statement being contained on page 1 of the issue of Mother Earth for July 1914.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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### Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 2.

On pages 136 to 137 are given the names of the various organizations represented at the Union Square demonstration and it will be noted that the majority of them were organizations composed entirely of anarchists.

On page 138, Alexander Berkman in his address at the Union Square demonstration stated that the death of the three comrades might have been brought about either, first, through the agents of the capitalists, or second, through the premature explosion of an infernal machine which the comrades intended to use. It is stated by Berkman that he hopes the latter is the case and he hopes the comrades themselves prepared the bomb/<sup>intending</sup> to use it upon the enemy.

On page 143 Leonard B. Abbott, in his speech, states that if Arthur Caron and his friends decided to resort to violence they were not to be blamed for they had exhausted all peaceable methods.

On page 144 Rebecca Eddlestone, in her speech, states that these persons died in the interests of the working class and again on page 145 she states that if their deaths were caused by a premature explosion then it wasn't the comrades of which they must be ashamed, but the society at large who would force the comrades to resort to such acts.

On page 145 the same speaker states that she believed in violence and would use violence whenever it was necessary and again on page 146 she stated that

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-11-  
Activities of Emma Goldman - 3 -

she hoped the day would not be far distant when the working class would say that they were in favor of using violence for the real revolutionists are not afraid of the word "violence" nor even of the word "dynamite."

On page 153 Charles Robert Plunkett in his speech stated that he had often advocated the use of violence and that he believed in the use of violence not only "defensive violence" but "offensive violence" and that he was not afraid of proclaiming the probability that their comrades had met their death while preparing to strike a blow of terror at the hearts of the enemy, and in closing his speech he used the following words:

"To oppression, to exploitation, to tyranny, to jails, clubs, guns, armies and navies, there is but one reply: 'dynamite!'"

Immediately following this on page 154 appears the following telegram signed "Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman" which was sent by these persons from San Francisco:

"Our deepest sympathy with all oppressed, of the world, of whom our dead comrades were the conscious and brave spokesmen. To honor the memory of our dead comrades, the victims of the capitalist system and the martyrs of labor."

It will be noted from the above that the Emma Goldman group which made its headquarters at the "Mother Earth Publishing Plant" heartily approved and sanctioned the theory that Caron, Berg and Hanson had been killed by a premature explosion of dynamite. It will be further noted that throughout

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- 12 -

### Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 4.

the speeches of the persons appearing at the Union Square demonstration open advocacy of violence was made and particular note is to be taken of the telegram from Emma Goldman, speaking of Caron, Berg and Hanson as "dead comrades" and that she was "honoring their memory."

Another notation should also be made of the fact that these speeches openly advocating violence and the use of dynamite are contained in the publication of "Mother Earth" of which Emma Goldman was proprietor.

On page 161 of the same issue of "Mother Earth" appears the following statement:

"A large tenement house on Lexington Avenue was destroyed and three well-known Anarchists -- Arthur Caron, Charles Berg and Carl Hanson -- were killed. The ruin was evidently caused by a large quantity of dynamite exploding in the flat occupied by our comrades."

This quotation is taken from an article entitled "DYNAMITE" by Charles Robert Cluskey. In the same article, on page 166 appears the following statement:

"Although we know nothing of the facts, we do not hesitate to admit the possibility, nor fear to face the accusation that our comrades met their death in an attempt to retaliate upon the violence of the ruling classes in the only possible way -- with violence."

If they did, we owe them proudly, and we honor them for their intelligence, their initiative, and their courage. They did the only logical thing, the only courageous thing, the only revolutionary thing under the circumstances. When free speech is suppressed, when men are jailed for asking food, clubbed for assembling to discuss their grievances, and stoned for expressing their opinions, there is but one recourse -- violence. The ruling class has guns, bullets, bayonets, police, jails, militia, armies and navies. To oppose all this the worker has only -- dynamite."

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13

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 5.

In an article written by Alexander Berkman, entitled "A GAUGE OF CHANGE", appearing on pages 167-168 are the following statements:

\* \* \* I have publicly said in Union Square that I hoped that our comrades were not the victims of the enemy's conspiracy, but that they had planned to employ dynamite either in revenge for wrongs suffered or in the defense of the rights of themselves and their fellow-workers, of labor at large."

\* \* \* "Do you still ask me what the Anarchists have accomplished in the last quarter of a century? Just this: They have taught the people that violence is justified, eye, necessary in the defensive and offensive struggle of labor against capital. \* \* \*

On page 168 of the same issue of "Mother Earth" appeared the following definitions:

"DIRECT ACTION -- Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

ANARCHISM -- The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful; as well as unnecessary.

ANARCHY -- Absence of government; disbelief in, and disregard of, invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society, regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government."

The July 1914 issue is typical of the issues of "Mother Earth" and it will be noted that this publication was distributed and circulated through the instrumentality of Emma Goldman. The entire issue of July 1914 is attached as "Exhibit I."

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227

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 14

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 6.

### ADVOCATION OF VIOLENCE.

II.  
Los Angeles  
Times  
published

Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan are now serving sentences in the San Quentin Penitentiary, California, having been convicted of connection with the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times Building.

It is interesting to note that Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan were both intimates of Emma Goldman and her group. Caplan and Schmidt were disclosed through the investigation of Donald Vose who through close association with Emma Goldman was able to obtain the information necessary to convict Caplan and Schmidt. The best exposition of the Caplan and Schmidt connection with Emma Goldman is expressed in her own words in the issue of "Mother Earth, Vol. X, No. 11, January, 1916, on pages 353 to 357 in which she gives expression to her views of Donald Vose who obtained her confidence and met Matthew A. Schmidt in her own home.

In the issue of "Mother Earth", pages 358 and 359, Schmidt and Caplan are pictured as partners to their crime.

On pages 363 of the same issue of "Mother Earth" appears a list of the various anarchist publications appearing in the country and it will be noted that these publications are ones which have advocated the extreme anarchistic doctrines and that Albert Parsons, the publisher of the "Alarm" was also the expositor of the use of dynamite as an equalizing influence in society.

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228

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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15

Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 7.

On page 374 of the same issue in an article written by Ben Mandell appears the following:

"And Anarchism has for its champion in this country Emma Goldman."

This article by Mandell praises Emma Goldman and her various doctrines.

On page 375 of the same issue in the same article previously referred to reference is made to the great demand for anarchist books as a result of Emma Goldman's lectures in Chicago.

The issue of "Mother Earth" for January, 1916, is annexed and marked "Exhibit K."

### ADVOCATION OF VIOLENCE.

III.  
Inciting to  
riot, Sept.  
9, 1893.

On Sept. 9, 1893, Emma Goldman was arrested in the City of New York under an indictment charging her with inciting to riot and unlawful assembly. She was convicted as charged on October 16, 1893 and sentenced to one year on Blackwell's Island, New York, by Judge Martine. A photostat copy of the indictment by the grand jury is attached hereto and marked "Exhibit IV."

IV.  
McKinley's  
Assassina-  
tion.

On September 6, 1901, at Buffalo, New York, Leon Czolgoz shot and fatally wounded President William McKinley. Upon arrest Czolgoz was closely examined by the authorities and made a lengthy statement giving in detail his history, together with the names of the persons with whom he had associated and the matter which

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16

Activities of Emma Goldman - 3 -

he had read. Annexed hereto as "Exhibit V" is a certified copy of the statement made by Czolgosz at police headquarters in the presence of three witnesses-- Frank Maggerty, a former court reporter who is no longer living; John Martin, former chief of police of Buffalo; and L. O'Doughlin, a former officer connected with the district attorney's office at that time. The exhibit attached contains an affidavit of Mr. O'Doughlin, stating that the statement to which his affidavit is attached is the statement made by Czolgosz at that time in his presence and there is also attached to Exhibit V an affidavit of Miss Clara L. Fagan, stating that the statement is a true and correct statement and a part of the files of the district attorney of Erie County, attached hereto and marked as Exhibit VI is another statement made by Czolgosz to Mr. Torney, district attorney at that time, and to which an affidavit of Horace E. Story, the stenographer who took this statement is attached also an affidavit of Miss Clara M. Fagan, stating that she did make a transcript and true and correct copy of the statement attached and referred to of Horace E. Story.

Referring to pages 4 and 5 of Exhibit V, being the confession of Czolgosz, it will be noted that Czolgosz stated that he frequented a club in Cleveland at which place he had seen Emma Goldman. He further stated that she talked about government and said "she didn't believe in voting and didn't believe in government". He further stated that she had also made the

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17

Activities of Emma Goldman - 9 -

remark that "government was tyranny" and that "she believed in anarchy" Czolgosz stated that he was an anarchist and that "anarchy" as he understood it meant "self-government". It is to be further noted that Czolgosz states in his confession that the only time he saw Emma Goldman was in Cleveland. He further stated that Emma Goldman wrote for a newspaper in Chicago which he frequently read, entitled "Free Society". Referring to Exhibit VI, being the detailed statement of Czolgosz to the district attorney, attention is called to the following answers made by Czolgosz to questions put to him:

Q. You believe it is right to kill if necessary?  
Don't you? r.4.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you talk it (assassination) over with anyone or say it was something you had read that suggested it to you or something else? r.5.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Something you had read, was it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was the last one you heard talk? r.6.

A. Emma Goldman.

Q. What did she say or what did she say to you about the President?

A. She says -- -- she didn't mention no Presidents at all, she mentioned the government.

Q. What did she say about it?

A. She said she didn't believe in it.

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231

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18

Activities of Emma Goldman, - 10 -

Q. You got the idea that she thought it would be a good thing if we didn't have this form of government? p.9.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can't you give us some idea what first put it into your mind? p.9.

A. I didn't believe in government.

Q. What was the name of the papers you were reading? p. 10.

A. "Free Society".

Q. And the reason for your intention to kill him was that you didn't believe in having rulers over us or in having presidents? p.15.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't believe in our form of government?

A. Yes, sir.

Particular attention is called to the fact that Czolgosz stated that he had heard Emma Goldman speak at the Cleveland Club and that he had heard her state that she was an anarchist and didn't believe in any form of government. Czolgosz, in his statement, said that the time he heard Emma Goldman speak in Cleveland was the only time he had seen her. However, it appears that this statement is an absolute falsehood, for, when referring to the copy of "Free Society" for October 6, 1901, which is attached hereto as Exhibit V, there is found on page 3 an article written by Abraham Isaac the editor of the paper, and headed "Why we consider Czolgosz a spy". In this article

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19

### Activities of Emma Goldman - 11 -

It is stated by Isaak that on July 12, 1901, the day of Emma Goldman's departure for Buffalo, Emma Goldman pointed Czolgosz out to Isaak at the station as being a young man who desired to speak to Isaak. It will thus be seen that, notwithstanding Czolgosz's statement that he personally didn't know Emma Goldman, it appears that Czolgosz was at the station at the time of Emma Goldman's departure from Chicago, July 12, 1901 and was pointed out to Isaak.

Attention is also to be called to the fact that Czolgosz's reason for assassinating President McKinley was that he didn't believe in this form of government. He stated that the same doctrines opposing this form of government were enunciated by Emma Goldman in her speeches and writings.

Czolgosz stated that he had read a great deal in the publication entitled "Free Society". This is a publication originally issued under the title of "Fire Brand" and was published in San Francisco. It later moved its headquarters to Chicago and reference to its columns shows it to be the typical anarchist paper. The heading contains the statement that the paper is an exponent of "anarchist communism" and there is contained in every issue of it, the following definition of anarchy for which this paper stands:

"Anarchy - - a social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute, individual liberty".

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10

Activities of Emma Goldman

- 12 -

In the issues of "Free Society" we find many articles by Emma Goldman. One of particular interest is that appearing in the issue of February 17, 1901, a photostat copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit VII. The article appears on page 3 and is headed "An Open Letter." In this article Emma Goldman states that she has been accused of being against force or propaganda by deed. She specifically states as follows:

"I have never opposed force or propaganda by deed, either publicly or privately. I demand and acknowledge the right of an individual or a number of individuals to strike back at organized power and defend themselves against invasion; and I have and always will stand on the side of the one who has been courageous enough to give his own life in taking or attempting to take the life of a tyrant, whether industrially or politically. I am on the side of every rebel, whether his act has been beneficial or detrimental to our cause; for I don't judge and act by its result but by its cause; and the cause of each and every rebellious act has been organized despotism, robbery and exploitation on the part of society, and the innate sense of justice and a rebellious spirit on the part of the individual.

If I stand on the side of the rebel or if I approve if an act of violence it is only because I know that organized force -- government -- leaves us no other method or propaganda -- because we are the invaded and not the invaders.

I think I need say no more about my position, towards individual or collective revolt; so I will only repeat that I am a revolutionist by nature and temperament and as such I claim the right for myself and all those who follow with me to rebel and resist invasion by all means, force included, consequently, a destructionist. But I am also an anarchist and as such a constructionist. In order to construct a new sanitary building fit for human beings to live in, I must, if I do not find clear ground, tear down the old rotten decayed obstacles which stand in the way of that beautiful and magnificent mansion called "anarchy."

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21.

### Activities of Emma Goldman, -13-

The above is a sample of the literature read by Czolgosz and which apparently molded his ideas along the lines of determining to commit the act of murder.

Again, in "Free Society" for the issue of June 2, 1901, page 1, a copy of which issue is annexed as Exhibit VIII appears a ecologicistic article by Emma Goldman upon Gaetano Bresci, the anarchist who assassinated the King of Italy. In this article Emma Goldman makes Bresci a martyr to the cause.

In the article quoted from in the issue of February 17, 1901, we find that Emma Goldman openly admits that she believed in the use of violence and states that she not only is an anarchist but that she is likewise a destructionist. Czolgosz read and carefully perused, according to his own statements, the various issues of "Free Society" and, even though it be conceded that Emma Goldman was not a direct party to his crime in the assassination of President McKinley, yet she was instrumental in helping to form the unnatural ideas which Czolgosz held toward government and authority.

In the issue of "Free Society" for October 6, 1901, which appeared less than a month after the death of President McKinley, Emma Goldman wrote an article appearing on pages 1 and 2 of the issue referred to entitled "The Tragedy at Buffalo". A copy of this issue is annexed as Exhibit IX. In this article she endeavors to justify the act of Czolgosz and closes her article with the following statement:

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235

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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pg 21

Activities of Emma Goldman

3 A  
- 18 -

"And my heart goes out to you in deep sympathy and to all those victims of a system of inequality and the many who will die the fore-runners of a better, nobler and grander life."

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236

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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22

Activities of Emma Goldman, -pl4A-

Advocation of Violence.

V.  
Harlem River  
Casino Speech  
May 18, 1917.

Under the heading of "ADVOCATION OF OPPOSITION TO LAW" the activities of Emma Goldman in connection with the opposition to the Selective Service Act

will be dealt with in detail and under the same reference will be found to be a speech delivered by the subject at the Harlem River Casino on May 18, 1917.

In this speech the subject openly stated that she believed in violence and would use violence. Annexed hereto and marked as Exhibit X. is an affidavit of Edward J. Caddell who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the evening of May 18, 1917 and who took stenographic notes of Emma Goldman's speech.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit XI is an affidavit of William H. Randolph who was likewise present at the Harlem River Casino on the evening of May 18, 1917 and who took stenographic notes of Emma Goldman's speech. Both of these persons have sworn to the fact that the subject stated that she believed in violence and would use violence.

The enunciation by the subject of the fact that she was an advocate of violence at the Harlem River Casino, however, is not new, for we find the same advocacy in her writings in "Free Society", particularly the issue of February 17, 1901, and referred to as Exhibit XII

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237

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23

Activities of Emma Goldman, -p.150

Advocation  
Of Opposition  
to law.

On June 15, 1917, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were arrested in New York for obstructing the draft. Through the medium of "Mother Earth" "The Blast" and literature of the "No Conscription League" Emma Goldman had carried on an extensive campaign for the purpose of blocking the effective administration of the Draft Act.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit XII is a certified copy of the Transcript of the Record in the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, plaintiffs in error, v. the United States. This record contains all of the testimony in the trial of United States v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman in connection with their efforts to obstruct the draft.

The following are certain parts of the record to which particular attention is called: p. 161, testimony of William H. Randolph, who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the night of May 18, 1917, and who took down in shorthand the speech delivered by Emma Goldman:

Q. Is there any question -- will you look at your notes with me -- is there any question that you heard her use these words, 'We believe in violence and we will use violence'?  
p. 161.

A. No, sir. There is no question about that."

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238



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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-24-

Activities of Emma Goldman, p 16

On page 241 Harry Almoner Fitzgerald, testifying relative to a letter written by Emma Goldman, gives the following as some of the contents of the letter which was referred to:

"As an anarchist, I could not do that, because that would be taking the same position as the Government, by telling someone to do this or that; I refuse to advise young men to refuse to register, it must be left to the individual."

On page 269, Alvaro Herrera, testifying, stated that he had heard Emma Goldman at the Harlem River Casino state "as an anarchist".

Page 402, Jacob J. Lynn, testifying on behalf of the Government stated that he heard Miss Goldman make the following statement:

"We will resist conscription by all means within our power".

On page 402-411, Edward J. Gaddell who was present at the Harlem River Casino on the night of May 18, 1917, and who took stenographic notes of the speech delivered by Emma Goldman testified that she used the words:

"We believe in violence and we will use violence".

Again on page 418 the same witness, testifying, stated that he distinctly recalled Miss Goldman's use of the phrase "I defy your law".

On page 154 in Government Exhibit No. 1, a circular issued by the "No Conscription League" appears the terse statement: "Resist Conscription". This circular was issued by the "No Conscription League" of which Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were the principal organizers.

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15

### Activities of Emma Goldman, p. 17

On page 456 in the Government's Exhibit No. 4 appears the following statement: "We will resist conscription by every means in our power and we will sustain those who for a similar reason refuse to be conscripted." Exhibit 10-B contains the same statement as Exhibit 4 and is identical with Exhibit 4, except that it is signed <sup>by</sup> "Emma Goldman".

On pages 471 and 473 in the Government's Exhibit No. 15 appears an article by Emma Goldman which was originally published in the June, 1917 issue of "Mother Earth". The whole article is one urging opposition to the law providing for the draft.

On pages 478 to 486 appears the Government's Exhibit No. 11 which is a transcript of the speech delivered by Emma Goldman in the Harlem River Casino on May 18, 1917.

On page 482 of the transcript in the same speech appears the statement made by the subject to the effect "We believe in violence and we will use violence".

On page 485 the subject states as follows:

"Your answer to war must be a general strike and then the governing class will have something on its hands."

On page 494 in the Government's Exhibit No. 53, which is a transcript of the speech of Emma Goldman, delivered at the Hunt's Point Palace, June 4, 1917, the subject states as follows:

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16

Activities of Emma Goldman, p 18.

"Therefore, I as an anarchist, who became an American out of choice, protest."

On page 496 she states as follows:

"My friends, the only reason prevents me telling you men of conscriptable age not to register is because I am an anarchist."

On pages 49 to 501 appears the Government Exhibit No. 55, being a letter addressed by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to the Assistant United States Attorney H. A. Conant, in which the following paragraph appears:

"Anarchism stands for individual liberty and social wellbeing. It is opposed to personal invasion as well as to the organized form of violence known as government. If the belief in Anarchism or the holding of the opinions represented by the 16-Conscription League (the principles of which you will find clearly stated on our letter-head) is a crime, then why are only unknown boys like Kramer and Becker prosecuted and not the more prominent men and women guilty of a similar 'crime'? We hereby state in the most emphatic manner that we, the undersigned, are Anarchists and firm believers in the principles enunciated by the 16-Conscription League."

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241

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] / [A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice].  
— 29 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Early draft of 830214183.

27

### EXHIBITS OF EMMA GOLDMAN

Emma Goldman has been a most prolific writer upon all subjects, varying from discourses upon "drama" to the "advocation of birth control" and the "exposition of anarchy".

There are attached to this memorandum and marked as exhibits digests of various publications written by Emma Goldman and in which her views are expressed. Particular attention is called in these exhibits to certain excerpts, but it is to be noted that these excerpts are merely the most flagrant parts of the publications and each of the publications marked as exhibits are to be considered in connection with the case of this subject.

The following is a list of the exhibits attached:

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit A is a copy of a pamphlet issued by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, containing the essay by Emma Goldman entitled "WHAT I BELIEVE".

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit B is a pamphlet by Emma Goldman entitled "ANARCHISM, the ROBERT REAGAN TO CAPITALISM".

Annexed hereto as Exhibit C is a copy of her pamphlet "PRISONERS, THE ROAD TO UNIVERSAL FREEDOM", written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit D is a pamphlet entitled "ANARCHISM, A MESSAGE TO LIBERTY", written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit E is a pamphlet entitled "ANARCHISM, WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR" by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit F is a pamphlet entitled "THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE" by Emma Goldman.

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18

Continued from Emma Goldman, cont'd. p. 1.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit G is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH", Vol. XII, No. 4, June 1917, containing articles for which Emma Goldman is responsible.

Annexed hereto as Exhibit H is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. XII, No. 1, March 1917, in which is contained an article by Emma Goldman upon the "WAR VIOLATION".

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit I is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. IX, No. 8, July 1914, containing the exposition of the "Lexington Street Explosion".

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit J is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. VIII, No. 12, February, 1914, containing articles written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit K is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. V, No. 11, in which is contained Emma Goldman's article upon Practical Anarchism, relative to the Matthew J. Folliott and Arthur Caplan case.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit L is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH" Vol. XI, No. 8, October 1916, containing illustrative articles written by persons so anarchistically inclined as Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit M is a copy of "MOTHER EARTH", Vol. XIII, No. 8, May 1917, indicative of the type of publication issued by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit N Vol. XII, No. 7 July 1917 containing a recital of the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman trial.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit O is a leaflet entitled "Proximley ASSASSINATIONS FROM THE ANARCHIST STAND-POINT" by Emma Goldman.

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Continuation of Emma Goldman, cont'd. . 3.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit P is a leaflet entitled "ANARCHIST LITERATURE".

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit Q is a copy of a letter written by Emma Goldman to Mr. H. A. Constant, in which the doctrine of anarchism is set forth.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit R is a copy of a publication issued by the "MOTHER EARTH ALLIANCE ASSOCIATION" entitled "TRAGEDY OF EMMA GOLDMAN", containing a detailed description of the Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman trial.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit S is a copy of MOTHER EARTH, Vol. XII, No. 4, June 1917, being an issue upon which the prosecution in the Federal Court of New York was based.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit T is a copy of "THE BEAST", Vol. 1, No. 1, January 15, 1916, containing greetings to this publication from Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit U is a copy of "THE BEAST" Vol. 11, No. 1, January 15, 1917; containing greetings from Emma Goldman to this publication.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit V is a copy of a pamphlet entitled "THE EARTH FOR THE PEOPLE" by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit W is a copy of the pamphlet "EMMA GOLDMAN AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CRIMINALITY", being two lectures by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked as Exhibit X is a file of the "MOTHER EARTH" being; Vol. 1, Nos. 1 to 7, containing articles written by Emma Goldman.

Annexed hereto and marked Exhibit Y is a copy of a leaflet entitled "DEAL WITH THE ANARCHISTS".

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## ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Alexander Berkman is a Russian subject and not a citizen of the United States. He was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and is stated to be about fifty years of age. His occupation has been that of an editor and publisher. He has stated that he was single — that his parents were dead. Prior to his arrest in June, 1917, Alexander Berkman was the publisher of "THE BLAST" a publication issued in San Francisco, several issues of which were barred from the mails because they violated section 211 of the Criminal Code which prohibits in the circulation of the mail matter intended to incite arson, murder or assassination.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 1 is a copy of a book written by Alexander Berkman in the first person, entitled: "PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST", published by the Mother Earth publishing Association in 1912. This book contains the story of certain phases of the career of Alexander Berkman and the title "PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST" plainly refers to Berkman himself in which he designated himself as an anarchist. Particular attention is called to the following quotations found in this book:

From pp. 4 and 5 of said book I quote the following:  
"I could no longer remain indifferent. The moment was urgent. The toilers of Homestead had defied the oppressor. They were awakening. But as yet the steel workers were only blindly rebellious. The vision of anarchism alone could imbue discontent with conscious revolutionary purpose; it alone could lend wings to the imagination of labor. The dissemination of our ideas among the proletariat of Homestead would illumine the great struggle, help to clarify the issue, and point the way to complete ultimate emancipation."

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-2-

"My days were feverish with anxiety. The stirring call, "Labor, Awaken!" would fire the hearts of the disinherited, and inspire them to noble deeds. It would carry to the oppressed the message of the New Day, and prepare them for the approaching Social Revolution. Homestead might prove the first blush of the glorious Dawn. How I chafed at the obstacles my project encountered! Unexpected difficulties impeded every step. The effort to get the leaflet translated into popular English proved unavailing. It would endanger me to distribute such a fiery appeal, my friend remonstrated. Impatiently I waved aside his objections. As if personal consideration could for an instant be weighed in the scales of the great Cause! But in vain I argued and pleaded. And all the while previous moments were being wasted and new obstacles barred the way. I rushed frantically from printer to compositor, begging, imploring. None dared print the appeal. And time was fleeting. Suddenly flashed the news of the Pinkerton carnage. The world stood aghast."

"The time for speech was past. Throughout the land the toilers echoed the defiance of the men of Homestead. The steel workers had rallied bravely to the defense; the murderous Pinkertons were driven from the city. But loudly calling the blood of Mammons victims on the banks of the Monongahela. Loudly it called. It is the people calling. Ah, the People! The grand, mysterious, yet so near and real, People."

From Pages 7 and 8 of said book I quote the following:

"The People - the toilers of the world. the producers - comprise to me, the universe. They alone count. The rest are parasites, who have no right to exist. But to the people belongs the earth - by right, if not in fact. To make it so in fact, all means are justifiable; nay, advisable, even to the point of taking life. The question of moral right in such matters often agitated the revolutionary circles I used to frequent. I had always taken the extreme view. The more radical the treatment, I held, the quicker the cure. Society is a patient; sick constitutionally and functionally. Surgical treatment is often imperative. The removal of a tyrant is not merely justifiable; it is the highest duty of every true revolutionist. Human life, is, indeed, sacred and inviolable. But the killing of tyrant, of an enemy of the People, is in no way to be considered as the taking of a life. A revolutionist would rather perish a thousand times than be guilty of what is ordinarily called murder. In truth, murder and Attentat\* (\*An act of political assassination.) are to me opposite terms. To remove a tyrant is an act of liberation, the giving of life and opportunity to an oppressed people. True, the Cause often calls upon the revolutionist to commit an unpleasant act;

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246



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-3-

but it is the test of a true revolutionist - nay, more, his pride - to sacrifice all merely human feeling at the call of the People's cause. If the latter demand his life, so much the better."

"Could anything be nobler than to die for a grand, a sublime Cause? Why, the very life of a true revolutionist has no other purpose, no significance whatever, save to sacrifice it on the altar of the beloved people. And what could be higher in life than to be a true revolutionist? It is to be a man, a complete MAN. A being who has neither personal interests nor desires above the necessities of the Cause; one who has emancipated himself from being merely human, and has risen above that, even to the highest of conviction which excludes all doubt, all regret; in short one who is the very inmost of his soul feels himself revolutionist first, human afterwards.

"Such a revolutionist I feel myself to be. Indeed far more so than even the extreme radicals of my own circle. My mind reverts to a characteristic incident in connection with the poet Edelstadt. It was in New York about the year 1890. Edelstadt, one of the tenderest of souls, was beloved by everyone in our circle, the Pioneers of Liberty, the first Jewish Anarchist organization in American soil."

From pages 9 and 10 of the said book I quote the following:

"No, the thorough revolutionist needs no such self-doubting preparations. For I know I do not need them. The feeling is quite impersonal, strange as it may seem. My own individuality is entirely in the background; aye, I am not conscious of any personality in matters pertaining to the cause. I am simply a revolutionist, a terrorist by conviction, an instrument for furthering the cause of humanity; in short, a Redemptor. Indeed, I shall assume that name upon my arrival in Pittsburgh."

From page 11 of said book I quote the following

"The horrible vision revives in my mind a similar incident, lived through the imagination before. It was the sight of a created nihilist. The nihilists! How much of their precious blood has been shed, how many thousands of them line the road of Russians suffering! Inexpressibly near the soul-kin I feel to those men and women, the adored, mysterious ones of my youth, who had left wealthy homes and high station to "go to the people", to become one with them, though despised by all whom they held dear, persecuted and ridiculed even by the benighted objects of their great sacrifice.

"Webster's New International Dictionary gives the following definition for nihilism: "(a) The doctrine that

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247

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-4-

conditions in the social organizations are so bad as to make destruction desirable for its own sake, independent of any constructive program or possibility; (b) the program of doctrine of a Russian party, or succession of parties of the 19th and 20th centuries, proposing various schemes of revolutionary reform, and, in reprisal for the persecution of the Russian Government, resorting to terrorism and assassination for the promotion of its ends, (c) In loose usage violent revolutionary propaganda; terrorism; anarchism."

Funk and Wagnall's New Standard Dictionary gives the following definitions of Nihilist: "(a) One who denounces existing social and political institutions; a disbeliever in all existing creeds and systems, and bent on the destruction of all; (b) a Russian anarchist; after 1878, often a terrorist. "The Nihilists are revolutionists who would overthrow the existing state by violence. They are divided and subdivided into sects, but generally into two parties - those who would promote open revolt, and those who will resort to the assassination of obstructive officers and of the Emperor himself." J.H. Buckley "The midnight Sun" Page 356."

From Chapter IV of said book, entitled "The Attentat", pages 33, 34 and 35, the following is quoted:

"The door of Fricks private office, to the left of the reception-room, swings open as the colored attendant emerges, and I catch a flitting glimpse of a black-bearded, well-knit figure at a table in the back of the room.

"Mistah Frick is engaged. He can't see you now, sah," the negro says, handing back my card.

I take the pasteboard, return it to my case, and walk slowly out of the reception-room. But quickly retracing my steps, I pass through the gate separating the clerks from the visitors, and, brushing the astounded attendant aside, I step into the office on the left, and find myself facing Frick.

For an instant the sunlight streaming through the windows, dawns on me. I discern two men at the farther end of the long table,

"Fr-," I begin. The look of terror on his face strikes me speechless. It is the dread of the conscious presence of death. "He understands," it flashes through my mind. With a quick motion I draw the revolver. As I raise the weapon, I see Frick clutch with both hands the arm of his chair and attempt to rise. I aim at his head. "Perhaps he wears armor," I reflect. With a look of horror he quickly averts his face as I pull the trigger. There is a flash and the high-willowed room vibrates as with the booming of cannon. I hear a sharp, piercing cry, and see Frick on his knee, his head against the arm of the chair. I feel calm and possessed, intent upon every movement of the man. He is lying head and shoulders under the large armchair, without sound or motion. "Dead?" I wonder. I must make sure.

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248

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about twenty-five feet separate us. I take a few steps toward him, when suddenly the other man, whose presence I had quite forgotten, leaps upon me. I struggle to loosen his hold. He looks slender and small. I would not hurt him; I have no business with him. Suddenly I hear the cry, "Murder! Help!" My heart stand still as I realize that it is Frick shouting. "Alive?" I wonder. I hurl the stranger aside and fire at the crawling figure of Frick. The man struck my hand, - I have missed! He grapples with me, and we wrestle across the room. I try to throw him, by spying an opening between his arm and body, I thrust the revolver against his side and aim at Frick, cowering behind the chair. I pull the trigger. There is a click - but no explosion! By the throat I catch the stranger still clinging to me, when suddenly something heavy strikes me on the back of the head. Sharp pains shoot through my eyes. I sink to the floor, vaguely conscious of the weapon slipping from my hands.

"Where is the hammer? Hit him, carpenter!" Confused voices ring in my ears. Painfully I strive to rise. The weight of many bodies is pressing on me. Now - it's Frick's voice! Not dead?... I crawl in the direction of the sound, dragging the struggling man with me. I must get the dagger from my pocket - I have! Repeatedly I strike with it at the legs of the man near the window. I hear Frick cry out in pain - there is much shouting and stamping - my arms are pulled and twisted, and I am lifted bodily from the floor.

Police, clerks, workmen in overalls, surround me. An officer pulls by head back by the hair, and my eyes meet Frick's. He stands in front of me, supported by several men. His face is ashen gray; the black beard is streaked with red, and blood is oozing from his neck. For an instant a strange feeling, as of shame, comes over me; but the next moment I am filled with anger at the sentiment, so unworthy of a revolutionist. With defiant hatred I look him full in the face.

"Mr. Frick, do you identify this man as your assailant?"  
"Frick nods weakly."

The following is quoted from page 55 of said book:

"Not that lying is to be condemned, provided it is in the interest of the Cause. All means are justified in the war of humanity against its enemies. Indeed, the more abhorrent the means, the stronger the test of one's nobility and devotion. All great revolutionists have proved that. There is no more striking example in the annals of the Russian movement than the peerless nihilist - what was his name? Why, how peculiar that it should escape me just now! I knew it so well. He understood the Winter-Palace, beneath the very dining-room of the Tsar. What debasement, what terrible indignities he has to endure in the role of the servile, single-minded peasant carpenter. How this proud spirit must have suffered, for weeks and months - all for the sake of his great purpose. Wonderful man! To be worthy of your comradeship."

From Page 57 of this book, the following is quoted:

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249

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-6-

"To be sure, an Attentat on a Frick is in itself splendor in propaganda. It combines the value of example with terroristic effect."

Following is quoted from page 58 of said book:

"As if the mere death of Frick was my object! The very thought is impossible, insulting. It outrages me that even a bourgeois should so meanly misjudge the aspirations of an active revolutionist. The insignificant reptile, Frick,—as if the mere man were worth a terroristic effort! I aimed at the many-headed hydra whose visible representative was Frick."

The following is quoted from page 59 of the book:

"But this is the first terroristic act in America. The people may fail to comprehend it thoroughly. Yet they will know that an anarchist committed the deed. I will talk to them from the courtroom. And my comrades at liberty will use the opportunity to the utmost to shed light on the questions involved. Such a deed must draw the attention of the world. This first act of voluntary Anarchist sacrifice will make the workmen think deeply. Perhaps even more so than the Chicago martyrdom. The latter was preeminently a lesson in capitalistic justice. The culmination of a plutocratic conspiracy, the tragedy of 1887 lacked the element of the voluntary Anarchistic self-sacrifice in the interests of the people. In that distinctive quality my act is initial. Perhaps it will prove the entering wedge. The heaven of growing oppression is at work. It is for us, the Anarchists, to educate labor is its great mission. Let the world learn of the misery of Homestead. The sudden thunderclap gives warning that beyond the calm horizon the storm is gathering. The lightning of social protest—"

The following is quoted from page 61 of the book:

"In vain I strove to explain to him: 'I don't believe in your laws, I don't acknowledge the authority of your courts. I am innocent, morally.'"

The following quoted from page 67 of book in question:

"Our whole civilization, false to the core as it is, must be destroyed, to be born anew. Only with the abolition of exploitation will labor gain justice. Anarchism alone can save the world".

The following is quoted from page 74 of the book:

"The Russian tyrant has frequently attempted to bait his prey with a beautiful woman. Our comrades there are careful not to associate with any woman, except of proved revolutionary character."

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250



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-7-

The following is quoted from page 91 of the book:

"I address myself to the people, " I begin, "Some may wonder why I have declined a legal defense. My reasons are two fold. In the first place, I am an Anarchist. I do not believe in man made law, designed to enslave and oppress humanity. Secondly, an extraordinary phenomenon like an Attentat cannot be measured by the narrow standards of legality. It requires a view of the social background to be adequately understood. A lawyer would try to defend, or palliate, my act from the standpoint of the law. Yet the real question at issue is not a defense of myself, but rather the explanation of the deed. It is mistaken to believe me on trial. The actual defendant is Society - the system of injustice, of organized exploitation of the People".

The following is quoted from page 497 of the book:

"The very exaggeration of myself-estimate was a source of strength; I looked upon myself as a representative of a world movement; it was my duty to exemplify the spirit and dignity of the ideals it embodied. I was not a prisoner, merely; I was an Anarchist in the hands of the enemy; as such, it developed upon me to maintain the manhood and self respect my ideals signified.

The example of the political prisoners in Russia inspired me, and my staying in the penitentiary was a continuous struggle that was the breath of life.

Was it the extreme self-consciousness of the idealist, the power of the revolutionary traditions, or simply the persistent will to be? Most likely, it was the fusing of all three, that shaped my attitude in prison and kept me alive. And now, on my way to Pittsburgh I feel the same spirit within me, at the threat of the local authorities to prevent my appearance in the city. Some friends seek to persuade me to cancel my lecture there, alarmed at the police preparations to arrest me. Something might happen, they warned me: Legally I am still a prisoner out on parole. I am liable to be returned to the penitentiary without trial, for the period of my commutation time - eight years and 2 months - if convicted of a felony before the expiration of my full sentence of twenty - two years.

But the menace of the enemy stirs me from apathy, and all my old revolutionary defiance is roused within me. For the first time during the tour, I feel a vital interest in life, and am eager to ascend the platform.

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251

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-8-

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 2 is a booklet entitled "TRIALS AND SPEECHES OF ALEXANDER BERKMAN AND EMMA GOLDMAN in the United States District Court in the City of New York, July 1917." This contains the speech of Alexander Berkman before the court when he was charged with obstructing the draft and upon which charge he was convicted and sentenced to two years in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 3 is a copy of "THE BIAST" dated August 15, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 17, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 4 written by Alexander Berkman entitled "Violence and Anarchism". In this article it is stated:

"Anarchism is the science of social order, as opposed to existing disorder; of brotherhood, as against present Ishmaelitism; of individual liberty and well-being, opposed to legal oppression, robbery and universal misery."

In the same article the following appears:

"Our graves will speak louder than the voices you strangle! In spite of all the strenuous governmental, capitalistic and journalistic efforts to misrepresent and suppress Anarchists and Anarchism — because of those efforts — the people will yet learn the truth."

Attached hereto and marked Exhibit 4 is a copy of the "BIAST" dated May 1, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 12, and special attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 thereof, entitled "TO HELL WITH THE GOVERNMENT" by Alexander Berkman. This whole article breathes with the most radical revolutionary sentiments.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 5 is a copy of the publication entitled "THE BIAST" dated February 12, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 5, and special attention is called to the article

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252

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-9-

appearing on page 4 entitled "A WORD TO YOU" and to an article on page 6 thereof entitled "DIRECT ACTION vs RESPECTABILITY" which is an attack upon the conservative and sane policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 6 is a copy of "The Blast" for June 1, 1917, Vol. 2, No. 5, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on Page 2 entitled "TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA", an article written by Alexander Berkman in which the following is set forth:

"But if you know anything at all, then you should know that the cry of democracy is a lie and a snare for the unthinking. You should know that a republic is not synonymous with democracy, and that America has never been a real democracy, but that it is the vilest plutocracy on the face of the globe....."

"If you are not deaf, dumb, and blind, then you know that the American bourgeois democracy and capitalist civilization are the worst enemies of labor and progress, and instead of protecting them, you should help to fight to destroy them."

In the same issue of the "Blast" appears an article entitled "WAR DICTIONARY". It is particularly illuminating to note some of the definitions contained in the so-called "War Dictionary". Dated at the same time with this issue of "THE BLAST" was a circular letter written upon stationery of the "THE BLAST" emanating from Berkman's office in which an appeal is made to the revolutionary element of this country. This letter offers the subscribers of the "THE BLAST" a copy of "THE ANARCHIST'S MORALITY" by Kropotkin, the notorious anarchist writer and also the book of Bakunin entitled "GOD AND THE STATE".

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 7 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for January 15, 1916, Vol. No. 1, and especial attention is called to the article on page 2 thereof, entitled "MY THE BLAST", this article being an open admission of the doctrine of the "BLAST" which was not only constructive but

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253

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-10-

destructive as well.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 8 is a copy of "THE BLAST" dated January 22, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 2, and especial attention is called to an article appearing on page 7 thereof entitled "A BLAST FROM YOUNGSTOWN".

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 9 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for February 19, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 6 and particular attention is called to the article entitled "REFLECTIONS" appearing on pages 4 and 5, also to the articles on page 7 as follows: "INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE" and "A STEP TOWARDS CONSCRIPTION -- same fake".

Attached hereto and marked Exhibit 10 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for February 26, 1916, Vol 1, No. 7 and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 entitled "PATRIOTISM" in which Berkman refers to the American Flag as a "striped rag".

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 11 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for June 1, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 14, and particular attention is called to the article appearing therein on page 5 entitled "THE NEW STRIKE".

The publication entitled "THE BLAST" hereinbefore mentioned contains the statement that it is revolutionary labor paper and that Alexander Berkman is the editor and publisher.

There is also attached hereto and marked Exhibit 12 a copy of a publication entitled "MONTHLY WORKER BULLETIN" dated January 18, 1918, Vol. 1, No. 4, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 8 entitled "THE WORKER'S

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254



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] / [A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice].  
— 12 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Department of Justice reports on Berkman's citizenship and anarchism.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For printed version, see 810206085. For earlier draft, see 880606088.

-11-

DUTY" by Alexander Berkman.

There is also attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 13 a copy of the Transcript of the Record of the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term 1917, No. 702 entitled: "EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN, plaintiffs in error, vs. THE UNITED STATES." Especial attention is called to page 511 of the Transcript upon which appears an article headed "A GAUGE OF CHANGE" by Alexander Berkman. The following is a quotation from this article:

"Do you still ask me what the Anarchists have accomplished in the last quarter of a century? Just this: They have taught the people the violence is justified, ~~aye~~, necessary in the defensive and offensive struggle of labor against capital. They have freed the public mind, to a remarkable extent, from the superstition of bourgeois morality, as is evident from the Union Square demonstration and from the numerous expressions of sympathy and encouragement we are receiving heretofore indifferent if not unsympathetic sources."

On page 507 of the Transcript of the Record is set forth Alexander Berkman's open address contained in the edition of "ROTTER BROWN" for July 1914, Vol. 9, No. 5. In referring to the death of the three persons named in this article, Berkman makes the following statement:

"There is another possibility, and that is that our friends had themselves prepared the infernal machine, bomb, or whatever it was. And, of course, if that is the case, then I am quite sure that they did so with the intention of using it upon the enemy. The facts so far do not prove either the one supposition or the other; but if the latter be correct, then their death as a result of a perhaps premature explosion lies at the door of that iniquitous social system of capitalism which has brought our comrades to the point where persecution, tyranny and oppression drove them to the climax of resisting by the might of dynamite. If society has forced our friends to resist oppression with violence, then capitalist society is guilty of creating the spirit which can find expression only in such violent methods. Therefore, whatever the actual facts, our comrades are either victims of capitalism or they are martyrs to the cause of labor and of humanity in general."

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255

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] / [A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice].  
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-12-

On page 49 of the Transcript of the Record appears a letter written by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to the United States District Attorney, under date of June 8, 1917, in which letter the following appears:

" \* \* \* We hereby state in the most emphatic manner that we, the undersigned, are Anarchists and firm believers in the principles enunciated by the No-Conscription League."

As pointed out above this letter was signed by "Alexander Berkman" and "Emma Goldman" and contains the specific statement that they are anarchists of their own admission.

At the conclusion of the Berkman trial the Assistant United States Attorney advised the court of the criminal record of Alexander Berkman and referring to page 446 of the Transcript of the Record it will be found that Alexander Berkman on July 22, 1892 was convicted in Pittsburgh, Pa. upon an indictment charging him with attempted murder. He was sentenced upon that conviction to serve twenty-one years in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.

In the testimony given by Berkman in his trial in New York in 1917, he endeavored to show that he did not believe in violence but the record shows that in Pittsburgh in 1892 he went to the office of Henry C. Frick and there shot him down in cold blood and attempted to do so without giving him a chance to fight for his life.

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256

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Copy of 800321004.

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54  
WAR DEPARTMENT

## ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Alexander Berkman is a Russian subject and not a citizen of the United States. He was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and is stated to be about fifty years of age. His occupation has been that of an editor and publisher. He has stated that he was single -- that his parents were dead. Prior to his arrest in June, 1917, Alexander Berkman was the publisher of "THE BLAST" a publication issued in San Francisco, several issues of which were barred from the mails because they violated section 211 of the Criminal Code which prohibits in the circulation of the mail matter intended to incite arson, murder or assassination.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 1 is a copy of a book written by Alexander Berkman in the first person, entitled: "PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST", published by the Mother Earth publishing Association in 1912. This book contains the story of certain phases of the career of Alexander Berkman and the title "PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST" plainly refers to Berkman himself in which he designated himself as an anarchist. Particular attention is called to the following quotations found in this book:

From pp. 4 and 5 of said book I quote the following:  
"I could no longer remain indifferent. The moment was urgent. The toilers of Homestead had defied the oppressor. They were awakening. But as yet the steel workers were only blindly rebellious. The vision of Anarchism alone could induce discontent with conscious revolutionary purpose; it alone could lend wings to the aspiration of labor. The dissemination of our ideas among the proletariat of Homestead would illumine the great struggle, help to clarify the issue, and point the way to complete ultimate emancipation."

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257

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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"My days were feverish with anxiety. The stirring call, "Labor, Arise!" would fire the hearts of the disinherited, and inspire them to noble deeds. It would carry to the oppressed the message of the New Day, and prepare them for the approaching Social Revolution. No orated might prove the first blush of the glorious Dawn. For I chafed at the obstacles my project encountered. Unnumbered difficulties impeded every step. The effort to get the leaflet translated into popular English proved unavailing. It would endanger me to distribute such a fiery appeal, my friend remonstrated. Impatiently I waved aside his objections. As if personal consideration could for an instant be weighed in the scale of the great Cause! But in vain I argued and pleaded. And all the while previous moments were being wasted and new obstacles barred the way. I rushed frantically from printer to compositor, begging, imploring. None dared print the appeal. And time was fleeting. Suddenly flashed the news of the Linerton outrage. The world stood aghast."

"The time for speech was past. Throughout the land the toilers echoed the defiance of the men of Majestic. The steel workers had rallied bravely to the defense; the murderous Linertons were driven from the city. But loudly calling the blood of Linerton's victims on the banks of the Monongahela. Loudly it called. It is the people calling. Oh, the people! The grand, mysterious, yet so near and real, people."

From pages 7 and 8 of said book I quote the following:

"The people - the toilers of the world, the producers - comprise to me, the universe. They alone count. The rest are parasites, who have no right to exist. But to the people belongs the earth - by right, if not in fact. To make it so in fact, all means are justifiable; may, advisable, even to the point of taking life. The question of moral right in such matters often agitated the revolutionary circles I used to frequent. I had always taken the extreme view. The more radical the treatment, I held, the quicker the cure. Society is a patient; sick constitutionally and functionally. Surgical treatment is often imperative. The removal of a tyrant is not merely justifiable; it is the highest duty of every true revolutionist. Human life, is, indeed, sacred and inviolate. But the killing of tyrant, of an enemy of the people, is in no way to be considered as the taking of a life. A revolutionist would rather perish a thousand times than be guilty of what is ordinarily called murder. In truth, murder and Attempted (An act of political assassination.) are to me opposite terms. To remove a tyrant is an act of liberation, the giving of life and opportunity to an oppressed people. True, the Cause often calls upon the revolutionist to commit an unpleasant act;

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258



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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-3-

but it is the test of a true revolutionist — nay, more, his pride — to sacrifice all merely human feeling at the call of the people's cause. If the latter demand his life, so much the better."

"Could anything be nobler than to die for a grand, a sublime Cause? Why, the very life of a true revolutionist has no other purpose, no significance whatever, save to sacrifice it on the altar of the beloved people. And what could be higher in life than to be a true revolutionist? It is to be a man, a complete man. A being who has neither personal interests nor desires above the necessities of the Cause; one who has emancipated himself from being merely human, and has risen above that, even to the highest of conviction which excludes all doubt, all regret; in short one who is the very image of his soul feels himself revolutionist first, human afterwards.

"Such a revolutionist I feel myself to be. Indeed far more so than even the extreme radicals of my own circle. My mind reverts to a characteristic incident in connection with the poet Ibsen. It was in New York about the year 1899. Ibsen, one of the tenderest of souls, was beloved by everyone in our circle, the pioneers of Liberty, the first Jewish Anarchist organization in American soil."

From pages 9 and 10 of the said book I quote the following:

"No, the thorough revolutionist needs no such self-doubting preparations. For I know I do not need them. The feeling is quite impersonal, stronger as it may seem. My own individuality is entirely in the background; yes, I am not conscious of any personality in matters pertaining to the cause. I am simply a revolutionist, a terrorist by conviction, an instrument for furthering the cause of humanity; in short, a Redeemer. Indeed, I shall assume that name upon my arrival in Pittsburgh."

From page 11 of said book I quote the following

"The horrible vision revives in my mind a similar incident, lived through the imagination before. It was the sight of an executed nihilist. The nihilist! How much of their precious blood has been shed, how many thousands of them like the sons of Russians suffering! Inexpressibly near the soul—in I feel to those men and women, the adored, mysterious ones of my youth, who had left wealthy homes and high station to "go to the people", to become one with them, though despised by all whom they held dear, persecuted and ridiculed even by the benighted objects of their great sacrifice.

Webster's New International Dictionary gives the following definition for Nihilism: "(a) The doctrine that

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259

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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conditions in the social organizations are so bad as to make destruction desirable for its own sake, independent of any constructive program or possibility; (b) the program of doctrine of a Russian party, or succession of parties of the 19th and 20th centuries, proposing various schemes of revolutionary reform, and, in reprisal for the persecution of the Russian Government, resorting to terrorism and assassination for the promotion of its ends, (c) In loose usage violent revolutionary propaganda; terrorism; anarchism."

Funk and Wagnell's New Standard Dictionary gives the following definitions of nihilist: "(a) one who denounces existing social and political institutions; a disbeliever in all existing creeds and systems, and bent on the destruction of all; (b) a Russian anarchist; after 1878, often a terrorist. "The nihilists are revolutionists who would overthrow the existing state by violence. They are divided and subdivided into sects, but generally into two parties - those who would promote open revolt, and those who will resort to the assassination of obstructive officers and of the Emperor himself." J.H. Buckley "The midnight Sun" Page 253."

From Chapter IV of said book, entitled "The Attempt", pages 33, 34 and 35, the following is quoted:

"The door of Frick's private office, to the left of the reception-room, swings open as the colored attendant charges, and I catch a flitting glimpse of a black-bearded, well-built figure at a table in the back of the room.

"Watch Frick is engaged. He can't see you now, sir," the negro says, handing back my card.

I take the postcard, return it to my case, and walk slowly out of the reception-room. But quickly retracing my steps, I pass through the gate separating the clerks from the visitors, and, brushing the astounded attendant aside, I step into the office on the left, and find myself facing Frick.

For an instant the sunlight streaming through the windows, dazzles me. I discern two men at the farther end of the long table.

"Er-," I begin. The look of terror on his face strikes me speechless. It is the dread of the conscious presence of death. "He understands," it flashes through my mind. With a quick motion I draw the revolver. As I raise the weapon, I see Frick clutch with both hands the arm of his chair and attempt to rise. I aim at his head. "Perhaps he wears armor", I reflect. With a look of horror he quickly averts his face as I pull the trigger. There is a flash and the high-ceilinged room reverberates as with the booming of cannon. I hear a sharp, piercing cry, and see Frick on his knees, his head against the arm of the chair. I feel cold and possessed, intent upon every movement of the man. He is lying head and shoulders under the large armchair, without sound or motion. "Dead?" I wonder. I must make sure.

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-5-

about twenty-five feet separate us. I take a few steps toward him, when suddenly the other man, whose presence I had quite forgotten, leaps upon me. I struggle to loosen his hold. He looks slender and small. I could not hurt him; I have no business with him. Suddenly I hear the cry, "Murder! Help!" My heart stand still as I realize that it is Frick shouting. "Alive?" I wonder. I hurl the stranger aside and fire at the crawling figure of Frick. The man struck my hand, — I have missed! He grapples with me, and we wrestle across the room. I try to throw him, by springing an opening between his arm and body. I thrust the revolver against his side and aim at Frick, cowering behind the chair. I pull the trigger. There is a click — but no explosion! By the throat I catch the stranger still clinging to me, when suddenly something heavy strikes me on the back of the head. Sharp pains shoot through my eyes. I sink to the floor, vaguely conscious of the weapon slipping from my hands.

"Where is the hammer? Hit him, carpenter!" Confused voices ring in my ears. Painfully I strive to rise. The weight of many bodies is pressing on me. Now — it's Frick's voice! Not dead?... I crawl in the direction of the sound, dragging the struggling man with me. I must get the dagger from my pocket — I have! Reportedly I strike with it at the legs of the man near the window. I hear Frick cry out in pain — there is much shouting and stamping — my arms are pulled and twisted, and I am lifted bodily from the floor.

Police, clerks, workmen in overalls, surround me. An officer pulls by head back by the hair, and my eyes meet Frick's. He stands in front of me, supported by several men. His face is ashen gray; the black beard is streaked with red, and blood is oozing from his neck. For an instant a strange feeling, as of shame, comes over me; but the next moment I am filled with anger at the sentiment, so unworthy of a revolutionist. With defiant hatred I look him full in the face.

"Mr. Frick, do you identify this man as your assailant?"  
"Frick nods weakly."

The following is quoted from page 55 of said book:

"Not that lying is to be condemned, provided it is in the interest of the Cause. All means are justified in the war of humanity against its enemies. Indeed, the more repugnant the means, the stronger the test of one's nobility and devotion. All great revolutionists have proved that. There is no more striking example in the annals of the Russian movement than the peerless nihilist — what was his name? Why, how peculiar that it should escape me just now! I knew it so well. He under-leased the Winter-Palace beneath the very dining-room of the Tsar. What debasement, what terrible indignities he has to endure in the role of the servile, single-minded peasant carpenter. How this proud spirit must have suffered, for weeks and months — all for the sake of his great purpose. Wonderful man! To be worthy of your comradeship."

From page 57 of this book, the following is quoted:

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-3-

"To be sure, an Attempt on a Frick is in itself splendid propaganda. It combines the value of example with terroristic effect."

Following is quoted from page 59 of said book:

"As if the mere death of Frick was my object! The very thought is impossible, insulting. It outrages me that even a bourgeois should so nearly misjudge the aspirations of an active revolutionist. The insignificant reptile, Frick,—as if the mere man were worth a terroristic effort! I aimed at the many-headed hydra whose visible representative was Frick."

The following is quoted from page 59 of the book:

"But this is the first terroristic act in America. The people may fail to comprehend it thoroughly. Yet they will know that an anarchist committed the deed. I will talk to them from the courtroom. And my comrades at liberty will use the opportunity to the utmost to shed light on the questions involved. Such a deed must draw the attention of the world. This first act of voluntary anarchist sacrifice will make the workmen think deeply. Perhaps even more so than the Chicago martyrdom. The latter was preeminently a lesson in capitalist justice. The culmination of a plutocratic conspiracy, the tragedy of 1887 lacked the element of the voluntary anarchist self-sacrifice in the interests of the people. In that distinctive quality my act is initial. Perhaps it will prove the entering wedge. The heaven of growing oppression is at work. It is for us, the anarchists, to educate labor is its great mission. Let the world learn of the misery of Homestead. The sudden thunderclap gives warning that beyond the calm horizon the storm is gathering. The lightning of social protest—"

The following is quoted from page 61 of the book:

"In vain I strove to explain to him: 'I don't believe in your laws, I don't acknowledge the authority of your courts. I am innocent, morally.'"

The following is quoted from page 67 of book in question:

"Our whole civilization, false to the core as it is, must be destroyed, to be born anew. Only with the abolition of exploitation will labor gain justice. Anarchism alone can save the world".

The following is quoted from page 74 of the book:

"The Russian tyrant has frequently attempted to bait his prey with a beautiful woman. Our comrades there are careful not to associate with any woman, except of proved revolutionary character."

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262



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-7-

The following is quoted from page 91 of the book:

"I address myself to the people," I begin, "How may I wonder why I have declined a legal defence. My reasons are two fold. In the first place, I am an Anarchist. I do not believe in man made law, designed to enslave and oppress humanity. Secondly, an extraordinary phenomenon like an Attentat cannot be measured by the narrow standards of legality. It requires a view of the social background to be adequately understood. A lawyer would try to defend, or palliate, my act from the standpoint of the law. Yet the real question at issue is not a defence of myself, but rather the explanation of the deed. It is mistaken to believe me on trial. The actual defendant is Society - the system of injustice, of organized exploitation of the people".

The following is quoted from page 497 of the book:

"The very exaggeration of myself-estimate was a source of strength; I looked upon myself as a representative of a world movement; it was my duty to exemplify the spirit and dignity of the ideals it embodied. I was not a prisoner, merely; I was an Anarchist in the hands of the enemy; as such, it developed upon me to maintain the manhood and self respect my ideals signified.

The example of the political prisoners in Russia inspired me, and my staying in the penitentiary was a continuous struggle that was the breath of life.

Was it the extreme self-consciousness of the idealist, the power of the revolutionary traditions, or simply the persistent will to be? Most likely, it was the fusion of all three, that shaped my attitude in prison and kept me alive. And now, on my way to Pittsburgh I feel the same spirit within me, at the threat of the local authorities to prevent my appearance in the city. Some friends seek to persuade me to cancel my lecture there, alarmed at the police preparations to arrest me. Something might happen, they warned me: Legally I am still a prisoner out on parole. I am liable to be returned to the penitentiary without trial, for the period of my commutation time - eight years and 2 months - if convicted of a felony before the expiration of my full sentence of twenty - two years.

But the menace of the enemy stirs me from apathy, and all my old revolutionary defiance is roused within me. For the first time during the tour, I feel a vital interest in life, and an eager to ascend the platform.

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263

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-2-

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 2 is a booklet entitled "TRIALS AND DEFENSE OF ALEXANDER BERNARD AND EMMA GOLDMAN in the United States District Court in the City of New York, July 1917." This contains the speech of Alexander Bernard before the court when he was charged with obstructing the draft and upon which charge he was convicted and sentenced to two years in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 3 is a copy of "THE BLAST" dated August 15, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 17, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 4 written by Alexander Bernard entitled "Violence and Anarchism". In this article it is stated:

"Anarchism is the science of social order, as opposed to existing disorder; of brotherhood, as against present individualism; of individual liberty and well-being, opposed to legal oppression, robbery and universal misery."

In the same article the following appears:

"Our graves will speak louder than the voices you strangle! In spite of all the strenuous governmental, capitalistic and journalistic efforts to misrepresent and suppress Anarchists and Anarchism — because of those efforts — the people will yet learn the truth."

Attached hereto and marked Exhibit 4 is a copy of the "BLAST" dated May 1, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 12, and special attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 thereof, entitled "DO MILLIONS LIVE THE GOVERNMENT?" by Alexander Bernard. This whole article breathes with the most radical revolutionary sentiments.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 5 is a copy of the publication entitled "THE BLAST" dated February 12, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 5, and special attention is called to the article

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264

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-9-

appearing on page 4 entitled "A WORD TO YOU" and to an article on page 6 thereof entitled "DIRECT ACTION vs REPRESENTATIVITY" which is an attack upon the conservative and sane policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 6 is a copy of "The Blast" for June 1, 1917, Vol. 2, No. 5, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 entitled "TO THE YOUTHFUL AMERICAN", an article written by Alexander Berkman in which the following is set forth:

"But if you know anything at all, then you should know that the cry of democracy is a lie and a snare

for the unwitting. You should know that a republic is not synonymous with democracy, and that America has never been a real democracy, but that it is the vilest plutocracy on the face of the globe....."

"If you are not deaf, dumb, and blind, then you know that the American bourgeois democracy and capitalist civilization are the worst enemies of labor and progress, and in instead of protecting them, you should help to fight to destroy them."

In the same issue of the "Blast" appears an article entitled "WAR PROPAGANDA". It is particularly illuminating to note some of the definitions contained in the so-called "War Dictionary". Issued at the same time with this issue of "THE BLAST" was a circular letter written upon stationery of the "THE BLAST" emanating from Berkman's office in which an appeal is made to the revolutionary element of this country. This letter offers the subscribers of the "THE BLAST" a copy of "THE ANARCHIST'S MORALITY" by Kropotkin, the notorious anarchist writer and also the book of Bakunin entitled "GOD AND THE STATE".

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 7 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for January 15, 1916, Vol. No. 1, and especial attention is called to the article on page 2 thereof, entitled "WHY THE BLAST", this article being an open admission of the doctrine of the "BLAST" which was not only constructive but

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265

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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-10-

destructive as well.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 8 is a copy of "THE BLAST" dated January 22, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 2, and especial attention is called to an article appearing on page 7 thereof entitled "A BLAST FROM YONKERS TOWN".

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 9 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for February 19, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 6 and particular attention is called to the article entitled "DEFINITIONS" appearing on pages 4 and 5, also to the articles on page 7 as follows: "DOWNHILL BY STEPS" and "A STEP TOWARDS CONSCRIPTION — some facts".

Attached hereto and marked Exhibit 10 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for February 26, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 7 and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 entitled "NATIONALISM" in which Berkman refers to the American Flag as a "striped rag".

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 11 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for June 1, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 14, and particular attention is called to the article appearing therein on page 5 entitled "THE NEW STRUGGLE".

The publication entitled "THE BLAST" heretofore mentioned contains the statement that it is revolutionary labor paper and that Alexander Berkman is the editor and publisher.

There is also attached hereto and marked Exhibit 12 a copy of a publication entitled "HOMER DICKINSON" dated January 10, 1918, Vol. 1, No. 4, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 8 entitled "THE STRUGGLE'S

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There is also attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 13 a copy of the Transcript of the Record of the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term 1917, No. 702 entitled: "EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERTMAN, plaintiffs in error, vs. THE UNITED STATES." Especial attention is called to page 511 of the Transcript upon which appears an article headed "A GAUGE OF CHANGE" by Alexander Berkman. The following is a quotation from this article:

"Do you still ask me what the Anarchists have accomplished in the last quarter of a century? Just this: They have taught the people the violence is justified, yes, necessary in the defensive and offensive struggle of labor against capital. They have freed the public mind, to a remarkable extent, from the superstition of bourgeois morality, as is evident from the Union Square demonstration and from the numerous expressions of sympathy and encouragement we are receiving heretofore indifferent if not unsympathetic sources."

On page 507 of the Transcript of the Record is set forth Alexander Berkman's open address contained in the edition of "MOTHER EARTH" for July 1914, Vol. 9, No. 5. In referring to the death of the three persons named in this article, Berkman makes the following statement:

"There is another possibility, and that is that our friends had themselves prepared the infernal machine, bomb, or whatever it was. And, of course, if that is the case, then I am quite sure that they did so with the intention of using it upon the enemy. The facts so far do not prove either the one supposition or the other; but if the latter be correct, then their death as a result of a perhaps premature explosion lies at the door of that iniquitous social system of capitalism which has brought our comrades to the point where persecution, tyranny and oppression drove them to the climax of resisting by the might of dynamite. If society has forced our friends to resist oppression with violence, then capitalist society is guilty of creating the spirit which can find expression only in such violent methods. Therefore, whatever the actual facts, our comrades are either victims of capitalism or they are martyrs to the cause of labor and of humanity in general."

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267

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] / [A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice].  
— 12 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.  
Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Copy of 800321004.

-12-

On page 49 of the Transcript of the Record appears a letter written by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to the United States District Attorney, under date of June 8, 1917, in which letter the following appears:

" . . . We hereby state in the most emphatic manner that we, the undersigned, are anarchists and firm believers in the principles enunciated by the No-Conscription League."

As pointed out above this letter was signed by "Alexander Berkman" and "Emma Goldman" and contains the specific statement that they are anarchists of their own admission.

At the conclusion of the Berkman trial the Assistant United States Attorney advised the court of the original record of Alexander Berkman and referring to page 446 of the Transcript of the Record it will be found that Alexander Berkman on July 22, 1892 was convicted in Pittsburgh, Pa. upon an indictment charging him with attempted murder. He was sentenced upon that conviction to serve twenty-one years in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.

In the testimony given by Berkman in his trial in New York in 1917, he endeavored to show that he did not believe in violence but the record shows that in Pittsburgh in 1892 he went to the office of Henry C. Frick and there shot him down in cold blood and attempted to do so without giving him a chance to fight for his life.

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268

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman to be Deported — 21 cm. In [New York Sun (Nov. 17, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The New York Sun reviews the evidence contained in Attorney General Palmer's report to the Senate justifying Goldman and Berkman's deportation.

Notes: For Senate report mentioned, see 810206085.

*New York Sun*

## EMMA GOLDMAN TO BE DEPORTED

Palmer Says Citizenship  
Claim Is 'Fallacious.'

BERKMAN ALSO DUE TO GO

Attorney-General Tells Senate of  
Proposed Action.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17.—Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer has indicated that the Government will deport Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the anarchist leaders. The Attorney-General, in answer to a Senate inquiry requesting the status of Miss Goldman and Berkman as to citizenship, denies that Miss Goldman is a citizen of the United States and says that Berkman admits he is a disciple of anarchy.

Mr. Palmer reviews at some length the connection of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman with anarchy propaganda in the United States and asserts that the woman's claim of citizenship on the ground that her husband had been naturalized is "fallacious," inasmuch as her husband had secured his papers through fraud.

Matthew Schmidt and David Caplan, now serving sentences for complicity in the destruction of the Los Angeles Times building and the resulting murder of several men, are declared by the Attorney-General to have been active disciples of Goldman and Berkman. Mr. Palmer adds that Leon Czolgosz, assassin of President McKinley, admitted that he had received instructions from Emma Goldman and her followers as to the best methods of overthrowing the Government.

Mr. Palmer says that the activities of the Union of Russian Workers, responsible, he says, for the attempt to spread Bolshevism throughout the country, have been traced directly to the Goldman-Berkman propaganda. It is believed here that the Government will take early steps to deport Miss Goldman to Russia, where she was born forty-nine years ago.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Palmer Bares Beckman and Goldman Acts — 21 cm. In [New York American (Nov. 17, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The New York American describes some of the evidence contained in Attorney General Palmer's report to the Senate justifying his actions against Goldman and Berkman, emphasizing their advocacy of violence.

Notes: Barely legible. For Senate report mentioned, see 810206085.

## PALMER BARES BECKMAN AND GOLDMAN ACTS

Gives Out Exhibits to Acquaint  
the Public with Menace in  
Violent Anarchist Propaganda

Points Out the Necessity for a  
Stringent Law to Deal Effect-  
ively with All Reds in a Crisis

By International Service.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16.—Attorney-General Palmer, who yesterday submitted to the Senate a draft of a stringent law to enable the Department of Justice to deal effectively with anarchy, today gave out copies of exhibits showing the necessity for such legislation.

These exhibits deal primarily with activities of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. They show the wide ramifications of their anarchistic propaganda, ranging from the attempted assassination of Henry C. Frick by Berkman through the war-time period until the present time.

The Attorney-General in these exhibits states that both Goldman and Berkman are Russians and that neither is a citizen of the United States. He charges them and their followers with advocacy of the overthrow of the Government by violence and the substitution of anarchy.

### POINTS OUT PURPOSE

In Exhibit 9, Attorney-General Palmer quotes the following declaration of the anarchists:

"The present society is divided into two opposing classes. The down-trodden workers and peasants on one side, producing by their toil all the riches of the world; the rich people on the other, who have grabbed all the wealth into their hands.

"The struggle between these two classes will end only when the toiling masses make themselves masters of all the riches of this world by means of a violent social revolution.

"Having accomplished such a change, the class of the disowned must establish the society of free producers, aiming at satisfying the needs of every individual who, in turn, is giving to society his labor and knowledge.

"For the attainment of these aims, we consider as of primal importance the necessity of the building up of a wide revolutionary organization of toilers, which, by conducting a direct struggle with all institutions of capitalism and government, must train the working class to initiative, and an independent action in all its acts, thus educating in it the consciousness of the absolute necessity of a general strike—of the Social Revolution."

In the exhibit headed "Alexander Berkman," the Attorney-General quotes from Berkman's "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," and from articles contributed by him to The Blast, entitled "To Hell with the Government" and "Direct Action versus Respectability." He also cites Berkman's reference to the American flag as a "Whipped Flag."

### EMMA GOLDMAN EXHIBIT.

The Goldman exhibit contains excerpts from pamphlets and articles in the "Mother Earth" Publishing Company, of which she was proprietor, according to the Attorney-General. Under "Patriotism, a Menace to Liberty," this extract is found:

"Patriotism is a superstition artificially created and maintained through a network of lies and falsehoods, a superstition that robs man of his self-respect and conceit.

"Patriotism requires allegiance to the flag which means obedience and readiness to kill father, mother, brother, sister."

Under "Anarchism, What It Really Stands For," there is this extract:

"Will it not lead to a revolution? Indeed it will! No real social change has ever come without a revolution. Anarchism aims to strip labor of its deadening, dulling aspect, of its gloom and compulsion. To achieve such an arrangement of life, government, with its unjust arbitrary, repressing measures, must be done away with.

"In destroying government and statutory laws, anarchism proposes to reach the self-respect and independence of the individual from all restraint and invasion by authority."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Palmer Brands Miss Goldman Riot Breeder — 21 cm. In [New York Tribune (Nov. 17, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The New York Tribune summarizes the evidence contained in Attorney General Palmer's report to the Senate on Goldman and Berkman's activities, emphasizing their advocacy of violence.

Notes: For Senate report mentioned, see 810206085.

## Palmer Brands Miss Goldman Riot Breeder

Statement to Senate Taken  
to Indicate Woman Will  
Be Sent Back to Russia  
by Immigration Bureau

Record as 'Red' Reviewed

Russian Workers' Organiza-  
tion Traced Directly to  
Her Propaganda, He Says

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16.—Replying to a Senate inquiry as to what had been done toward deporting Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Attorney General Palmer declared tonight the woman's claim to American citizenship was "fallacious," and that Berkman, by his own admission, was an anarchist.

The Goldman case is under consideration by immigration authorities at New York, and the Attorney General's statement was taken to mean the government soon would attempt to send her back to Russia, where she was born.

Dismissing Goldman's claim to citizenship, Mr. Palmer said she was twenty-four years old when her father was naturalized, and her age barred her from inheriting naturalization rights from him. The fact that her husband obtained his citizenship through fraud, Mr. Palmer added, cancelled any claim she might have established through that source.

### Advocacy of Violence Charged

The ramifications to which the plots and plans of the group of anarchists headed by Emma Goldman have extended were reviewed by the Attorney General. Declaring both Mathew Schmidt and David Caplan, who are serving prison sentences for complicity in the destruction of "The Los Angeles Times" building, were members of the Goldman clan, he showed also that she advocated violence and had led riots as early as 1893 when she was sentenced to serve one year on Blackwell's Island after indictment on these charges.

Mr. Palmer included in the statement a transcript of the confession of Cael-goss, who shot President McKinley, in which he told of the influence Emma Goldman's teachings had exercised on his life.

### Consulted by Caelgoss

Further investigation by government agents proved he not only had heard her speak but frequently had consulted with her as to methods to be employed in effecting the destruction of the government.

The connection of both Berkman and Emma Goldman with the Bolshevik movement also was emphasized by Mr. Palmer. The activities of the Union of Russian Workers, said to be one of the most dangerous organizations in America, and against which the government has directed a vigorous campaign, has been traced directly to the Goldman-Berkman propaganda headquarters, he said.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

Palmer Says Emma Goldman Knew McKinley Slayer — 21 cm. *In* [New York Illustrated News (Nov. 17, 1919)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** The *New York Illustrated News* reports that Attorney General Palmer seeks to deport Goldman because she helped cause McKinley's assassination.

**Notes:** For evidence mentioned, see 810206085.

*New York Illustrated News*

*Nov. 17 - 1919*

### Palmer Says Emma Goldman Knew McKinley Slayer

Washington, D. C., Nov. 16.—Attorney-General Palmer made public today the evidence on which the Department of Justice is seeking the deportation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman as anarchists.

Emma Goldman knew Czolgosz, the assassin of President McKinley, and her utterances "apparently molded his ideas along the lines of determining to commit the act of murder."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 191[9] Nov. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover warns Caminetti that Goldman and Berkman are planning a speaking tour and asks when Harry Weinberger must file his brief in their deportation case.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JKH-609

File: Department File.

PERSONAL

November 17, 1918.

186233-13

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,  
Commissioner-General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am inclosing herewith a copy of a communication received from the division superintendent of the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation referring to the proposed future activities of EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN. You will note that quite an extended speaking tour is being arranged for these two notorious anarchists. I would greatly appreciate it if you would advise me as to the exact date upon which Mr. Weinberger, attorney for each of these subjects will be required to file his brief in these cases.

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Incl.

186233-13-217

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram, 1919] Nov. 17, Berkeley, Calif. [to A. Mitchell] Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Victor D. Robertson. — 1 p. ; 23 × 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
Summary: The Berkeley Defense Corps urges Palmer to deport Goldman.  
Notes: Dark copy. For reply, see 891216030.


**COPY**  
from  
**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE**  
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N.L.

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

# WESTERN UNION



# TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT      GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT COMMERCIAL NAT'L BANK BLDG., 14th & G STS., N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. ALWAYS OPEN

186233-13

1919 NOV 18 AM 6 15

B47 DA 32-8 EXTRA NITE

BC BERKELEY CALIF NOV 17

ATTORNEY GENERAL PALMER

563 WASHINGTON DC

IT IS THE SENSE OF THE BERKELEY DEFENSE CORPS THAT IT WOULD BE FOR THE GOOD OF THIS COUNTRY THAT EMMA GOLDMAN BE DEPORTED BERKELEY DEFENSE CORPS

VICTOR D ROBERTSON PRESIDENT V R MCHALE SECRETARY

NOV 28 1919

186233-13-216

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
NOV 18 1919 A.M.  
U.S. AND F.L.S. DIVISION

STEWART

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 17, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.—  
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Hoover sends Caminetti a letter from Linn Gale to Berkman.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 830214033.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JCH-120

November 17, 1919.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,  
Commissioner-General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Caminetti:

I am inclosing herewith a copy of a communication which has just come to my attention written by one Linn A. E. Gale, the notorious agitator, who surreptitiously departed to Mexico where he has issued a publication of **PALES MAGAZINE**, a revolutionary journal. The inclosed communication was written by Gale to **ALEXANDER BERKMAN** and the contents of the same will no doubt be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

105  
Incl.

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275

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 17 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke asks for a copy of Jacob Kersner's death certificate.

Notes: For reply, see 880606218.

**COPY FOR TICKLER.**

**DATE**

**BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,**

**DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.**

157446

JME-GPO

CODE

November 17, 1919.

**Brennan,**

**Federal Building,**

**Chicago, Ill.**

**Secure at once death certificate of JACOB KERSENER husband  
of EMMA GOLDMAN. Five. Stop.**

**BURKE, Chief.**

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276

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 17 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Copy of 880606207.

JME-370

CODE

November 17, 1919.

Brennan,

Federal Building,  
Chicago, Ill.

Secure at once death certificate of JACOB KERSNER husband  
of EMMA GOLDMAN. Five. Stop.

BURKE, Chief.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Radical Activities in New York City] Chicago, 1919 Nov. 17-23 / [Agent] No. 7 [Military Intelligence Division? War Department?]. — 5 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.  
 Summary: Undercover agent No. 7 describes a banquet for Goldman followed by a secret meeting. The New York radicals are taking precautions to avoid government raids and arrests.  
 Notes: Broken type; light copy. Enclosed with 810331127.

Department Intelligence Office - Chicago - Copy - 5121

November 17th to 23rd Incl., 1919.

REPORT OF NO. 7.

On arriving at New York City, I first visited The Peoples House on 7 East 15th St., where I met "Gurly" Flynn, Emma Goldman, Attya Barry, Weinberger and Chas. Necht, L.S. Chumley, Hyman Perous from Cleveland and many other reds, holding a meeting in room 300.

A "get together" dinner was to be held Monday evening at Confarones Italian Restaurant at 179 MacDougal St., at which Emma Goldman was to deliver a message from Kate O'Fara, but a secret meeting was to take place in an upstairs room of the restaurant after the banquet.

As I was anxious to get in touch with Atty. Block, I had Perco arrange for a meeting with Block at the Peoples' House under the pretense of wanting to hire Block to handle the Cleveland criminal Syndicalism Cases and I was to meet Perous and several other Russian Nihilists at 304 E. 15th St. to discuss plans for nationwide terroristic campaign.

Atty. Block kept his appointment with me, but he came in company of Socialist Alderman Alcemon Lee and Chip Inhoff. Block did not seem anxious to handle the Cleveland cases, but he promised to think it over and asked me to see him Tuesday at 3 P.M. I had no chance to mention the "Palmer" letter to him.

I had hardly left the Peoples House, in company with two Russians, when we were called back and told that Perous and several other Russians were arrested at 304 East 5th St., and that nobody can understand how the police knew about the meeting. Fortunately I had been in company with two of Perous' Russian friends every second from the time Perous left me so I was safe as far as suspicion was concerned. The two Russians hurried to 180 Avenue A to get the belongings of Michael Krauytsak, who was arrested also, the others held were Stephen Gonzales the owner of the flat on 304 E. 5th St., Max Stocky of Hartford, Conn., and Jacob Tarasya of Derby, Conn. The second last named had been commissioned by the Union of Russian Workers to buy and store arms and ammunition and keep them stored in Derby, Ansonia, Bridgeport and other cities in Conn. The names of the two Russians who were in my company were Vasil Somnoff and Harry Yudowitch both in the employ of Ludwig Hertens and two of the hardest men to rope I ever met in my life. I then went to attend the Emma Goldman banquet and had as my side partner Miss Sonia Ginsberg, a New York public school teacher, living at 6th Ave. and 71st St., Brooklyn, N.Y. She admitted to me being a member of the Emma Goldman group as well as the Union of Russian Workers and that she was making Reds out of her pupils. She also admitted carrying on a Red propaganda for Hertens, but that she was already under suspicion by the Board of Education and expected to be discharged soon but she didn't care as Hertens had promised her a soft job as a propagandist.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Radical Activities in New York City] Chicago, 1919 Nov. 17-23 / [Agent] No. 7 [Military Intelligence Division? War Department?]. — 5 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

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Notes: Broken type; light copy. Enclosed with 810331127.

Page 2

REPORT OF NO. 7

Nov. 17th to 23rd Incl., 1919.

During the banquet Emma Goldman, George Flynn and Crystal Eastman and many others made the usual Red talks against Capitalism and for the release of all political prisoners — but after the banquet a crowd of about 25 trusted ones gathered upstairs to discuss future plans. Several times "watchers" came upstairs to inform Emma that spies were hanging around down stairs and that a reporter was very anxious to locate Miss Goldman. Emma gave orders to tell the reporter that she had gone to the Bronx. Joseph Colgin an executive board member of the Russian Anarchists acted as chairman and stated that the Communist Labor Party is doing some great work in shop propaganda and that the plan outlined in Chicago for the known extremist organizations to act hostile towards the Communist Labor Party was a good plan and if the C.L.P. will be left undisturbed for about 6 months the revolution will not be far off. Emma Goldman was about to start talking when a Russian came running up warning that the Detectives and policemen were gathering outside and it looks like a raid. Emma instructed all to leave single or paired and pay no attention to the bulls.

I met some of the Russians again about midnight at the Cafe Royal 12th Street and 2nd Ave., but they were too scared to do any talking.

Tuesday, 3 P.M. I was at Atty. Block's office, room 1101, 198 Broadway. Block was there. He introduced me to his partner Atty. Sackin, but he stated that he could not leave New York at the present time. In the course of the conversation I succeeded in mentioning Mitchel Palmer's name. Block answered "poor Mitchel" he meant well, but his plan didn't work out. Block didn't seem to care to talk much while in his office, but I succeeded in getting him to accept an invitation to dine with me Friday evening. He had previous engagements for Wednesday and Thursday evenings.

Tuesday evening I was told that a special meeting of Anarchists and Communists would take place in a room on the second floor of 1664 Madison Ave. Wednesday morning I also met Katterfeld who had arrived from Cleveland, Ohio, but the rooms at 208 E. 12th St. were still being occupied. Katterfeld acted very nervous when he heard of the many raids in New York City and he hardly dared to utter a loud sound. He told me of having met Ludwig Kaertens and Santery Puorteva at noon and that both had encouraged him and promised financial support for revolutionary shop propaganda. Katterfeld admitted that the acquittal of Ruthenberg in Cleveland had a wonderful effect and that many Reds have already volunteered to continue the Red propaganda which had been partly discontinued since the May Day Riot.

Wednesday morning I visited 1664 Madison Ave. and found the place crowded with Russians. Secretary A. Finkelberg informed me that this morning's meeting has been postponed on advice of Puorteva who had heard that the Truck Committee was about 1664 Madison Ave., being a gathering place of Russian Reds. But the meeting will be held this evening in a private house at 1079 Simpson St., Bronx. Finkelberg, who is the Editor of a Russian paper called "Pravda" (Truth), financed by Kaertens, accepted an

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279

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Radical Activities in New York City] Chicago, 1919 Nov. 17-23 / [Agent] No. 7 [Military Intelligence Division? War Department?]. — 5 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.  
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 Notes: Broken type; light copy. Enclosed with 810331127.

Page 3.

REPORT OF NO. 7.

Nov. 17th to 23rd incl., 1919.

invitation to have lunch with me, so did Colgan, Seminoff and Ratnofsky, all professional propagandists. I ascertained from them that the Anarchists are planning another terrorist Campaign and that small towns in Conn. will be used as meeting places when the plans will be perfected. Finkelberg also stated that many of the German Anarchists who fled to Mexico at the beginning and during the war are returning to the U. S. and many of them have already located on the Pacific Coast. Finkelberg was very frank in telling me that Judwig Maertens is today behind all revolutionary groups in America and Maertens has taken the place of Alexander Berkman in the ranks of the extremists and that Maertens has secret agents in every industrial center of America, Canada and South and Central America, who are now perfecting organizations which will be ready to act on orders from Maertens and it will not matter if Maertens will live in the U. S., Mexico or Russia, he will be able to reach his Agents anywhere within a very short time through Agents which Maertens is employing to work as operators in Telegraph and Cable Companies.

On returning to 1664 Madison Ave., Finkelberg was informed by a Russian that the meeting at 1079 Simpson St. has also been called off, as the owner of the flat, Harry Winitzky, who is executive secretary of the Russian Communist Party is being shadowed all day. The detectives started trailing him as he left Maertens' office at 110 W. 40th St. and are undoubtedly trying to locate Winitzky's residence.

All day Thursday I was kept busy by Emma Goldman and Curly Flynn, addressing striking Printing Pressmen, butchers, bakers, teamsters and in the evening I had to address an I.W.O. meeting in the basement of a house on E. 81st St., between 1st and 2nd Ave. It was too dark for me to read the number on the house. Pat McCollan, an I.W.O. organizer of the Metal Machinery Workers, acted as chairman. After I spoke, he urged those present to spill blood against blood and use force to resist the next raid on the I.W.O.

Friday morning, I visited Maertens' office. I had visited his office several times during the week, but found him out or about to leave. I found him in room 303, but he advised me to go into room 304 to prevent being picked up. He also instructed me that should a detective enter and question me, I should answer that I came up to sell stationery and printing from the International Linotype Co., 125 Canal St. It was over two hours before I had a chance to have a few minutes with Maertens. He laughingly told me that he had the Lusk Committee up in the air and bluffed and that he had received a tip this morning that there is an open break between the Lusk Committee and the Dept. of Justice as well as Chief Flynn's office. Maertens also said laughingly - "well that's where our cause benefits when capitalistic agencies are fighting among themselves. Oh, we are just making a grand headway in America and Mexico. Our Agents report progress everywhere. In fact Mexico is being used by some of our Agents as a distributing center and they are not in the least being molested either."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Radical Activities in New York City] Chicago, 1919 Nov. 17-23 / [Agent] No. 7 [Military Intelligence Division? War Department?]. — 5 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Notes: Broken type; light copy. Enclosed with 810331127.

Page 4.

REPORT OF NO. 7.

Nov. 17th to 23rd incl., 1919.

A boy then informed Maertens that a representative from Chicago was waiting for him. Maertens bid me goodby and left the room.

I met Atty. Block in the evening and took him by taxi to an uptown Restaurant to prevent being disturbed. It took several hours before I succeeded in getting Block to talk about the letter he had sent out advising radicals that Palmer will protect radicals. Block smiled and said "yes, oh yes, I sent two or three letters to that effect. You know my friend Mr. De Silver visited Washington, D. C. some time ago and while there met a man very close to Mr. Palmer. I am not sure but I think it was Walter Lipman very close to Mr. Palmer. I am not sure but I think it was Walter Lipman, anyway De Silver reported that Mr. Palmer was seeking the support of men influential in labor circles and for promised and guaranteed support, in case Palmer should become a Presidential candidate, Palmer was going to let up in fact promise protection to all whom we may want to protect. It was just in the heat of the steel strike when I sent two or three letters. I think one to Pittsburgh, one to Chicago and one to Los Angeles, but since then we have found out that Palmer was trying to play a well planned trick on us by having friends of his introduce anti radical legislation expecting to have these laws passed by a Republican Senate and Congress and use the passage of such legislation as political propaganda, we received the tip in time and had some one reach republican senators and Congressmen, to give them the information. We have also tried to reach Palmer to secure a promise from him in writing and then make Palmer come across, but he must have smelled something, as he has since refused to even discuss the matter with the man we sent to Washington. Our man is still in Washington, but is expected to return Saturday evening.

Block then started quizzing me as to why I wanted a copy of the letter. I answered that the authorities in Cleveland have been making things hot for all radicals and the leaders are now so scared that they refuse to carry on any radical propaganda and I thought by showing them such a letter it may stir them up to action again. Block then said that all the raids by the Dept. of Justice were political propaganda and that it will let up soon as so far all criminal syndicalism cases have been lost by the Dept. of Justice and word has been sent out by Republican Party leaders that Palmer is playing politics in ordering these raids and deportations. As soon as our man returns from Washington, we will have some definite information on that subject. We certainly do not expect any favors from the Republican Party, but while the two parties will be trying to get the best of each other, we will not be asleep. You can tell that to your Cleveland friends. Block then dropped the subject entirely and had me take him to the subway station.

Saturday I spent all day at the People's House and in company of Gurley and other I.W.O. leaders. Gurley is sore because Maertens refuses to see him or any other I.W.O. leader in New York City. On Saturday the radicals usually hold their Union meetings and all of them are busy collecting money from the poor suckers who attend these meetings.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Radical Activities in New York City] Chicago, 1919 Nov. 17-23 / [Agent] No. 7 [Military Intelligence Division? War Department?]. — 5 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.  
 Summary: Undercover agent No. 7 describes a banquet for Goldman followed by a secret meeting. The New York radicals are taking precautions to avoid government raids and arrests.  
 Notes: Broken type; light copy. Enclosed with 810331127.

Page 5.

REPORT OF NO. 7.

Nov. 17th to 23rd incl., 1919.

On Sunday I met Katterfeld and other radical leaders and was taken by them to 207 E. 10th St., which is the Executive headquarters of the Russian Communists. The manager Harry Ashkenovai and the Executive Secretary, Harry Winitzky, informed me that this Country will see Hell on Earth pretty soon, as agents are succeeding in getting into all the large factories and that the raids the Dept. of Justice are making are netting the Dept. only a few innocent sympathizers who know nothing, and that the real propagandists are working safely. Winitzky said laughing, that 95% of the Dept. of Justice Agents are known to the radical leaders in the country, as they are so easily picked out.

I left New York City Sunday evening.

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282



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deport Emma Goldman] — 21 cm. In [(Philadelphia) Press (Nov. 18, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Press in Philadelphia editorializes that the government should stop talking about deporting Goldman and do it.

Philadelphia, Press

Nov. 8-1919

Attorney General Palmer gives some many and very conclusive reasons why Emma Goldman should not be permitted to remain in this country. But there must be some reason why she is not deported, for nobody deports her. On the contrary after a term in prison she is allowed to parade around with her nose-chavone notions unchanged. Talking won't get rid of such people as long as soap boxes can be had for street corner rostrums. If the Government would get it a sufficiently firm state of mind to pack the Goldmans the Berkman, and similar rubbish out of the country it would be encouraging to every citizen who respects law and order, and helpful to the people in resisting anarchy.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

880606215

Emma Goldman Eager to Return Voluntarily to Republic of Russia — 21 cm. In [New York Call (Nov. 18, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The New York Call prints Goldman's rebuttal to Attorney General Palmer's attack on her. She discusses the McKinley assassination and her deportation.

Notes: For Palmer report mentioned, see 810206085.

New York Call.

## Emma Goldman Eager to Return Voluntarily to Republic of Russia

Anarchist Being Held for Deportation Refuses, However, to "Be Shoved Out"—Refutes Alleged Confession of McKinley's Slayer, Implicating Her.

Emma Goldman, fighting her deportation from this country on the ground of American citizenship, declared in an interview yesterday afternoon that she would be glad and proud to return to Soviet Russia.

Her voluntary return to the country of her birth, however, depends on whether the United States government will accept the offer of the local representative of the Soviet republic to this country to Russia for all Russian provide means of transportation from citizens who desire to go back to their homes.

"But I refuse to be shoved out of my home," she said, "I will not give my silent consent to the turning over of all the other Russians here to the hands of the forces of the counter-revolutionists of Siberia," said Goldman, following her announcement of her willingness to return to the workers' republic.

L. C. A. K. Mertens, representative of the Russian Soviet republic, in a letter to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, has formally made the offer referred to.

**Supplements Statement.** Goldman's remarks supplemented a statement previously issued by her attorney, Harry Weinberger, to answer to Attorney General Palmer's reply to a Senate inquiry in reference to the proceedings for her deportation from this country.

Miss Goldman, who at no time denied that she was an anarchist, introduced her remarks with the declaration that "the issue in my case is a question of citizenship."

Referring to an alleged confession declared to be in the hands of Attorney General Palmer, who, she declared, is attempting to incriminate her in the assassination of McKinley in September of 1901, Miss Goldman said:

"They must feel their case is very weak if they dig out ancient charges that were disproved at the time."

Some time later, while in Chicago, during her lecture tour, a young man who said his name was Newman told her he had heard her lecture in Cleveland and solicited an introduction to radicals. This was the last time she saw or heard of the man who later turned out to be the murderer of President McKinley, Miss Goldman said.

The schedule of her movements and so accurate account of every day's doings of that tour, she said, was at the disposal of the authorities of Chicago and ceased them to refuse to extradite her to New York at the time. Following her release, Miss Goldman said, she became interested in the young man and made a thorough study of the case. According to her summary, he was a radical American by birth, who was weak enough to allow events of the day to take possession of his mind.

**Answers Palmer's Charge.**

She belittled the attempt to associate her again with the act of Leon Czolgosz, the confessed assassin of McKinley, by referring Palmer to a statement by the then warden of Auburn prison to the effect that when the young man was strapped to the electric chair and asked to "tell some-

thing about Emma Goldman," who, he was informed, had told much about him, the man facing death had replied:

"Never mind what she said about me. Emma Goldman had nothing to do with what I did."

Reviewing the facts and figures of the case that saved her life in 1901, Miss Goldman declared that had the so-called confession been in the hands of the authorities they surely would have used it against her at the time.

"I never was within 100 miles of that Cleveland group of which Czolgosz was an associate," she said. She admitted that he had attended one of her meetings, but maintained it was a Sunday afternoon lecture under the direction of the Franklin Secular Society, a free-thought organization of liberal persons.

At the close of the lecture, Miss Goldman continued, a young man with a very striking face asked for some literature. She offered him reading suggestions, she asserted.

Nov. 18-1919.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Palmer Is Scorned By Emma Goldman — 21 cm. In [(New York) World (Nov. 18, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The World in New York prints Goldman's rebuttal to Attorney General Palmer's attack on her. She discusses the McKinley assassination and her deportation.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For Palmer report mentioned, see 810206085.

New York World

## PALMER IS SCORNE BY EMMA GOLDMAN

"Smoke Screen," She Calls  
His Information to Senate—  
Sent Letter of Cheer to  
Czolgosz, She Admits.

"A smoke screen" was Emma Goldman's characterization yesterday of the information supplied by Attorney General Palmer to the Senate in answer to the Foraker resolution. In this, Miss Goldman's record was given in detail, with particular reference to her activities about the time that President McKinley was assassinated by Leon F. Czolgosz.

"All that misinformation was merely supplied to prejudice my case and prevent me from getting a fair hearing by the Labor Department, and later, perhaps, by the courts," said Miss Goldman yesterday. "However, I am determined to fight the conspiracy on the part of the Department of Justice to deport me, and if the Department of Labor decides against me, I shall certainly carry the case to the highest court in the land."

"At the same time I will carry on a campaign of education, though this latter is rather difficult, as owners of halls will not be afraid to antagonize the police by renting their places for my meetings."

Would Return to Russia.

"On the other hand, I am willing to return to Russia if the offer of the Soviet Ambassador here to provide for transportation for those who wish to go back is accepted."

"The Government's case against me must certainly be very weak if it must use antiquated material like that contained in Mr. Palmer's report. If Czolgosz's alleged confession is enough to send me out of the country, why was it not enough to convict me or even to obtain my extradition from Chicago?"

"As a matter of fact, Czolgosz insisted to the end that I had absolutely no connection with the case. He said

this to the Warden of Auburn Prison, even after he was strapped in the chair, and when he had been untruthfully told that I had said cruel things about him. He declared then that no matter what I had said about him the fact was I had nothing to do with his deed."

"If they had had any kind of a confession from him, do you imagine for one moment that I would have gone free? Every device was employed to persuade him to implicate me, but every means failed."

Miss Goldman was asked if she had written the article referred to by Mr. Palmer in which she said of Czolgosz: "My heart goes out to you in deep sympathy, and to all those victims of a system of inequality and the many who will die, the foreman-

ners of a better, higher and grander life."

Admits Writing Confession.

"I do not retract one word of that," she declared. "I feel the same toward the I. W. W., the Bolsheviks and the Socialists to-day, who are being cruelly used, though this does not mean that I agree with all their doctrines."

Of her marriage, Miss Goldman reiterated that this took place in 1887, and that her husband, Jacob Kersner, had been naturalized in 1884. She said that the rabbi who performed the wedding ceremony was still alive. She accused the Government of revoking Kersner's naturalization to deprive her of her rights.

Harry Weinberger, Miss Goldman's lawyer, issued a statement yesterday declaring that Mr. Palmer's statement was "an attempt to prejudice the public mind."

Hearings were resumed on Ellis Island yesterday in the case of eighty-two radicals arrested in recent Federal raids. The hearings had been temporarily suspended last week to give those detained a chance to obtain counsel. The immigration officials conducting the cases will forward their reports to Washington, where decisions will be reached.

Urges Union of "Reds."

"Public sentiment will be more powerful in having our prisoners released than dynamite," said Emma Goldman last night. She was one of the principal speakers at a dinner given at Confection's, No. 175 Macdougal street, by friends of Kate Richards O'Hare, who is serving five years in the Jefferson City Federal Prison for violation of the Espionage Act.

She suggested that Anarchists, I. W. W., Bolsheviks and Revolutionary Socialists unite in one organization, and added:

"Let us unite in one great revolutionary movement and tell our enemies to do their damndest; we will stand or fall together."

Other speakers were Elizabeth Flynn, Dr. Elizabeth Baer and Harry Weinberger.

Shortly after the dinner began one of the speakers made some reference to the manner in which the Nation was treating the I. W. W. A woman stood in another part of the room remarked, "I cannot stand this," and, walking out telephoned to the police. A sergeant, a patrolman and two men in civilian attire went to the dinner room and remained there until the affair ended.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 18 [to] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Johnson.—  
1 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Johnson urges the Department of Justice to deport Goldman, Albert Bergman, Scott Nearing, and Foster.

**COPY**  
from  
**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE**  
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

November 18, 1919.

Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.  
Gentlemen,

While your department has used  
its influence to rid the country of the recognized  
objectionable characters, we felt that the  
following would be worthy of your attention:

Emma Goldman  
Albert Bergman  
Scott Nearing  
Foster

We have seen no mention of any of  
these parties, except perhaps the first named, as hav-  
ing been the subject of investigation.

We have no evidence before us, and  
are merely doing this with the idea of assisting your  
department.

Yours very truly,

*Wm. Johnson*  
NOV 20 1919

186233-13-218

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 18 [Washington, D.C. to Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 7 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Caminetti summarizes Berkman's deportation case for Louis Post. He refutes Harry Weinberger's legal arguments and explains why the anti-anarchist law is constitutional.

Notes: Two handwritten notes by Post. For enclosure, see 830214033.

52410/43

November 18, 1919.

In re ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

This alien was first arrested on warrant of the Department dated July 21, 1917, which warrant was supplanted by one dated September 5, 1919, issued under the provisions of the Act of October 16, 1918, commonly referred to as the "Anarchist" act. This latter warrant, which was served upon alien in the United States Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, on September 20, last, contained the following charges: (1) That he has been found advocating or teaching anarchy; (2) that he has been found teaching the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; (3) that he is an alien anarchist; (4) that he believes in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; (5) that he believes in the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law; (6) that he advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; (7) that he advocates the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law; (8) that he advocates the assassination of public officials; (9) that he teaches the assassination of public officials; (10) that he disbelieves in all organized government; and (11) that he is an opponent of all organized government.

At the outset of the hearing, Berkman refused to be sworn, but indicated a willingness to affirm to the correctness of his testimony, stating that he considered that he was "morally" bound to tell the truth by reason of his affirmation and that "morally binding is more to me (him) than legally binding." He testified that he was born in St. Petersburg, now Petrograd, Russia, and first came to the United States in the year 1898, having left the country on one occasion only since originally entering same, this having been in the year 1907, when he went into Canada on a "lecturing tour." Aside from answering a very few questions as to the time of his arrival in the United States, and giving a brief family history, he refused to answer questions put to him by the examining officers, but early in the course of the hearing he introduced into the record a written statement which he had prepared, reading as follows:

The purpose of the present hearing is to determine my "attitude of mind." It does not, admittedly, concern itself with my actions, past or present. It is purely an inquiry into my views and opinions.

I deny the right of anyone -- individually or collectively -- to set up an inquisition of thought. Thought is, or should be, free. My social views or political opinions are my personal concern.

(over)

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

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43

Berkman

Held for  
Conference,  
Meanwhile  
notify alien's  
att. to appear  
for consideration  
as per his brief  
This demands  
letter & lly  
Secretary  
Nov 20/1919. J.F.

145

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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52410/43

-2-

owe no one responsibility for them. Responsibility begins only with the efforts of thought expressed in action. Not before. Free thought, necessarily involving freedom of speech and press, I may tersely define thus: No opinion a law, no opinion a crime. For the Government to attempt to control thought, to prescribe certain opinions or proscribe others, is the height of despotism.

The proposed hearing is an invasion of my conscience. I therefore refuse, most emphatically, to participate in it.

Mr. Berkman's indisposition to answer questions material to the issues involved which were put to him by the examining officers (although, it is to be noted, he answered some questions, rather leading in character, which were put to him by his counsel) necessitated the examining officers making reference to his numerous writings on the subject of anarchy, and kindred subjects, and of reading extracts from these writings, his speeches, etc., into the record. These extracts, taken from his work entitled "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," from his anarchistic bulletin "The Blast," of which he was the proprietor and editor for several years, from the "Mother Earth" bulletin (published by Emma Goldman), etc., clearly show the man under arrest to be an anarchist, of the revolutionary and criminal type, who has imposed his personality upon the weak minds of ignorant foreigners who come to this country, and who has instilled into them the doctrines of anarchism by his writings, by his lectures, and by his personal association with them. The activities of this man along anarchist lines are matters of common knowledge throughout the breadth and length of this land. It seems unnecessary to repeat, in this memorandum, the extracts which have been read into the record from Mr. Berkman's writings, particularly from his "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," and from his publication "The Blast" (most significantly named, as illustrated by some of the fiery articles to be found therein). The whole trend of the man's testimony, given before the examining officers at Atlanta, is a reflection of his anarchistic views, and is a defense of anarchists, of anarchistic principles, of the Soviet Government as it now exists in Russia, and, at several points, a frank admission that he is an anarchist. It is to be noted that in his writings he has never hesitated to refer to himself as an anarchist. The following extracts from Berkman's address to the jury which convicted him, with Emma Goldman, in the District Court of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Act of May 16, 1917, entitled "An Act to Authorize the President to Increase Temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," are particularly illuminating:

144 We stand here accused of being anarchists. A vain accusation! We are anarchists, and I for one am proud of being an anarchist, and I am sure I may say the same for my co-defendant Emma Goldman.

\* \* \* \* \*

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52410/43

-3-

But we, we anarchists, have reached the constructive stage, and we say to the nations, as we have said to the primitive man: Combine; work together; help each other; mutual aid shall be your condition of life.

\* \* \* \* \*

Gentlemen of the Jury, in looking over the testimony in this case it strikes me, and I am sure it will convince any man, that the District Attorney proved only one thing, and that is that we are anarchists. It did not need to be proven, Mr. District Attorney. We cheerfully, proudly admit that we are anarchists, that we are opposed to all capitalists, wars, that we believe in universal peace, that we believe in brotherly cooperation, in mutual aid, not only in the family and the tribe and the clan and the nation, but between all nations, between all humanity.

\* \* \* \* \*

Gentlemen of the Jury, we anarchists work to educate and enlighten. That is why we publish literature and seek to spread it.

\* \* \* \* \*

147 It is a question of whether we stand here indicted as guilty of conspiracy to induce people not to register, or whether the prosecution has tried to arouse your passions and prejudices against us as anarchists. That is the question. It is really anarchism that is on trial here, and I am glad it is, because it is well for you to know what anarchism is, since we are anarchists.

At the conclusion of Berkman's hearing at Atlanta, his counsel, Messrs. Weinberger and Castleton, were provided with a copy of the record and afforded unlimited opportunity to inspect all of the exhibits. Mr. Weinberger has now finally filed his brief in the case, and same will be found attached to the record hereunder. It is to be noted that he frankly confesses that the "Government's proof consisting of speeches and writings of said Alexander Berkman," is unquestionably sufficient to prove that his "social belief" is that of anarchism. This is a confession by alien's attorney that he [Berkman] is an anarchist. Neither the alien, nor his attorney, has made

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290



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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52410/43

-4-

the least endeavor to deny that he is such, or that he is guilty of each and every one of the charges which have been alleged against him in the Department's warrant of arrest.

The Act of October 16, 1918, provides that "aliens who are anarchists; aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; aliens who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; aliens who are members of or affiliated with an organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or that entertains or teaches disbelief in or opposition to all organized government, or that advocates the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, or that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property" . . . "shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917. The provisions of this Section shall be applicable to the class of aliens mentioned in this Act irrespective of the time of their entry into the United States."

It will be noted that counsel, in his brief, while not denying that Berkman is an anarchist, that he has been found advocating or teaching anarchy, that he has been found teaching the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all forms of law, that he believes in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, etc., deny the right "of the United States Government to deport an alien resident of this country for any opinion that he may hold, where said alien was properly admitted more than thirty years ago."

148 While it is true that Alexander Berkman was first admitted to the United States at or about the time he claims (and, presumably, this after complying with the requirements of the immigration law then in force), it is to be noted that his last entry was in the year 1907, and, being an alien, the period of his residence in the United States, for immigration purposes, dates back only as far as the year 1907. However, this point is not material; for the fact remains that, admittedly, he is an alien and admittedly also, he is an anarchist. As such, and by reason of his beliefs, teachings, and activities, he is clearly within the contemplation of the Act of October 16, 1918, which Act removed all restrictions as to the time within which aliens of the classes designated in said Act may be removed from the United States.

The authority of Congress over the general subject matter of immigration to the United States is plenary: it may exclude aliens altogether, or

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52410/43

-5-

prescribe the terms and conditions upon which they may come into or remain in this country. See *Bayina vs. Williams*, 232 U. S., at page 88, and decisions cited therein. The same question which is presented here, viz., the right of the Government to deport an alien who has resided within the United States for a long period of years, has had the attention of the courts in a number of cases. The Act of 1907 provided for the deportation from the United States, within the period of three years from the date of their entry, of aliens of certain classes. The Act of March 26, 1910, removed the time limit within which aliens of the immoral classes might be deported. The constitutionality of this Act has frequently been brought into question, and the substance of the decisions of the courts has been that the law in question was wholly within the power of Congress to enact, and the fact that an alien prostitute had resided in the United States for a longer time than the statutory period of three years provided by the Act of 1907 would not operate to remove her beyond the scope of the amendment (see, in this connection, *U. S. v. Weis*, 181 Fed., 160; *U. S. v. Lavoie*, 182 Fed., 943; *U. S. v. Williams*, 183 Fed., 904; *U. S. v. North German Lloyd*, 185 Fed., 158; and *U. S. v. Prentiss*, 182 Fed., 894, 185 Fed., 967). Particularly pertinent and significant is the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Bagajewitz v. Adams*, reported in 228 U. S., pages 585 - 591. This decision directly upheld the authority of Congress to remove the limitation upon the authority of the Government to deport as contained in the Act of 1907, and to declare that aliens whose presence in the United States is deemed hurtful may be deported therefrom, without regard to the length of time they have resided here. In this case, the question of the constitutionality of the Act of March 26, 1910 (which Act, as above stated, removed the three year limitation prescribed by the Act of 1907, in the cases of aliens of the immoral classes) was presented to the court. The following is quoted from the decision of the court:

"The attempt to reopen the constitutional questions must fail. It is thoroughly established that Congress has power to order the deportation of aliens whose presence in the country it deems hurtful. The determination by facts that might constitute a crime under local law is not a conviction of crime, nor is the deportation a punishment; it is simply a refusal by the Government to harbor persons whom it does not want."

149 Finding that the warrant charges against Berkman are amply sustained by the evidence submitted and adduced, by his own testimony, and by the admission of counsel, in his brief, the Bureau has respectfully to recommend that a warrant issue directing his deportation to Russia, at Government expense, such deportation to be accomplished at the earliest possible time. In this connection, you will note that counsel has requested that if Berkman is to be deported he be permitted to "choose the port of his sailing and the country to which he shall go." The attorney furthermore advises that Berkman is willing to pay his own expenses in leaving the country, and is, furthermore, willing to go to "France or Mexico or to

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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52410/43

-6-

be deported to Hamburg, Germany, the port from which he sailed to America."

The Bureau does not understand that Berkman is entitled to any choice in the matter; neither does the law vest it with authority to deport him to other than the country whence he came, or to that of which he is native. Attention is invited, in this connection, to photostat copy of letter just received from the Department of Justice, which letter was addressed to Mr. Berkman by Mr. Linn A. E. Gale, who is now in Mexico City, and is the editor and publisher of a revolutionary journal. This letter contains a cordial invitation to Berkman to remove to Mexico, where he will find a fertile field for the spread of revolutionary and anarchistic propaganda, and where he will have the enthusiastic backing of the Communist Party. For reasons which must be apparent, consent for Berkman to proceed to Mexico should not be given, and his deportation, if directed, should be to Russia. It will also be noted that counsel requests that if an order of deportation is issued against Berkman, he be allowed "three to six months to close up his personal affairs and business in this country." While doubtless Berkman is entitled to some time to close up his affairs here, the Bureau does not believe that his deportation should be delayed beyond such time as a sailing to Russia, or to some port from which Russia can be reached, is available. In this connection, it should be stated that arrangements are now being perfected whereby a number of Russian aliens, of the anarchist and kindred classes, will be deported from the port of New York in the very near future, and it is believed that Berkman should be included in this number.

A. Caminetti  
Commissioner General.

*Deport Place & deportation  
determined by the  
Department of Justice  
Louis F. Post  
Assistant Secretary*

WJP\*REM

150

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293

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 18, Chicago [to] Maclay Hoyne [United] States Attorney [Department of Justice], Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett informs Hoyne where Goldman and Berkman will speak in Chicago and who is selling tickets.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Follow-up to 810331065.

10110-154  
26  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
102x

WFO-II 5503/60 November 18, 1919.

From: The Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.

To: Hon. Maclay Hoyne, States Attorney,  
7. Austin Ave. & N. Dearborn St.,  
Chicago, Illinois.

ATTENTION AT. OFFICE OF MAJ. B.

SUBJECT: EMMA GOLDMAN-ALEXANDER BERNSTEIN MEETING, NOVEMBER 20th,  
1919.

(No DMI File No.)

1. Reference ours of November 14, concerning EMMA GOLDMAN-ALEXANDER BERNSTEIN MEETING, at Car Men's Hall, Chicago, on November 29, 1919.

2. Circulars are being distributed to advertise, in addition to the above, a meeting on Sunday, November 30th, at 8 P.M., subject "DEPORTATION," at the Argon Grotto Temple, 741 So. Tabash Ave.

3. These circulars state "ADMISSION by Ticket Only - For Sale now at:

Clarion Book Store, 204 North Clark Street,  
Radical Book Store, 867 North Clark Street,  
Workers' Institute, 1006 So. Ashland Blvd.,  
National Socialist Institute, 3322 Douglas Blvd.,  
Bonds Restaurant, 1406 So. Fedzie Ave.,  
Bernstein's Book Store, 2738 W. Division St. "

THOMAS B. CROCKETT,  
MAJ. B. DEANLEY.

1 VB-P  
no encl.

(Copy to D.M.I.  
" " Major Strasse.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 18, Chicago [to] Aryan Grotto Temple, Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].—  
1 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

**Summary:** Crockett attempts to keep the owners of the Aryan Grotto Temple from allowing Goldman and Berkman to speak there.

**Notes:** For response, see 810331068.

10110-134  
25  
102x

PII-II 6508/60 November 18, 1919.

**From:** The Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.

**To:** Aryan Grotto Temple,  
741 So. Wabash Ave.,  
Chicago, Illinois.

**SUBJECT:** EMMA GOLDMAN-ALEXANDER BERKMAN MEETING, NOVEMBER 30th,  
1919, ARYAN GROTTOT TEMPLE, 741 So. WABASH AVE., CHICAGO.

(No IMI File No.)

1. Circulars have come to our attention, which advertise a meeting in honor of EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN, to be held Sunday, November 30th, at Aryan Grotto Temple, 741 So. Wabash Ave.
2. Your attention is called to the fact that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman have both completed prison terms because of anti-American activities, and are now facing deportation as Anarchist Aliens.
3. It is our opinion that there has been a mistake in their advertisements, and it is requested that you inform us as to the correctness of our information, that the November 30th meeting will be held in the Aryan Grotto Temple.

DVB-P  
no encl.

THOMAS B. CROCKETT,  
Major, INFANTRY.

Copy to P.M.I.  
" " Major Strauss.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 19, Chicago [to] Maclay Hoyne [United] States Attorney [Department of Justice], Chicago / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].— 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett informs Hoyne that the Aryan Grotto Temple has withdrawn permission for Goldman and Berkman to speak there.

Notes: For related documents, see 810331065 through 810331069.

DIO-II  
5508/60

November 19, 1919.

CAPTAIN SNOW  
M. I. 4

From: The Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.

To: Hon. Maclay Hoyne, State's Attorney;  
Criminal Court Building, Chicago.

Subject: Emma Goldman-Alexander Berkman Meeting, Nov. 30.

Attention Mr. George Kenney.

1. Reference ours, November 14 and November 18, concerning Emma Goldman-Alexander Berkman meeting at Car Men's Hall, Chicago, November 29, and meeting at the Aryan Grotto Temple, November 30.

2. We are informed that the Aryan Grotto Temple has canceled the lease and has refused permission to hold the meeting in their temple November 30.

3. There is enclosed circular by Emma Goldman and circular by Alexander Berkman concerning deportation action against them, which circulars are being distributed by the Radical Book Shop, 867 North Clark Street, Chicago.

Thomas B. Crockett,  
Major, Infantry.

DVB.H.

Encls.

(2 circulars by Emma Goldman  
12 " " Alex. Berkman.

✓ Copy to D. H. I.

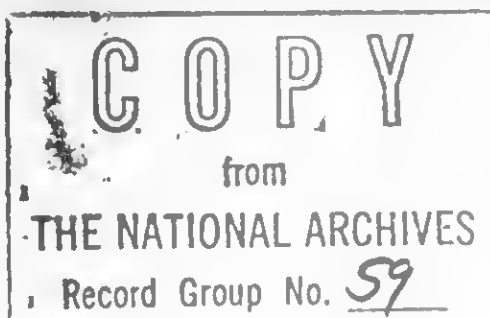
" " Major Strauss.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 19, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence] 4 [War Department]. — 5 p. ; 36 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Military Intelligence's weekly situation report includes a progress report on Goldman's deportation.



General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and  
the Chief Special Agent  
File No. 504-69

See Nov 12 1919

C O N F I D E N T I A L .

WEEKLY SITUATION SURVEY FOR WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 19, 1919.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, GENERAL STAFF,

SECTION M. I. 4.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 19, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence] 4 [War Department].— 5 p. ; 36 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Military Intelligence's weekly situation report includes a progress report on Goldman's deportation.

**COPY**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and  
the Chief Special Agent  
File No. 504-69

## RESUME

Page 1

### RADICAL ACTIVITIES

The I. W. W. Conspiracy in Washington,	2
Public Reprisals against the I. W. W.,	2
Arrests in New York,	3
Ludwig Martens before the Lusk Committee,	4
Proceedings against Radical Leaders,	6
Convention of Finnish Socialists,	8
Political Showing of Radicals,	8
The Labor Party,	9
Victor Berger again Candidate for Congress,	11
Attitude of Farmers,	11
The Attorney General's Estimates,	11
Anti-Radical Legislation,	12

### LABOR UNREST

Coal Strikes,	14
The Steel Strike,	14
Strikes Ended,	17
Strikes Continuing,	18
New Strikes,	19
Strikes Threatened,	20

### RETURNING SOLDIERS

The American Legion,	22
The "Dugout",	22

### CONDITIONS IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

The Posts and Camps,	23
Radical Propaganda among the Soldiers,	23

### NEGRO SUBVERSION

I. W. W. Activities among Negroes,	24
Radical Publications distributed among Negroes,	24
Aftermath of the Arkansas Riots,	25

### IRISH ACTIVITIES

26

### FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Mexico,	27
Germany,	27
Brazil,	28
Peru,	28

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 19, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence] 4 [War Department]. — 5 p.; 36 x 21 cm.

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the Chief Special Agent  
File No. 504-69

## RESUME.

Two hundred I. W. W.'s suspected of complicity in the murder of war veterans at Centralia, Washington, are held in various cities of the Northwest. Public reprisals against the I. W. W. throughout the country are reported.

Test cases are to be made of two radical leaders arrested in New York during the series of raids directed against the Communists. There have been further disclosures relating to the Union of Russian Workers. Ludwig Martens has been forced, under process of attachment, to testify before the Lusk Committee with respect to the operations of the Russian Soviet Bureau. Proceedings against various radical leaders continue.

The Finnish Socialist Federation held its sixth annual convention in Chicago. Late reports show that the Socialist Party has gained voting strength in a number of states, while losing in others. A National Labor Party ticket is to be nominated. Victor Berger has been again nominated for Congress by the Socialists. Two Farmers' Congresses have repudiated labor and radical overtures.

The Attorney General has outlined difficulties in the way of deportation of foreign radicals, and urged upon Congress the necessity for anti-radical legislation.

The Coal and Steel Strikes are still unsettled. The Coal Strike continues in effect against the orders of the officials of the United Mine Workers, pending inability of the miners and operators to come to terms. It is estimated that about a third of the striking miners have returned to work. It is estimated that about 70% of the steel workers have returned, and corresponding production has been attained. Thirty-eight strikes, involving about 60,000 men, are reported as ended. One hundred thirty-eight strikes, involving about 640,000 men, are reported as continuing. Fourteen new strikes, involving about 7,000 men, are reported. Forty-one strikes, involving about 600,000 men, are threatened.

The American Legion has begun an aggressive crusade against I. W. W. and other radicals as a result of the murder of veterans on Armistice Day. Sidney R. Flowers, editor of the "Dugout", has been indicted on a charge of criminal syndicalism.

Conditions in the posts and camps are reported to be normal. Radical propaganda is being circulated among soldiers on strike duty.

William D. Haywood is the guiding spirit behind the I. W. W. activities among the negroes. Distribution of radical publications among the negro population continues undisturbed. Various radical negro organizations are attempting to stay execution of the negroes implicated in the Arkansas uprising.

Eamonn de Valera's second trip across the United States is believed to be a disappointment to his followers; display of the flag of the "Sinn Fein Republic" has been denounced by the American Legion.

The Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, who headed a mission to purchase munitions for Mexico in Europe, was expected to leave Spain for Cuba, November 22d. The Mexican Socialist Party has refuted the report that radical members have formed a Left Wing Communist Party. The Germans are reported to be maneuvering for rehabilitation and revenge on England and France through Russia, where they are staking everything on Bolshevik success. The Brazilian government is encouraging the immigration of Austrian Army officers. There is an epidemic of strikes in Peru; the publication of all newspapers has been combined in the "Prensa Unida".

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 19, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence] 4 [War Department].— 5 p.; 36 x 21 cm.

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Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and  
the Chief Special Agent  
File No. 504-69

- 8 -

State Department.

## PROCEEDINGS AGAINST RADICAL LEADERS:

The case of Emma Goldman has gone to the Secretary of Labor in spite of her attorney's appeal that he needs a month more to produce evidence of her citizenship. The decision of the New York Immigration Authorities is understood to be that Miss Goldman is not a citizen, and the presumption is that an order for her deportation will shortly issue.

Charles E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of the Communist Party, after a seven days' trial in Cleveland on the charge of fomenting the May Day riots in that city, was found "not guilty". Ruthenberg must return to Cleveland, however, to face three charges of violation of the Ohio anti-syndicalist law.

Seven officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, including the organizing executives of the Chicago area, have been indicted before the Grand Jury in Chicago. They are charged with blackmail and extortion in "protecting" clothing manufacturers from strikes.

## CONVENTION OF FINNISH SOCIALISTS:

The Finnish Socialist Federation, representing a membership claimed at 15,000, has just held its sixth national convention in Chicago. There were 42 delegates in attendance from all parts of the country. The Finns are by far the most radical racial group in America; they claim that over half of their number are actively associated with the Socialist, Communist, or I. W. W. movements; they have had for ten years the best organized of all the foreign-language federations of the Socialist Party; they publish four daily papers in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, Duluth, Minn., Superior, Wis., and

Astoria, Oregon -- and several weeklies, one of which purports to be

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300

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 19, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence] 4 [War Department].— 5 p. ; 36 x 21 cm.

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the Chief Special Agent  
File No. 504-69

- 29 -

was held up for some time, but the strikers got out a small paper presenting their views. Later the leading newspapers combined and issued the "Prensa Unida", printed secretly by a dancing instructor who had once been a printer. The publishers have stated that they will flatly refuse to agree to the terms of the strikers, and it is questionable just how soon and how fully the old papers can again be published.

One of the features of the strike situation has been the filing of a large number of claims by Chinese firms, based on injuries due to the strikes. The Chinese Minister has submitted a pamphlet setting forth all of these claims, which involve about two million sales.

las.

Wrisley Brown,  
Lieut. Colonel, U. S. Army,  
Chief, Foreign Influence Section.

- 29 -

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301

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 19, Chicago [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan cannot find Jacob Kersner's death certificate and suggests he may have used an alias. He notes that the Chicago Police Department last heard of Kersner in 1909.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. Reply to 880606207.

### Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.

P.O. BOX 455,

Chicago, Illinois.

November 19, 1919.

FRANK BURKE, ESQ.,  
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: In re: EMMA GOLDMAN

Referring to your recent telegram with reference to EMMA GOLDMAN, in which you request certified copy of certificate of the death of JACOB KERSNER, her former husband, I beg to advise you that a careful search has been made of the records of deaths, in the Department of Health as well as in the County Clerk's office of Cook County, but no record could be found of any such name as JACOB KERSNER.

SERGEANT WAKE MILLS of the Anarchist Squad of the Chicago Police Department was interviewed in this matter and stated that he last heard of KERSNER about 1909 at which time the latter was still alive. SERGEANT MILLS could not state when or where JACOB KERSNER died.

The records of the City Health Department are fairly accurate and had JACOB KERSNER died in Chicago, there would undoubtedly be a record of same.

It is not improbable that KERSNER at the time of his death may have been using some other name.

If you can furnish more information as to the year or place of death of KERSNER, I will then have another search made of the records.

Yours very truly,

Division Superintendent.

PPM-MS

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

When Emma Goldman's lawyer says... — 21 cm. In [Philadelphia Inquirer (Nov. 19, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

**Summary:** The Philadelphia Inquirer asserts that it is impossible to prejudice the public against Goldman any more.

**Notes:** For related document, see 880606214.

Philadelphia, Inquirer

Nov. 19-1919

— When Emma Goldman's lawyer says Attorney General Palmer's statement is an attempt to "prejudice the mind of the public against his client" he is talking nonsense. There's nothing any one could say that would prejudice the public mind more against Emma Goldman than it is at present.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Get Those Behind Them — 21 cm. In [New York Telegram (Nov. 20, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The *New York Telegram* lauds Attorney General Palmer's report on Goldman and Berkman and argues that the government should move against their supporters.

Notes: Barely legible. For Palmer report, see 810206085.

*New York Telegram*

*Nov. 20 - 1919*

## GET THOSE BEHIND THEM.

In reply to a long delayed and very pertinent question, put by the United States Senate to the Department of Justice, as to what has been done to deport Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, a record of the activities of the woman and the man has been furnished.

This dossier—blessed word that, sacred to the celebrated Dreyfus case—containing among other details the confession of Leon Czolgosz, assassin of President McKinley, as to the influence of the woman over him; her eulogy of Gaetano Bresci, who assassinated the King of Italy, and her characterization of the Los Angeles dynamiters as martyrs, will satiate the general public. This is not a libel of her activities since she arrived here from Russia in 1901.

June 15, 1917, Goldman and Berkman were arrested in New York for obstructing the draft through the instrumentality of "Mother Earth," the "Blast" and the literature of the "No Conscription League." And they are still here and out of jail.

Startling as the dossier is, it is incomplete. It should contain the names of those through whose influence Goldman and Berkman have been permitted to remain in this country.

It is no use theatrically lopping off and burning a few of the visible branches of criminal anarchy and leaving the roots.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 20 [Washington, D.C. to Thomas B. Crockett, Department] Intelligence Officer, Central Department [War Department], Chicago / [Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department]. — 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Churchill tells Crockett where Goldman and Berkman are meeting on November 29, 1919.

RTJ

10110-154  
10668-425  
M. I. 4  
10110-154  
31  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
1919

November 20, 1919.

102

From: The Director of Military Intelligence.  
To: Intelligence Officer, Central Department, Chicago.  
Subject: Goldman-Berkman Reception.

A translation from an item from the foreign-language newspaper "Der Kampf" of November 14th is quoted for your information.

"Chicago, Ill.

Reception for Goldman-Berkman Saturday eve, November 29th in Carmens Hall, cor. Van Buren and Ashland Sts."

H. Churchill,  
Brigadier General, General Staff.

By

Robert T. Snow  
Robert T. Snow,  
Captain, Infantry.

eb

QAL ✓

## The Emma Goldman Papers

880606222

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] Todd Daniel [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Philadelphia / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke forwards a newspaper article describing Goldman and Berkman's upcoming Philadelphia banquet.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For related document, see 880606223.

15-446  
OFFICE

November 20, 1919.

Todd Daniel, Esq.,

Room 4481,

Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sir:-

I am enclosing herewith photostat copy of an article which appeared in the "Day", a Jewish newspaper published in Philadelphia, relative to a banquet for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman at the Continental Hotel on the 14th of November.

This is submitted to you for your general information.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Director and Chief.

Encl.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] J. Washington L[a?]gue, Philadelphia / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 23 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke thanks Lague for sending information about Goldman's plans in Philadelphia.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For related document, see 880606222.

OFF: LEB

November 20, 1919.

J. Washington Lague, Esq.,

1818 Stephen Girard Building,

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dear Sir:-

By reference from Mr. Garven this Bureau is in receipt of your communication of the 18th instant, enclosing copy of article which appeared in the "Day", a Jewish newspaper published in Philadelphia, relative to a banquet given for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman at the Continental Hotel, Friday, November the 14th.

This matter will be given appropriate attention.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Director and Chief.

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307

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 21 [Washington, D.C. to] H.S.J. Sickel, Philadelphia / R[obert] P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: Stewart thanks Sickel for his information, which he has turned over to the Bureau of Investigation.  
 Notes: Reply to 891216033.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

GFR:KMB

186233-13-815

November 21, 1919

H. S. J. Sickel, Esq.,  
 14 South Broad Street,  
 Philadelphia, Pa.

Sir:

The Department acknowledges with thanks  
 your communication of the 12th instant, relative to  
 banquet to be given Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman  
 at the Continental Hotel, Philadelphia.

This matter has been referred to the Bureau of  
 Investigation for appropriate attention.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

(Signed) R. P. Stewart

Assistant Attorney General.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 21 [Washington, D.C. to M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Buffalo, N.Y. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke instructs Blackmon to get affidavits from Jacob Kersner's family regarding his death and his marriage to Goldman.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

15446

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6008

November 21, 1919.

BLACKMON,

Federal Building,

Buffalo, N. Y.

Secure at once from family JACOB KERSNER, husband of Emma Goldman, affidavits as to exact time and place of his death. Am advised that he died in Chicago in December nineteen eighteen from flu. Suggest that you communicate with Chicago for exact information so same can be incorporated in affidavits. Affidavits should also state that the said Kersner was at one time husband of Emma Goldman. Wire results of your efforts in this matter. Five. Stop.

BURKE, Chief.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Anarchism — Emma Goldman, N[ew] Y[ork] 1919 Nov. 21 / B.  
 B. [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Undercover agent B.B. describes a dinner in honor of Kate Richards O'Hare, at which  
 Goldman and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn spoke.  
 Notes: Broken type; light copy.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

SCL.

REPORT MADE AT: B-3.	PLACE WHERE MADE: NY City.	DATE WHEN MADE: Nov. 21, 1919.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Nov. 17, 1919.
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: In Re: Anarchism. Emma Goldman.			
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, DATES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC. <p>To-night I attended a dinner given by the Kate Richards O'Hare Committee, at Conferonia. Emma Goldman was the principal speaker. Among other things she said, "that labor should make an organized demand for the release of Kate Richards O'Hare, and other political prisoners. In referring to the various revolutionary organizations she said, "the time for hair splitting has passed." We must all stick together, and our enemies be damned". There was a collection taken and Emma Goldman made an urgent appeal for generous donations. Miss Goldman said, "that the officials of the Jefferson City State Prison were afraid to punish or reprimand her or Kate Richards O'Hare. She said, "that this prison was hell." Dante could not picture an inferno so horrible. She referred, to the Department of Justice as the Department of Injustice.</p> <p>Elizabeth Gurley Flynn also spoke. She said that an agent of the Department of Justice told her that the Department had made three classes of revolutionists. Aliens whom they would deport, citizens whom they would imprison and those of nervous temperament, whom they would place in a lunatic asylum. There were about 200 persons at the dinner. The charge was \$1.25 per plate. I was seated at the table with two young women, and a young man. The young women censured the public schools and other institutes of education in the United States.</p> <p>I received a telephone call to-day from Mrs. Sloane. She said, that she did not want to have anything to do with the dinner at Conferonia to-night. She inquired as to whether or not I intended to attend the dinner Wednesday for S. Hartman.</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:			

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310



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 21, Chicago [to unknown recipient] / Cassius V. Cook.—  
1 p.; 33 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Cook announces a banquet for Goldman and Berkman in Chicago on December 1, 1919. Speakers will discuss amnesty for political prisoners.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 880606270.

1117 Harris Trust Bldg.,

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 21, 1919.

Dear Comrade:-

You and your friends are invited to avail yourselves of the opportunity, which may never occur again, of meeting Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman at the Hotel Morrison, Monday evening, December 1st, 1919, at an Amnesty Banquet and Reception. All political, industrial or other war-time prisoners present in the city and their friends are asked to come.

There will be gathered here doubtless most of the intense individuals and highly interesting characters that Chicago contains, who are concerned about the problems that are now victimizing, not only the flower, but the common stock of people who constitute the human race.

The realization that the very organizations in whom the bulk of the world's population put the most faith, have slaughtered about seven million men, have seriously injured as many again, and have starved to death twice as many more--including women and children--and also having crammed in prisons to overflowing, this realization I say, that faith in these organizations is the greatest danger and evil from which the world suffers or can suffer exists only in the minds of a very very few.

Emma Goldman and Berkman have steadily possessed this realization. They were among the most notable of the many millions of victims of these organizations that are responsible for the world's widest disorder and most gigantic violence known to history. But the faith of the people still persists that these organizations are the ones which maintain order, liberty, justice and prevent violence. Only in Russia has that faith been generally and seriously shaken.

Come to this Banquet and meet the leading minds in America that possess the foregoing realization. Come and participate in planning the best ways and means to further this movement of urging amnesty for all war-time prisoners--victims of these allied organizations--of which our own government is the most unrelenting and merciless. Noted P.D.V.

Come and hear some of the more intimate facts about Jefferson City Prison where the staunch spirit of Kate Richards O'Hare is surrounded by steel and stone; and of Atlanta City Penitentiary, where that "Grand Old Man of the New Time" - Eugene V. Debs--is suffering for the expression of his opinions--and will suffer until his life is snuffed out unless amnesty is granted.

Expression of lack of faith in organizations that assume to govern you without your consent is now punished by deportation or as sedition. The new heresy laws are here and persecution is fast becoming a fad. The more the world suffers, the less clearly does it seem to realize that it is chiefly a victim of these very organizations which they, the people, in their blind faith believe are designed to preserve liberty and order.

There is great work yet for you to do in helping clarify the peoples mind. Come and help those who possess realization--who are undeceived--who have perchance helped to clarify your own mind, or you theirs, to solve this problem of education. This is your opportunity. It will afford you pleasure.

This is an occasion of a lifetime. You will long regret if you miss this meeting of unusual minds. The great Cameo Ball Room at the Hotel Morrison, seating up to six hundred, has been secured for this Amnesty Banquet. Plates are \$2 each, including tips. Reservations must be made on or before Sunday, November 30th. An emergency provision will take care of twenty or thirty out-of-town visitors--not more. Phone Lawndale 228; Com.

Write for your reservations now. Also enclose check if you can. Admission to the banquet is by ticket only--open 6 P.M., Supper at about 7 P.M. An immensely interesting and satisfying program of musical numbers and speaking begins at 8:30. Come early and meet the comrades. Bring all the friends you can.

Note, Sun. night meeting at Aryan Grotto Temple has been cancelled. Lectures delivered Sun. Afternoon West Side

Cordially and Sincerely yours

CASSIUS V. COOK, for Committee

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 22 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke sends Brennan the approximate date of Jacob Kersner's death.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

JHX-370

CODE

November 22, 1919.

Brennan,

Federal Building,

Chicago, Ill.

Have been advised by Buffalo office JACOB KERSNER died  
Chicago hospital December nineteen eighteen. Am requesting  
Buffalo to communicate with you direct. Five. Stop.

BURKE, Chief.

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312

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 22 [Washington, D.C. to M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Buffalo, N.Y. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke asks Blackmon to send information on Jacob Kersner to the Chicago office to help them find his death certificate.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

JM-470

CODE

November 22, 1919.

Blackmon,

Federal Building,

Buffalo, N. Y.

~~Re Chicago letter of November 19, 1919.~~

Chicago office reports no record Jacob Kersner's death December nineteen eighteen. Communicate direct with Chicago supplying additional information. Matter of utmost importance and should be expedited at once. Five. Stop.

BURKE, Chief.

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313



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 22, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Barkey plans to send agents to Goldman and Berkman's meetings in Detroit, but notes that the American Legion may prevent them from speaking.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For coded version, see 880606229.

11th St. govt

Detroit, Mich. November 22, 1919.

Barkey,

Re Detroit Justice.

Washington

(probably same)  
Re Goldman is to speak by Sunday and Alexander  
Berkman (probably Berkman) Wednesday. City authorities  
have given permission. I will cover both with agents  
and stenographers. Please wire if you have any special  
instructions. The American Legion is active and may  
obtain injunction.

Burkey

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 22, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p. ; 25 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Dark copy. Coded version of 880606230.

18wa 51 gvt

Detroit, Mich. November 22, 1919

Burke,

Department Justice.

Washington

Ontoey Siventyty is te ganged by guardedly and remanetise hexocbtepy  
Jural period Stelens satyrs have given decimal period I will thrilled  
airmark with regressively and globose period please wire if you have  
any special instructions period the reshipment vouraiyy is active  
and may obtain protean period.

Barkey

12 32 P.M.

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315

000000231

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 22 [Washington, D.C. to Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Detroit, Mich. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke instructs Barkey to take notes at Goldman's speeches and find out where she is going next.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Reply to 880606230.

JHB-GFO

CODE

November 22, 1919.

Barkey.

Even Building.

Detroit, Mich.

Summed November twenty-second re Alexander Berkman  
and Emma Goldman. Have speeches taken stenographically.  
Inquire next stopping place on tour. Five. Stop.

BURKE, Chief.

Noted  
J.D.V.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on] Amnesty for Political Prisoners, Autoworkers' Union Hall, Detroit, Mich. / Emma Goldman. — 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript]. — 20 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** Government stenographers provide what purports to be a verbatim account of Goldman's speech on amnesty for political prisoners, given in Detroit on November 23, 1919.

**Notes:** For other speeches at same event, see 810930189 and 880606232.

AUTOWORKERS' UNION HALL, DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

SUNDAY EVENING, EIGHT O'CLOCK.

NOVEMBER TWENTY-THIRD, NINETEEN-NINETEEN.

ADDRESS OF EMMA GOLDMAN ON "AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS."

*7/17/21*  
(Mr. Taylor acted as chairman of the meeting).

Reported by Donaldson, Connolly & Whitman,  
702 Majestic Building,  
Detroit, Michigan.

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317

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on] Amnesty for Political Prisoners, Autoworkers' Union Hall, Detroit, Mich. / Emma Goldman, — 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript]. — 20 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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MR. TAYLOR: I hardly know what to say in introducing the next speaker. I don't think it is necessary to say anything. You know her. You know what she stands for. (Applause).

The thing that is worrying me is this: When the United States Government wanted to detain Emma Goldman as their guest, they never raised the question of their right to throw her into prison, whether she was a citizen or not; but now that she has served her time, and she is out, there is a question in their minds of whether she is a citizen.

Now, the thing that is worrying me is this: If she was not a citizen, what right did they have to put her in prison; if she is a citizen, what right have we to deport her. It seems to me that the two things are not consistent. I do not care which the officials do, but I do understand if she is given her choice of going back to soviet Russia, rather than to Kolchak, she is perfectly willing to go. (Applause).

That reminds me, a big real estate man in this town who has gotten tainted with some of this stuff came to me today and he said, "Mr. Taylor, I do not understand this stuff. A man came in my office the other day, and do you know what he had in his hand?" Now, this man is an electrical engineer. He had with him a request that he be sent to Russia as an electrical engineering expert. He said, "What in the thunder does anybody want to go to Russia for".

Not only are radicals looking to Russia,



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but there is a big crowd of men who are looking to Russia. I do not know, maybe they think it is a good place to develop (laughter). It is developing a little faster than some think, or thought it was going to develop, and I suppose that if Emma gets over there it will still progress a little bit faster.

But she is here to tell you tonight about the prisons and prison reforms.

EMMA GOLDMAN: (Applause).

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MRS. GOLDMAN: Mr. Chairman, and friends:

Those of you who have not been in prison, have no idea what it means to face a large audience after twenty months of comparative seclusion from human association. You will never know what it means, particularly to the man or woman who went to prison for an ideal — whether it be political or industrial freedom — what it means to them to face an audience, to have the feeling that they are among their own kind, that they may look into familiar and sympathetic faces.

Fifty or seventy-five years ago, under the Czar, when the great Russian idealist and pioneers went to prison for their ideals, they must have felt as Debs and Kate Richard O'Hare, and hundreds of others, including Berkman and myself have felt in prison, namely, not so much the physical brutality, not so much the terrible persecutions which go on in prisons, but the utter spiritual isolation; the fact that the ordinary criminal, so-called, has no understanding for your ideals, and certainly has no point of contact with you; that you are isolated away from all those who mean something in your life. That is the greatest hardship imposed upon the political or as our friend Margolis said, industrial prisoners.

Until the time of the arrival of one of the very great women America has produced, Kate Richard O'Hare (applause) — until her arrival in the Missouri State Penitentiary where I had the honor to be taken care of for twenty months, the hardest thing to bear, the most

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difficult thing to endure was the separation from people, from kindred spirits, from men and women who had ideals, social views, a cause, a purpose in life — that is the greatest hardship and torture for the political prisoner. That is what the great pioneers of the past in Russia must have felt when they were first sent to Siberia or to the different prisons of Russia.

Later on, when the number of political prisoners increased, their life was even more intense, in a measure richer, in prison than outside of prison; and if conditions continue as they have during the last ten or fifteen years in the United States, I think that the American prisons will be filled with political and industrial prisoners. I think that their life will be more intense in prison than outside of prison.

So, you understand why it is a great event in my life to be here tonight and to speak to you, and to look into your faces; for while I know there are some people who consider themselves my enemies, I know there are many more people who consider themselves my friends. (Applause).

Something like seventy years ago a very great Russian writer by the name of Dostojewski wrote on the wall of his prison cell — he was sent to Siberia for political opinions — a very remarkable sketch, a sketch of the devil and a priest.

The priest visited the devil and the devil said to him,

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"Hello you fat man. Do you still go about the world preaching hell after death?

Don't you know that there is hell on earth?

I will show you different hells on earth."

So the devil took possession of the priest, and first of all took him to an iron foundry, where they saw men almost naked, in suffocating heat, working with all their strength forging iron. The priest said,

"Let me out. I am suffocating here. I cannot endure it."

But the devil said, -

"You are suffocating here, yet you go on preaching hell after death. Don't you think this is hell enough?"

And the devil said, "I will show you another hell. I will take you to the hovels, the vermin eaten hovels of the poor, of the outcast, of the unfortunate human beings; I will show you how they live."

And he took him to those terrible hovels and the priest again said, -

"I cannot endure this. This is hell."

And the devil replied, "Do you think that your hell is anything at all like the one you see here? But I will show you still another hell."

And the devil took the priest to a prison, and to the dungeon of the prison. There were many men and women in tatters on the floor, without a mattress, without blankets, without any protection. The cells were vermin



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eaten, and the men and women looked more like beasts than human beings.

And the priest said, "No, there is no hell after death. This is the worst hell that man has created for his fellow-men."

That, friends, was written seventy years ago; but if you think that in our free country, in the year of our Lord, 1919, conditions in prison have changed, you are mistaken. It is quite true that apparently on the surface, some changes have been made, but nothing that Berkman or I could describe could quite do justice to the terrible conditions which prevail in different prisons of this so-called free country.

I, too, when I was sent to the State Penitentiary of Missouri had had some experience before. The United States Government, or some of the States at any rate, showed me hospitality before. I have often said since this talk of deporting me began, that if it is true, that endurance is the test of love, then I ought to have a very intense love for the United States. (Laughter) because the United States has put me to quite a test on a number of occasions. When I came to that prison it was not the first time; if I remain in America, I am sure it is not going to be the last time. (Laughter and applause).

I have also read extensively on prisons, on prison conditions, and on prison reform. I have written considerably about prisons, but I never realized as bad as the conditions are for men, that they should be so much worse

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for the female convict.

Some things have been done for the male prisoner; he may have a playground; he may have baseball; he may have a tennis court; he is a laborer; he has a number of things done for him.

But strange to say, in this free country, where the woman is to have greater freedom than even man, the conditions of the woman convict in the State of Missouri, are so abhorrent that it is unbelievable unless you have been there, and you have witnessed the conditions.

Nothing whatever is done to elevate the spiritual status of the female convict; nothing is done to send her out a better person than she was when she came to that prison; nothing is done to give her back her self respect, her dignity, her usefulness to society. The only thing that is being done in that prison for five thousand men, as well as women, is to work them nine hours a day, making their task, which is as much slavery as ever existed in America before the Civil War.

No recognition is taken of age, of physical endurance, or sickness, or of health. You have got to make the task; you have got to work nine hours a day, and produce a task of one hundred and twenty-one jackets, or eighty-eight jackets or sixty-six jackets, or fifty-five jackets, according to the amount of work that particular task requires.

While the warden who is a hired man, not a prisoner, does not carry the whip with him, while he does

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not use physical violence himself, he knows that he has the prison board to back him; he knows that if the women do not make the task, that they will be punished on bread and water, and while I speak here to you tonight, I want you to know that just a year ago about this time, an American woman, not an alien, not a foreigner, not a social rebel, but an unfortunate woman, who through some circumstance was thrown into prison, was literally starved to death during twenty-two days on bread and water because she could not make the task.

There are women in that prison at the age of sixty, and they must make the task.

*T. K. W.*  
Now, why must they make that task? I will explain it to you. In a number of States there is such a thing as convict and prison contract labor; the State gives to private manufacturers a contract to employ convicts. But the State of Missouri prides itself on the fact that the prison contract has been abolished, that the State is now the employer. The law which went into effect two years ago specifically provides that the State may produce only as much as can be sold in the State of Missouri. Yet I brought out, I struggled out proof to demonstrate the fact that the convict labor of Missouri is put on the competitive market, to compete with organized labor, and that the State of Missouri sells to every State in the Union, to private business men, store-keepers, and private employers. In order to be able to meet the demands, the State of Missouri has reintroduced chattel

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slavery.

That is not an exaggeration; that is a fact. The women are just as much slaves, driven and harassed and punished as the black man was and is to a large extent to this present day. Such a situation exists for the women. When you take into consideration that a woman enters prison in a very feeble and debilitated condition of health, that even at best, she cannot do the same amount of labor, physically at any rate, that a man can, when you bear in mind that she is harassed, almost driven to insanity going through her trouble and her shame and the anxiety before she gets to prison, you will realize what it means to drive these poor, God and man forsaken creatures, and compel them to make a task every day of the week. Why should the State of Missouri do that? The very first year that that law went into effect, the State of Missouri was able to increase the officials of the prison twenty thousand dollars, besides paying all expenses of the upkeep of the prison.

Do you suppose that this method of driving women, of exploiting them, of sweating them, has any effect on them? That it makes them better women, fit to take their place in society? If you think that, you are mistaken. If it were true that prisons reform, or prisons cure a man or a woman of tendency to crime, — supposing that there is such a tendency — why are crimes constantly on the increase? Why do people go back to prison, not a dozen times, but as many as forty and sixty times?



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Surely the prison has no reformatory or curative effect on the ordinary criminal whatever. On the contrary, the ordinary criminal has no social conviction, it is true. He knows nothing about the injustice inherent in our insane industrial system; he does not know why it should be that a man or a woman should be exploited, and have nothing in return;

But the men and women who are sent to the different prisons have something else which is by far more dangerous than any social viewpoint. They have a hate a burning hate; and I tell you, men and women, that there is nothing more dangerous in the world than ignorant hate, a hate that you do not know why, and whom, and what for.

These people do not hate the system; they know nothing about the system; but they hate the policeman who arrested them, they hate the detective who dragged them off to prison, they hate the judge, they hate the jailer, and their hate translates itself into a repeated demand; therefore, I insist, and I wish to impress upon your minds that all the prisons in the country have not the slightest effect upon reforming the so-called criminal.

As long as there is a cause for crime, you might build a prison on every street corner; you are not going to do away with crime. If you wish to do away with crime, it is not by putting people into prison, and lock them up like wild beasts, and torture them on bread and water, or whip them, or hang them up by the thumbs.

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That is not the way to cure them. If you wish to do away with crime, you must do away with the cause which creates crime, and the cause which creates crime rather, the causes which create crime consist of our economic injustice in society, and of the ignorance of the great mass of people as to their right in society. (Applause).

So, I want to impress upon your minds that you are not reforming the prisoner, that you are only adding to the cost and the expense of the community when you send a man or woman to prison.

Berkman said tonight that he has not met a real criminal. I will substantiate it. I will tell you that I met men and women who were there for all sorts of crime, including murder, and I have not met one criminal in the sense it is being interpreted by our law makers. They become criminals by circumstances, by conditions, by ignorance, by ever so many other factors. But they are human; they have sympathy; there is a greater solidarity, a greater helpfulness among the prisoners in prison than among a great many people outside of prison.

In the Missouri Penitentiary, if any one is locked up on bread and water in the dungeon, and you manage somehow to give them a piece of bread, he or she is taken out and you are put in their place; and yet every day the men and the women risk their own freedom, risk being put on bread and water, in order to help another prisoner. The feeling of helpfulness, really, christianity,

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the sentiment that you love your neighbor, exists among the criminals within the prisons today more than among many people outside.

So, in behalf of these unfortunate people I have left behind, I wish you to go away with the understanding that they are not criminals; that they have been made criminals by a heartless and merciless and cruel social arrangement in our life.

Know that once and for all, and then you will also come to the next step and will ask yourself the question that has been asked long ago: Is it not a fact that but for circumstances, a great many more people would be in prison? The truth is that there are any number of people who should be in prison if I believed in prisons at all; a great many successful thieves and robbers and burglars, who not only steal your pocketbook, but steal your very life, and your chance to produce, and your chance to live. They are greater criminals than any one in any penitentiary or state prison of the United States. (Applause)

As to the political prisoners or the industrial prisoners, does anyone believe that prisons reform them? Why, friends, I never was more of a revolutionist before I went to prison than I am now. I am not cured. I can grant you that, for in prison I saw day by day, hour by hour, the very evils which I have fought for thirty years in society on a larger scale.

The spirit of the revolutionist is never broken by prison. Berkman was nearly killed in Atlanta physically;

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he has been a sick man since he came out, and only the other day got up in order to meet, or to keep his engagement with the Detroit committee; but does any one suppose that the prison has squelched Alexander Berkman's spirit? If so, friends, I want you to know that his spirit is more aflame, he is more determined to go on in his work for the emancipation of the industrial class than he was before he was sent to prison. (Applause). Does any assume that a woman like Kate Richard O'Hare — not a foreigner, not an alien, a woman who can trace her ancestry far back in the past, and carry it farther back in the past than the matrons and the keepers and the jailers who are over her — a woman who comes of Revolutionary stock, a woman of courage and intelligence and ability, of a beautiful spirit, a mother of four children, who was put into prison for five years because she dared say that she was brought up on the American traditions that this is a free country and that if there is to be war, the people of the country shall decide and not a few — that was all that put Kate O'Hare in prison; she is in prison now; she is making her tack every day — do you suppose that breaks her spirit?

A marvelous thing happened when Kate Richard O'Hare's little boy, Dick came to the prison and asked the officials whether he could play for his mother and whether he could play for the other prisoners in the yard — he plays the cornet — and could he do that?



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And they said, "Oh, no, we could not allow it."

And so Dick who is 15 years of age, the head of his high school, a boy of American ancestry, he went across the prison, on the other side of the street and he played for his mother. (Applause). And I tell you that to these unfortunate criminals, these women who are forsaken by God and man, and who have no friend in the world, it was the greatest event in their lives. They wept; they felt that there was some human being near them who went to prison, not for her own benefit, not for her own privilege, but because she committed the most pardonable crime of all crimes, and that is, to love humanity too well.

What does Kate Richard O'Hare want? Does she want to be liberated? Does she send you a message to come to come to her aid?

No, no; she sends you the same message that Debs sends you. He sends you the message through me that as long as there is one industrial prisoner behind any prison bar of the United States, it is your duty to work and to propagate and to educate and to open the doors of these prisons and take out these prisoners. (Applause). She does not ask anything for herself; she asks only for all the other prisoners, and she asks only for some improvement of the condition of the unfortunate so-called convict whom society has named.

Why, friends, Kate Richard O'Hare has almost revolutionized that place. That is why they love her

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more than they loved me when I was in that prison.

When one of her friends asked her, "What shall we send you?" she answered, "nothing for myself; send me underwear for the women who are freezing while the State of Missouri is making twenty thousand dollars profit to increase the salaries of keepers; send me something for the prisoners to help me to sustain these prisoners."

So, Kate Richard O'Hare is doing what? Why, precisely the same thing she used to do when she was outside, carrying on propaganda. What are you going to do about it? Are you going to imprison her a second time? Are you going to send her to a dungeon? It is not going to do. It will nothelp. Do you know why? Because the truth will out. The truth will out. And a woman like Kate Richard O'Hare or a man like Eugene Debs, or like Alexander Berkman, or hundreds of others, when they go to prison, they go for an ideal. You may torture their bodies, you may break their limbs, but don't deceive yourselves, gentlemen of the law, do not deceive yourselves; do not go away with the idea that you will break their spirit. There is no power on earth, there is no power in Heaven or in hell that can break the spirit of a revolutionist, or of an idealist. (Applause). I know that from my own observation; from my own feeling.

I know that prisons are futile; and that punishment is a useless thing. You do not punish the socialist, you do not punish the ordinary criminal if you send him to prison. He goes back to you hating your institution, a thousand times more. You do not give him any means of

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making good in society; so after a man or a woman has been <sup>in</sup> ten or fifteen or twenty years you give him a rotten suit of clothes and five dollars and you expect him to make good on that money when he comes back, all of society closes its doors against that man and against that woman.

Can you realize that they are coming back hating you a thousand times more? Can you realize that they want to take revenge, and there is nothing more dangerous to a community than ignorant hate, and an ignorant revenge, so all your prisons might just as well be thrown into the ocean for all the good they have ever done, for all the reforms they have ever made on the common criminal.

As to the revolutionist, why, to expect that you are going to break the spirit of a Debs or of a Kate Richard O'Hare, or of a Bill Haywood, or the other political prisoners who are in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, or the industrial prisoners, is merely to deceive yourselves.

You make them more determined, you make them more revolutionary. They go out with the pledge that not as long as life is with them, not as long as they draw their breath shall their work cease.

So, friends, if I ask you, and add my plea to the plea of Berkman and Margolis, and others, that you shall free your political prisoners, it is not because I am afraid of their spirit, it is not because I am afraid they will despair, that they will lose faith, that they will go back on their ideals; no, indeed, it is because I am more interested in you who are outside the prison than

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those who are in prison. It is for their sake that the doors of the prison of this country must be opened.

Is America going to lag behind? Don't you know that every country of Europe has issued political amnesty? Don't you know that even in Germany political and industrial prisoners have been liberated? My God! Is America going to lag behind; is she going to call herself democratic, and at the same time keep men and women in prison for their opinion?

And, so, friends, it is not for Debs; it is not for Kate Richard O'Hare, it is not for the other fifteen hundred prisoners I plead; it is in your behalf. How can you and I be peaceful; how can we eat our meals; how can you and I go to bed every evening so long as men like Eugene Debs or women like Kate Richard O'Hare are in prison?

And so, I say to you tonight, that the prison has proven a failure. It hardens the ordinary criminal and it increases the incentive and fire and passion of the revolutionist. So, our slogan must be, "Open the door for all political and industrial prisoners." (Applause).

I am sure that we are going to do it, and I am sure that you are going to have it; for there is nothing more powerful in America than the field of public opinion. I tell you that the mighty and the powerful are not so much afraid of dynamite, not so much afraid of bombs; but they are afraid of an intelligent public opinion. They are afraid of the awakened intelligent public



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opinion of the working class; and therefore it is for you to create that opinion, and to demand that all industrial and political prisoners shall be set free.

But, there is also another reason. Those in power and those who have sent these men and women to prison, are under the impression that when they have taken away your leaders, if you please, why, then of course you will not go on with your work. And they seek to judge you by the old sheep which follow them. They seek to think that revolutionists are sheep. They do not know that if you take away the leaders of the revolutionists, the revolution will go on. I mean the revolution of mind, the revolution of thought and the revolution of economic conditions. You cannot stop a movement by putting a few people in prison; you cannot stop a movement by hanging them or quartering them. The Czar has tried all that, but look at the movement that is going on in Russia. (Applause).

Russians have become the symbol of the world. Russia has become the beacon or flame, and the rest of you, including America are following. Now, if the American law-makers and the American rulers want to have a situation in America as has taken place in Russia, by all means they should send us all to prison; but do not let them be deceived. Let them realize that out of every one who is sent to prison, and of every one who is put to death, a new flame, and a new thought, and a new symbol will arise, and if there is any change in America, let

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then not blame the revolutionist, let them not blame  
the I. W. W., let them not blame the anarchist, and  
Bolshevik, or whatever you call them, let them blame  
their own ignorance. (Loud cheers and applause).

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AUTOWORKERS' HALL - DETROIT, MICHIGAN

SUNDAY EVENING NOVEMBER 23,

1919 8'O'CLOCK

(A MR. TAYLOR ACTED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING)

MR. TAYLOR: Comrades and Friends: I suppose that you know that the hall downstairs is filled, and that we have turned away pretty nearly as many as we could pack in the two halls, which is some tribute to a couple of "jail-birds." (Laughter and applause)

It is a remarkable situation at which we have arrived: We are celebrating the release of people from the hospitality of my Uncle Sam (laughter) as we used to welcome them back from their little trips over into Europe to buy frocks in Paris (Laughter).

Before I go any farther I want to say that Mr. Berkman really did not expect to be here, and it was not until Thursday that he knew he would be able to take the trip, because one of the things that this curative treatment (laughter) in our sanitoriums and houses of correction, stokers, does to people is to put them in very good condition for operations the minute they come out of the place; (laughter) and Mr. Berkman is just out of one of them, and is just able to get down here tonight.

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Now, before I go any farther, before I say anything else I want to take off my hat and I want to pay my deepest respects to the police department and to the officials of this city (applause) for the protection that they are giving. (Long applause)

I suppose that most of you have followed the situation throughout the country. You know what has happened in cities no farther away than Cleveland, where a meeting like this would be impossible; you know what is happening down in Pennsylvania; what is happening over in Illinois. You know, where three men gather together on a street corner it is considered a public meeting and is charged by the Cossacks and broken up (laughter) in free America, and we still have our rights protected in this city.

I went down after that Democratic statement by the American Legion was published in the papers (boos and hisses) -- I went down on purpose to see Commissioner Inches. He was out of town and I saw Superintendent Rutledge, and he said to me, "Mr. Taylor, you seem to think that the Police Department in this town is not capable of handling the situation." I said, "No, not at all. Superintendent Rutledge; but here is a new situation and I just wanted to be sure that you had read it." He said, "Yes, we have read it and we have had several calls about it; but," he said, "I want to assure you that Commissioner Inches' policy of allowing free speech in this town has not been changed, and as far as I know will not be changed in the future." (Applause)



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Now, of course, the thing we have come together for tonight, primarily, I suppose, is to hear these people. I suppose if it were announced that we were going to have a discussion on the topic of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Scandinavia, and that it was going to be treated by Emma Goldman, we would pack the hall. It doesn't make any difference what the subject is just as long as you announce Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the people come flying. That is a tribute more, I suppose, to her personally, than anything else; of course we cannot get away from that. But, on the other hand, I do take it for granted that there is an enormous sentiment today in this country for at least a discussion, and probably for activity on the question of political prisoners.

Now, I know that is a contradiction in terms. In a free Republic you cannot have such a thing as a political prisoner; it is a contradiction; so you cannot have amnesty because there aren't any political prisoners. And yet, when a person is put into jail for expressing an opinion, not an untrue opinion, at the wrong time, why it comes dangerously near being a political prisoner. And we have not -- well, if we are not -- we do not do in free countries, that is -- we do not throw any bombs; we do not shoot people up, or all those horrible things that you read of in the FREE PRESS (Laughter and applause) But we simply express our views, and analyze the situation. We try to make it a scientific point of view.

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Now, you know, I never cared very much where I lived in the United States. I was born in Washington, which is not a State. I was born in the District of Columbia; I never had a vote. I was born there, raised there, and never had a vote. I had to go to New York to get a vote. I lived in New York for a while and then I came out to Detroit. Well, I never got so that I used to boast that I came from the best families of Washington, you know; that my ancestors dated back to the MAYFLOWER — I really believe that they did come from there. (Laughter) But that doesn't make any difference. They might as well have come over in a cattle ship (laughter) In fact, some of the best people in the country did come over in cattle ships (Laughter and applause)

Now, you fuss me. I am not used to that and I get all mixed up. I forget what I was talking about. (Laughter)

Well, I am not going to take any more of your time. I am sorry I haven't got one of these long-haired anarchists to introduce to you. Now this fellow (indicating Mr. Berkman) is not baldheaded. His forehead is just a little high; (Laughter) and I believe that he is to speak to you on the subject of the uselessness of putting these obstreperous, bald-headed fellows in jail in order to cure them.

It gives me great pleasure to introduce Alexander Berkman.

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MR. BERKMAN: Friends, I am glad to hear that in this city you have a chief or superintendent of police who believes in free speech. I must say that <sup>he</sup> is a very unusual man for a chief of police. (Laughter) I am glad to know that he believes in free speech; and as to the police in this city, and in this hall, I hope that they also believe as their chief does: That they believe free speech is the most necessary thing in any country; the most necessary thing and the most vital in this country today.

It was never so important as to have free speech; and so far as these policeman are concerned, individually and as a class, I am glad to have the opportunity, although it is not my subject, to say just one word to them.

I am glad that the police were never my friends, and I never looked for them, but they always looked for me. (Laughter) But I am glad that the police in various parts of the country are beginning to recognize that their interests are really the same as the interests of the working class. (Applause)

To me it was a very significant thing that the police in the city of Boston went on a strike in the common cause with the working class of this country. (Applause)

I have been in the labor movement in this country for thirty-two years, and this was one of the most hopeful, one of the most inspiring things in the whole history of the movement in this country, to see the police of a certain city

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beginning to realize their best interests; beginning to understand that they, after all, are the sons of the poor; that they are wage-slaves the same as the wage-slaves working in a factory; and that perhaps some of them realize that they are on the wrong side, that the proper side on which they should be is the side of the working class, to help the working class get better conditions, abolish the oppression and slavery, and come with the working class to help humanity become more decent, and to make this country and other countries better places in which to live.

This is what I want to say to the police. And now to my subject.

The subject is Prisons, and the Political Prisoners in connection with amnesty. Before I begin, I want to bring you the greetings of a man of whom you have all heard; a man a great many of you no doubt have met. I was happy enough, and lucky enough to have an opportunity to see and shake hands on the morning of my discharge from the prison at Atlanta on October 1st -- to shake hands with Eugene Debs. (Loud cheers and applause)

I shall not try to describe the emotions that either he or I experienced at that meeting within sight of the prison walls in the warden's office. Although I was happy to leave the place, yet I felt that my happiness was not complete if I had to leave behind me Debs and all the other political and industrial prisoners who are in Atlanta.

But Debs said to me, "When you are out, I feel as if I myself am out half-way." And he added this, which is very



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significant, "Tell the people, and tell my comrades, that I do not want any pardon for myself. Tell them that I will stay here until the last political prisoner leaves this prison; and not before will I go out." (Applause)

There are a great many political prisoners in the prisons of this country; a great many of them conscientious objectors, rebel soldiers, industrial prisoners, and socialists, anarchists, I.W.O.'s and so on all through this country in every prison, but a great many, especially, in the Atlanta Penitentiary. That is the Federal prison, one of the Federal prisons of this country at Atlanta, Georgia.

I want to say a few words about these political prisoners and the treatment they receive, but I feel that I owe in a certain sense, a duty to the so-called common prisoner; and before I speak of the political prisoners I want to say just a word to you about the common prisoner: the convict, the so-called criminal.

Most of you perhaps have some idea about what a political prisoner is, and why he is imprisoned; but very few people that I meet have any proper conception of the real criminal, and I am not sure that even the police — although they handle the so-called criminal daily — have a proper understanding of the criminal and of the things that go to make a crime. It is for that reason that I want to just say a word about him.

I have been associated with criminals the greater part of my life (laughter) in various places, but I have never

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found the real criminal yet. I have never found a man who is a so-called congenital -- the born criminal. I have found many unfortunates, burglars and big men -- men who blow safes; robbers, and second-story men, and so on; but I found that they were all human; just as human as you and I. I found there was absolutely no difference between you, the average man of the street and the average man in prison. Most of them are not the professional criminals that you perhaps imagine. The professional criminal knows the ropes too well, and the police will understand me when I say that they have "fall" money ready always to grease the wheels of justice. They seldom get into prison. The professional criminal is the exception in prison. The professional pick pocket; the safe blower, the "good" man as they call him -- the man that knows his business (laughter) -- he is seldom in prison; but the so-called criminal that I found in prison is the son of the working man, the young farmer, the man out of a job who burglarizes a house in order to support a starving family; the moon-shiner of the South, the man that believes that liberty means, also, that he may manufacture a little whiskey for himself. (laughter) In Pennsylvania, where I spent quite a number of years in the Western Penitentiary -- fourteen years -- and where I had several thousand of criminals, so-called, pass through my hands while I was receiving clerk for a while; even there I have not found a congenital criminal or real criminal. He does not exist; there is such a thing described, but there is no such thing as a criminal.

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There is such a thing as a law-breaker; a man who breaks a law, but don't confound these two things: A law-breaker is one thing; a criminal is a different thing.

A criminal in our time is a man that commits a crime against society, an anti-social act; but a man that merely breaks a law is not necessarily a criminal.

If you try to buy cigarettes in Kansas you will be arrested and sent to jail for it: You will be a law-breaker but not a criminal.

Laws change; laws are a matter of geography and of time.

I find that 97 per cent of all criminals and all crime is due to the conditions we have today. They are due to economic conditions, industrial conditions, to unemployment, business troubles, and so on.

Lavoisier -- probably you have heard about him -- originated the theory of the congenital criminal. It is a myth! The criminal is a human as such as you are, as such as the average man, the man or woman you meet on the street. But certain conditions have driven them into crime, the same as certain conditions drive other men to Congress. (Laughter) It is only a difference of degree; not of kind.

Now to the political prisoner: As the chairman said, this country has hitherto refused to recognize the existence of political offenders. It is supposed that we have liberty, that we have democracy, that we have a republic; and in a republic it is supposed there cannot be such a thing as

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a political offender.

Now, you know what these Kate O'Hares and the Debs and the Hirschbergers and the thousands of political and industrial prisoners are in prison for. Every man who reads the papers knows that these men had certain opinions; and I don't care whether the opinions were popular or unpopular, free speech means that you must give a hearing to the unpopular idea; because if I express the thing that everybody believes in, if you give me a chance to say the thing that you believe in, that is not free speech. On the other hand, when you give me the chance to say the things that you do not believe in, that is free speech; and I believe in free speech for every one, for my friends, for myself, for my enemies. I believe in free speech, and that means the right to say the thing that nobody else likes to hear. That is free speech. (Laughter) (Applause)

In other words, freedom of thought, or freedom of speech means the right to be wrong. I have a right to be wrong, I claim, if we have free speech. I do not require any special right to be right, in your estimation. When you think I am right you do not need to give me any special privilege to express the right thing; but if you think I am wrong, there comes in the question of whether I have the right to express my wrong opinion. People who have intelligence and believe in free speech have thousands who think differently from them. If you know anything about history you must know that it is the small minority all through the past which al-



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ways expressed new ideas that were considered wrong, that were unpopular; it was that minority that helped progress. If it were not for the small minority with new ideas, ideas that were originally thought wrong, and perhaps criminal -- if it were not for that minority we would have made no progress in the world at all. All the inventors, all the scientists, and all the religious thinkers, not to speak of philosophy -- Huss and Luther and all the Protestants in the religious line, protestants in the political line, in the social line, in the industrial line, all those are usually in the minority, because a new thought does not come to a hundred million people. A new thought comes to one, to two, or to three; and the rest of humanity think that those one or two are wrong.

But these reformers begin to agitate, if they have free speech; they begin to express themselves; they begin to spread their idea until more people believe in that idea. Then the mass comes fifty or a hundred years later and pats them on the back, historically speaking, and says: "We were there before you."

That is the minority. By that time the minority is dead; the minority that thinks; the few who dared to speak the unpopular idea in the face of laws to the contrary; in the face of public hysteria.

If you realize that progress depends upon this, then you understand how important it is to have free speech, and to let any man speak his mind on any subject, say anything he pleases.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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Responsibility begins only with the effects of certain action. There is no responsibility for thought or speech — at least there should not be. No man should be held responsible for his ideas, because you cannot be held responsible if they are ideas that you cannot account for. Questions of psychology enter here, and I haven't time to go into this.

But, you are not responsible for thinking "This is evening." You cannot help it. No force or power or law in the world could make you think that this moment now is morning. Suppose they should pass a law to try to make you think this is Sunday morning instead of Sunday evening. We may preach; we may play the hypocrite, but at heart we know it is not Sunday morning but Sunday evening.

This is the meaning of free speech. Let everybody think as he pleases; let everybody express the ideas he pleases. But hold them responsible only for the effects of actions, not of thought or of speech.

Now, these men, these politicians in the prisons have exercised what they believe is their right. Their right to have thoughts, to have ideas of their own, and to have free speech. They believe that it is wrong to murder; they became anti-militarists and they agitated against war. Some of them believe that it is wrong to conscript men; that it is wrong to force men into military service if those men do not believe in it. They got up and expressed their opinions, some in public, some in private. Debs made a speech in which

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he said that this war was a capitalistic war; that capitalism was responsible for this war.

Since then the President of the United States has repeatedly said the same thing.

Debs is serving ten years in prison today.

This is the character of our political prisoners in the country, in spite of the fact that the government of this country refuses to recognize their existence. You may close your eyes like the ostrich and hide your eyes in the bushes, saying you don't see certain things; but the things are there. The fact that you close your eyes and deny their existence does not do away with the fact of their existence.

We have political prisoners. Why?

Because we have conditions in this country that have produced and provoked expression of opinion against these conditions. We have social, political and military conditions which have produced new thoughts -- new for this country. We have produced protestants, social, industrial, and political protestants who dare to speak against the popular notions; and we are punishing those men with ten and twenty years in the prisons today.

That is the situation with regard to our political prisoners. We are punishing free thought; we are punishing independent expression of opinion, because no one pretends that Kate O'Hare, that the men like Debs, the Hirschbergers, that Emma Goldman and hundreds of others who are or who were in the prisons, are there for any penal crime.

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No one pretends they have burglarized any one; nor killed any one; or tried to rob any one. We all know there are political prisoners in the country today who are in the prisons; we know they are there for an expression of opinion.

I think it shameful to state even the fact itself; shameful for a country that pretends to have free-speech, that has a Constitution which says, "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech. Yet we have hundreds, several thousand, in fact, men and women in the prisons who are there for the expression of an opinion.

Now, because the government of this country refuses to recognize the existence of these political prisoners, because of that situation, their treatment in the prisons is different from the treatment of the average prisoner; and it is worse, for a very simple reason, and the reason is this.

The average guard in the prisons is perhaps like the average man on the street, of a somewhat lower character or lower mentality -- very few decent men take a position in a penitentiary (Laughter) There are a few exceptions; I have met in my life half a dozen decent guards in prisons, but the great majority are brutal. I could name names to you. In Pennsylvania I could show you that a certain policeman who was discharged for brutality and drunkenness, became one of the higher guards in the



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Atlanta Penitentiary only six months ago. Another went from Chicago -- a well-known ruffian, a strong-arm man, and became a keeper in the Penitentiary at Atlanta last year. That is the average. There are a few exceptions, but I found that the average prison-keeper is much below the mentality, and in point of character, than the so-called criminal.

I have found the average convict a more decent fellow than the average prison keeper, because, after all, the average convict, as I pointed out, is the average citizen. Crime is mis-directed energy. They have used their energy in a wrong direction, owing to certain social causes, owing to these conditions that we have today; but the average prison-keeper has not been forced into the position that he holds as a keeper. He has voluntarily chosen that profession, if it can be called a profession; and the average prison keeper can understand the existence of a criminal. He knows that the convict is either a burglar, a second-story man, or a robber, and so on; but he cannot understand what it means to be a political prisoner.

The average keeper takes it for granted that the men who come to prison when they haven't robbed anyone, when they haven't profited by their acts, are fools. "Serve time for an ideal?" as many keepers told me. "Why, you are either crazy or you are a desperate character."

That is the attitude of the average prison keeper, and unfortunately, I am afraid, that it reflects to a

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great extent the attitude of the average man. The great mass in this country has not been educated yet to political prisoners. We have had them only recently, comparatively speaking, since the war started, and the Press has seen to it that they should not become enlightened as to the real character, and the causes of so-called political crimes or offenses, so that the average man does not understand these things. He only hears one side, the capitalistic side, and he thinks they are the worst people, the worst enemies of society, these political offenders; he thinks they are worse than common burglars, or robbers; and you find the same attitude reflected in the penitentiary.

The average keeper does the same thing. Either you are crazy or you are a degenerate. "Why did you come here? You didn't rob anybody? How much money did you make out of it." "No money." "Why, you are a fool." (Laughter)

That is the attitude, and because of that attitude you will find that the treatment is even worse so far as the political offender is concerned than that of the average criminal.

Thirty years ago I had -- I don't know whether it was the fortune or misfortune -- to be in an American prison. I am not a citizen of this country, but I think that by right I am; having spent so many years in prisons, in American institutions, I ought to be considered one. (Laughter and applause)

I will speak on that subject Wednesday. (Laughter)

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But for the present: The treatment of the political, as well as of the average prisoner, in Atlanta --

I started to say that about thirty-two years ago I was in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania in connection with the Homestead steel strike. Conditions in prison then were terrible, and the people knew of it. When disclosures were made, after many prisoners came out of that prison, after I myself came out, and out of other prisons, the people stood aghast; they hardly could believe that such things took place. But many investigations proved every charge against the prisons that were made at the time.

Since then, in the last twenty-five years, the great majority of people have come to believe that reforms have been made in the present prison institutions of this country. You have heard a great deal about reforms, reforming criminals, and reforming the prison institutions. But let me tell you in all sincerity that is the greatest lie ever published in any newspaper of the country, and God knows they publish a good many lies. (Laughter)

This is the greatest, that there has been any reform in the penal institutions of this country within the last twenty-five years. There has been a great deal of camouflage, yes. There has been a great deal of covering up, and hiding things, but so far as any reform in the prison conditions is concerned, you find exactly the same tortures used in the prisons today as were used twenty-five and thirty years ago. I experienced them thirty years ago; and I have experienced them in the last few years, and I ought to be com-

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petent to speak about it. Merely as an illustration I want to tell you some of the methods used for the reformation — reformation, if you please, of the criminal and of the political offender.

First of all comes the dungeon which is either an underground cell, or a cell in a cellar. I will describe a little in greater detail in a moment. I merely want to enumerate first the reformatory agencies.

Then comes chaining up by the wrists, which is supposed to have been abolished long ago in the prisons of this country.

Then comes the pulley ring (?) which is chaining you up this way to the wall (indicating) with your wrists lifted up as high as they can pull them.

Then comes the blind door.

Then comes the starvation diet, bread and water, an insufficient amount, two slices at night — sometimes one; thin enough to see through (laughter) and two cups of water.

And then comes "solitary" which is perhaps the greatest torture, because very few persons can stand solitary, which means that you are absolutely cut off from all communication with the outside world, as well as the inside world in the prison. You are in a grave.

I want to point out especially the barbarism employed in this supposedly enlightened country of democracy; in this twentieth century; especially in the form of that blind door and the dungeon.



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Now, visualize for one moment what the dungeon is. It is a cell -- in Atlanta I am speaking of now -- It is practically the same everywhere, the size varying slightly. For the benefit of the police, who may know something about these matters, I want to explain that in detail.

They have two kinds of dark cells; one is the dark hole, and the other is called the light hole.

And whenever you charge the authorities -- as I did in the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, with having a dark hole, they say they have a light hole, and they show the visitors the light holes, and the visitors are satisfied. They say, "Why, that is a light hole; it isn't a dark cell." But they don't say that they have another hole which is the dark hole, the real dungeon. I am speaking of the dark hole, which is two and a half feet at the entrance; visualize that. Two and a half feet, shaped like a wedge, and comes down to four and half feet at the back. It is six feet long. You sleep on the floor, stone floor, damp, bare cement. If the punishment is not extra severe you have a mattress; the blackest thing I ever saw in my life was that mattress; that bed tick filled with old, rotten straw that had not been cleaned for years.

That isn't the severest punishment. That is the ordinary black hole. But if they want to punish you severely they put on the blind door, which is a solid oaken door, two feet thick, which goes on top of the ordinary barred door; and if the solid barred door is put on it fixes the cell the same as underground. You get no fresh air except what little

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comes through the cellar, which comes in its turn through the hall-way, through which you get the real air down in the cellar. In the dark, barred hole you get the air in the cell from the cellar, through the hallway probably fifty feet away; but when they want to punish you extra severely, they put on the blind door, which means that not a bit of air, practically, not a bit of it, enters your cell; and within half an hour you begin to feel the lack of air, you begin to suffocate. Most of you know what the emotions and feelings of a man are who is drowning. You go through every emotion of a drowning man for lack of air, and the only thing you can do is to stretch out on the floor and put your mouth as close as you can to the little crack underneath that wooden door. You can imagine how much air you will get through that ! The crack isn't big enough for a pencil to pass through, and you cannot even put a match through it, just a crack through which you can see the little electric light that they have in the cellar. The cellar itself is absolutely dark; you cannot see your hand before your face.

You cannot stand up when the blind door is on. An hour or two is considered very severe punishment; but sometimes they keep you much longer. I was kept for thirty consecutive hours in the blind door cell.

But they have very refined methods. There is a little light which I mentioned, burning in the cellar. You can see the reflection of it through the crack underneath the door; and if you look down on the floor with your face to the crack you can see it.

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At ten o'clock at night, for no reason that I can find, they turn that light out, and there is a very specific effect in that. The moment that light is turned out, and while you are looking at it, your only ray of hope, so to speak, the only ray that connects you with the living world, is out off. The moment it goes out it produces a psychological effect: You imagine the air has been turned off with the light; and you feel accordingly.

I told the warden after I came out of that hole that if he wanted to drive a young fellow, who has had no experience in prison life, and doesn't know what is happening to him when he is in the dungeon -- if he wanted to drive him insane in one night, he should put him in that blind door cell, and turn the light out at ten o'clock -- absolutely sure to drive a man insane, a young inexperienced fellow.

This is one of the methods; and after you are through with that; if that doesn't cure you, they carry you to some other hole; to the light hole, which is a little larger, and which is only semi-dark; a little bit of light, insufficient to read by. For three months, or six months you are kept there. I know of a certain case, a young fellow from Ohio, a socialist, whose father was mayor at one time, who was kept in the light solitary for eight months without papers to read, without a letter coming in or going out, without any communication with the world outside or within the prison.

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He never saw anybody; never spoke to anybody; never a word; and fed mostly on bread and water.

Now, these are some of the punishments that they use upon the ordinary prisoner, and especially upon the political offender; and I have told you why they use them against the political and the industrial prisoners, because they cannot understand them.

The political prisoner in prison, usually continues to fight, if not for liberty at least for his principles; he is a protestant in prison, the same as he was a protestant before he got to prison. That means he protests against the injustice he sees around him; and the politicals who are in prison protest against brutality; against clubbing. We had a man clubbed there the very day I arrived in Atlanta. A young man was shot in the back in cold blood and killed because he did not walk fast enough across the yard when he was being taken to the hole.

The politicals usually protest against such things. They merely try to call the attention of the warden to those things. The deputy warden is in charge of the inside and the warden usually in charge of the outside. The warden sometimes is too busy and does not know exactly everything that is happening. Sometimes we circulate a petition, a "round robin" to call his attention to the brutality of these punishments. For that you are put in the dungeon with the blind door on it; for that you are put in solitude on bread and water, without any privileges; without magazines or books or letters.

These are the conditions under which our politicals to-day live in Atlanta amongst other prisoners; and I appeal



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to you whether you want to let them stay there, to continue to suffer agonies of soul and mind, and physical and mental persecution. (Applause)

I have explained to you what these politicals are. I merely want to add that hundreds of them in the prisons today are looking through the bars, figuratively speaking, watching you, watching the more progressive radical element of this country; they are looking at you, listening, and trying to catch some voice, some echo, that will give them hope; something that will inspire them and encourage them, and make them more capable, physically and mentally, of enduring the persecution through which they are going.

And it is up to you; it is up to Labor; it is up to every decent man and woman in this country to see to it that the political and industrial prisoners are released, and released as soon as possible; because it is the greatest shame for any great country to continue to keep imprisoned men and women merely because they dared express an unpopular sentiment about something that is already passed.

The war is over, actually if not legally. War is passed, and even if the government pretended to have justification for sending these men to prison during the war, where is the justification today when the war is passed? They are still being punished for opinions expressed two or three or four years ago; and I appeal to you in their name. I have no doubt that the time is coming, and coming very soon, when these persecuted politicals, these Debs's, these Haywood's and the Kate O'Hares and all the others will go down in history as

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the bearers of the light. They will go down in history as the champions and pioneers of liberty; and it is they and the thousands of others who think and act as they, that are helping this country and the whole world to free itself from our tyrannies, from our persecutions, from our prisons; and who will have changed conditions in such a manner that there will be no necessity for crime. The criminal will have disappeared: the criminal in the penitentiaries and the criminal in congress. Both of them will have disappeared, and we will have conditions of liberty and of well-being for every one, and a place fit to live in. (Applause)

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

AUTOMOBILE WORKERS' UNION HALL.

SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER TWENTY-THIRD, NINETEEN-NINETEEN

(Following speech of Emma Goldman)  
 --already delivered--

I. PAUL TAYLOR: I hardly know how to introduce the next speaker. He isn't a working man. He is one of these Bourgeoisie. The strange thing is that we have this: no matter what condition a man finds himself in; no matter what profession he finds himself in, we have men of all types who are interested in freedom, and interested in the working class.

When the Senate Committee wanted to investigate the condition in the steel strike one of the men they called down there was a young lawyer from Pittsburgh, who had devoted his energies toward the building up of the working class movement; who had devoted all of his personal energy, his speaking ability, and his legal talent to the advancement of the working class; and no matter how the few plutocrats -- because they are few -- tried to distort what he said, tried to put him in little repute, he still hung on, and still kept up his work. He went down to the Senate Committee and rather threw a bomb, so to speak, into that very illustrious committee, which was not second, by any means, to the one of information that William Sullock (?) gave them concerning Russia.

He is to speak to you for a minute, and I believe he has a request to make. It gives me great pleasure to introduce Attorney Jake Margolis of Pittsburgh. (Applause)

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ATTORNEY JAKE MARGOLIS: It is considerably more pleasant to be in this audience talking to you than facing the Senate Committee (Applause) for one very great reason, that it isn't so cold; you are not nearly so cold; and we need very much warmth right now. We need warmth today because the world is a very cold place; for another reason, a very practical reason we need warmth: there is a coal strike on, and you are going to be very much affected by that coal strike unless something is done in a short time.

It is needless for me to tell you that I did not expect to be here this evening and to speak here.

I came into the city yesterday morning for the purpose of representing thirty-nine Russian boys who are in the county jail in this city, arrested by the Department of Labor on warrants issued out of that Department charging them with being alien anarchists.

When I got to the city I learned that my friends -- and I have been very severely criticized in the newspapers in Pittsburgh for referring to Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman as my friends; (Applause) and I am very happy to say that they are my friends; and I really feel it a privilege, and I do not say this as a Fourth of July orator; I really feel it a privilege to say that Emma Goldman and Sasha Berkman are my friends.

I spoke downstairs as a filler-in. I don't think that Emma or Sasha expected that there would be two meetings at one time here; and I am a sort of a professional "filler-in". It has been my experience in Pittsburgh, maybe when a fellow's



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train was late or when he couldn't get there on time for some reason, it has always been my experience to act as a filler-in. That is, I amused the crowd until the speaker got there. And I did that downstairs for three quarters of an hour.

I am not going to do it here, though (laughter) for that long, because the speaker is here, and I don't have to act as such filler in. But I told them downstairs, and I want to tell it to you.

I am a hypercritic. You know what that means: one who doesn't believe in the things which are popularly believed in. I do not believe, for instance, that in America we have political prisoners. I agree with the Department of Justice that we do not have political prisoners in America. We have other kind of prisoners in America, and that is really a very much more serious situation.

You know, over a century ago they had a war in the United States. Some of you who went to school read about that war. It was called the Revolutionary War. When that war was over they had a Convention, and the Convention was a secret Convention, but one gentleman by the name of Madison kept minutes of the Convention, and when it was over we knew about it later on because he sort of sabotaged to the Convention. But they drew up a Constitution, and that Constitution was then submitted to the people; that is, the people who fought in the Revolutionary War, and they refused to endorse the Constitution because they said it didn't contain those very things about which they complained while they were under the tyrannical rule of King George, and therefore they weren't satisfied with

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363

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the Constitution.

They added to that constitution ten amendments, and those ten amendments were the expression — remember that — the expression of a revolutionary people; and I say that the revolutionists of today feel a kinship with those people of that time, because they are closely related. The Son of the American Revolution, and the Daughter of the American Revolution is infinitely farther removed from those revolutionary people of '76 or 1783 or 1897, who adopted the amendments to the Constitution. They wrote into that Constitution the right of freedom of conscience, the right to believe as you choose; they wrote into that Constitution freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of assemblage. They wrote that in at that time. It is there; remember that. You don't have to change it to put it there; we don't need political changes in America. The men who have gone to prisons were not seeking to change freedom of speech; freedom of press, and freedom of assemblage; they were not seeking political changes.

We today can endorse those sentiments of those Revolutionary men of '76 better than can all the "respectables" the world over. We can endorse them because how could we argue and say to you frankly — could any one say that he wanted more than freedom of speech, freedom of press, or freedom of assemblage? That is all you are asking for, is political rights; freedom of conscience. Do you want any more than that? You don't ask for anything more than that. Undoubtedly we are in favor of those things; undoubtedly we do not desire any political changes in this country because there are all of the elements in that instrument, those amendments to that Constitution which give us all of the political rights we want. We do not

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Prisoners] Automobile Workers' Union Hall, Detroit, Mich. / Ja[cob] Margolis. — 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript]. — 8 p.; 27 × 21 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Speaking prior to Goldman and Berkman, Margolis argues that there are no political prisoners in the United States, but only industrial prisoners who fought to change working conditions.

Notes: For Goldman and Berkman's speeches at same event, see 810930188 and 810930189. Includes introduction by Paul Taylor.

need any more.

But we have in America something all of you know; another kind of autocracy; we have an industrial autocracy; a real dyed-in-the-wool, yard-wide industrial autocracy. We here in America have the most powerful industrial autocracy in the world. There is no question about it. All of the countries of Europe that have gone through this terrible four or five years are weak industrially; their equipment has been diminished, destroyed, and depleted. They are weak in every sense. When you look at the financial page and see the credit relations between America and France; America and Italy; America and England; America and Germany — why, you can buy a bushel of marks for a dollar; you can buy ten francs for a dollar; they are worth practically nothing because in that war they suffered terribly; but we did not suffer at all industrially.

In America the industrial autocrats have become bolder than they ever were before; and that is what we are complaining about. The men and women in the prisons of America today, those thousands of men and women were not asking that the Constitution of the United States be changed so that we will have freedom of speech, for that is in the Constitution. They asked not for political changes; but they ask for industrial changes, and because they don't have the requisite industrial strength to enforce those changes, for that reason the powers that be, and the industrial autocrats utilize a very precarious situation, a very dangerous time to put all of those heroic men and women who dare to ask that industrial autocracy be swept away,

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365

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Prisoners] Automobile Workers' Union Hall, Detroit, Mich. / Ja[cob] Margolis. — 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript]. — 8 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** Speaking prior to Goldman and Berkman, Margolis argues that there are no political prisoners in the United States, but only industrial prisoners who fought to change working conditions.

**Notes:** For Goldman and Berkman's speeches at same event, see 810930188 and 810930189. Includes introduction by Paul Taylor.

that industrial autocracy be weakened in America, those people are today in the prisons of the United States. I say what we want is amnesty for industrial prisoners. (Applause)

The President of the United States when questioned on this very matter said, "We are not prepared in America to grant amnesty to political prisoners because we aren't going to recognize political prisoners."

I say there is no necessity to recognize political prisoners; but when asked about amnesty for the I.W.O's, -- "Nothing doing." (Laughter) That is the answer. They know that these men are not political prisoners; these men did not have anything against the Constitution of the United States; these men, if they were going to write a Constitution themselves could not ask for more than freedom of speech; freedom of the press, and freedom of conscience; and freedom of assemblage.

I ask you, any one of you, could you write a better one? Could you ask for more than that? I ask you that frankly. Could you do so?

What these men wanted was better economic conditions, and control over industry; they wanted to develop the power of the workers so they could take over the industries; and they talk about that; and the great crime they committed is that they proposed to build a new society for the one of the old; not to build a new political society; but to build, primarily, a new industrial society. That is what they want to build. (Applause)

And because they wanted to do that, they are in



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Prisoners] Automobile Workers' Union Hall, Detroit, Mich. / Ja[cob] Margolis. — 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript]. — 8 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
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 Notes: For Goldman and Berkman's speeches at same event, see 810930188 and 810930189. Includes introduction by Paul Taylor.

in prison today. My friends, as I said before, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, they were not imprisoned — you know it — they were not imprisoned, I tell you, because they violated the Constitution of the United States, or because they wanted more freedom of speech and more freedom of press than guaranteed by the Constitution; they were imprisoned, primarily, because they believed that the workers, the workers of the world, shall have more to say about the conduct and management of industry, because they wanted to bring into being a new world, a new industrial world; that is why they are in prison.

That is why the Russian boys are in prison; and that is why they are all going to be imprisoned because they want these industrial conditions changed. That is the reason why they are in prison.

*nrw*  
 I want you workers to realize, you workers, you men and women who work, work with your hands and work with your brains, that these men and women who are in prison are there because they talked about a new society in which you, every one of you, would live more than you have been living, in which every one of you will be a human being, and not a pair of hands. That is why they are in prisons; and I want you to realize that they are actually pioneers in this struggle, not for political changes; stop thinking politically! We are not interested in that; begin to think industrially; because we are interested in industrialism. (Applause and cheers)

I want you to translate this industrial idea which

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Prisoners] Automobile Workers' Union Hall, Detroit, Mich. / Ja[cob] Margolis. — 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript]. — 8 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** Speaking prior to Goldman and Berkman, Margolis argues that there are no political prisoners in the United States, but only industrial prisoners who fought to change working conditions.

**Notes:** For Goldman and Berkman's speeches at same event, see 810930188 and 810930189. Includes introduction by Paul Taylor.

you have; I want you to translate it into terms of something material and tangible, so that we may be able to spread this gospel, we may be able to spread this idea of industrial change which we want; and the only way it can be done is through the propaganda carried on for the freedom of these industrial prisoners in the prisons of the United States.

We will get these rights guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States when you show the requisite industrial power to get those rights, and the way we will get that is when we have the organization; the way we will get that is through education and propaganda, spread this everywhere.

For that reason I am going to ask you to give to night, and I do not hesitate to ask you to give; I hesitate to ask the workers in the Pittsburgh district, because they are on strike; I hesitate to ask in the coal districts because they are out of work; but I understand you are working; and I want to see you translate this idea of the industrial change that is so necessary, into something of value so that we can continue to carry this on and bring it to a successful conclusion.

(A collection was here taken up which was announced to be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$800.)

(Speech of Emma Goldman follows)

-P-

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchists, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 2[4?] / Fred H. Hessler [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Hessler, with eight other agents, covers Goldman and Berkman's speeches at Autoworkers' Hall on November 23, 1919.

Notes: Dark copy. For stenographic notes mentioned, see 880606232, 810930188, and 810930189.

Noted  
F.D.E.  
NOV 28 1919 15446

REPORT MADE BY: **Fred H. Hessler** PLACE WHERE MADE: **Detroit, Michigan** DATE WHEN MADE: **Nov. 23, 1919** PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: **Nov. 23, 1919**

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:  
**Re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Anarchists.**

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:  
**Detroit, Michigan.**

**RADICAL**  
**NOV 28 1919**

Information reached this office that the above subjects would speak at a meeting held at a hall at 59 Adams Street, West, on Sunday, evening, November 23d, and pursuant to the instructions of the Agent in Charge, this agent in company with Agent in Charge Berkey, Agents Wilcox, Ferguson, Apelman, Spain, Dowd, Cummrow, and Kahn covered the above meeting and found Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman at the meeting and approximately 2000 at this meeting. Stenographic notes were taken and copy of which will be forwarded.

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 24 [Washington, D.C. to] Victor D. Robertson, Berkeley, Calif. /  
A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
Summary: Palmer explains that the Bureau of Immigration, not the Justice Department, will make the final decision on Goldman's deportation.  
Notes: Reply to 891216031.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JEH-GPO

186233-13-216

NOV 28 19

November 24, 1919.

Victor D. Robertson, Esq.,  
President, Berkeley Defense Corps,  
Berkeley, California.

My dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your telegram of November 18th in which you express on behalf of the Berkeley Defense Corps the opinion that EMMA GOLDMAN should be deported from this country. This Department has made a thorough investigation into the activities of Emma Goldman and has submitted to the Commissioner-General of Immigration a detailed statement concerning the activities of this leading anarchist. As the actual administration of the immigration laws under which fall the deportation of undesirable aliens comes within the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor, the function of this Department in the matter is merely that of submitting to the Commissioner-General of Immigration of the Department of Labor the facts in the individual cases.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) A. Mitchell Palmer

Attorney General.

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370



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 24 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.— 1 p. ; 19 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger wants to meet with Caminetti and Louis Post about Berkman and Goldman's deportations.

Notes: For reply, see 850712326.

### POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT

# TELEGRAM

THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY (INCORPORATED)  
TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE  
TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.

#### CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

FAST DAY TELEGRAM

NIGHT TELEGRAM

NIGHT LETTERGRAM

THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.

RECEIVER'S NUMBER

CHECK

TIME FILED

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

WESTERN UNION

November 24, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Can be in Washington Berkman <sup>Goldman</sup> case Tuesday

morning

Wire if convenient you and Mr. Post.

HARRY WEINBERGER

371

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 24, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 17 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caminetti agrees to meet Weinberger to discuss Goldman's deportation.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 850712325.

Form 1201

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	DL
Night Message	NM
Night Letter	NL

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

## WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	DL
Night Message	NM
Night Letter	NL

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT

6-B-R BU 20 GOVT

BR WASHINGTON DC 1PM NOV 24TH 1919

HARRY WEINBERGER

261 BROADWAY NEWYORK

YOUR TELEGRAM TWENTY FOURTH MR POST AND I WILL BE

HERE TOMORROW

CAMINETTI

102PN

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 24, Washington, D.C. [to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Palmer asks Wilson not to allow Berkman to select his country of deportation or to have more than two weeks to prepare for deportation.

Notes: Handwritten acknowledgment by Louis Post. Enclosed with 870716003. For reply, sec 810113078.

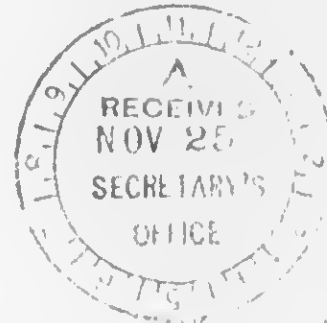


Office of the Attorney General,  
Washington, D.C.

November 24, 1919.

The Honorable,

The Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.



Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have been informed that the attorney representing ALEXANDER BERKMAN, an alien who has been arrested upon a warrant issued by you for his deportation, will request that, should the actual deportation of Mr. Berkman be ordered, that Mr. Berkman be permitted to choose the port of his sailing and the country to which he shall go and that furthermore that Mr. Berkman will be willing to pay his own expenses in leaving the country and is willing to go to France or Mexico or be deported to Hamburg, Germany. I, of course, assume that such a request will not be seriously considered, in view of the fact that the immigration laws provide that subject ordered to be deported can only be deported to the country whence he came, or to that of which he is a native. I am further informed that Berkman's attorney will request that he be allowed from three to six months to close up his personal affairs and business in this country. In view of the fact that this subject has been so

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373

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 24, Washington, D.C. [to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Palmer asks Wilson not to allow Berkman to select his country of deportation or to have more than two weeks to prepare for deportation.

**Notes:** Handwritten acknowledgment by Louis Post. Enclosed with 870716003. For reply, see 810113078.

The Secretary of Labor, -2-

11/24/19

actively engaged in anarchistic activities in this country and has had so little regard for the laws and institutions of this country, I am taking the liberty of calling to your attention the inadvisability of acceding to such a request. Mr. Berkman has been confined in the Atlanta Penitentiary for the last two years and was only released on the first of October, so consequently, he could not have entered into business affairs of such extended nature that would require three to six months to close the same. It occurs to me that a reasonable length of time, such as two weeks, would be ample for this subject to settle his affairs, in case his deportation is ordered.

I sincerely trust that the above suggestions and recommendations which I have made in this matter will be considered in the disposition of this case, as much time has been spent by officers of this Department in investigating the activities of Mr. Berkman.

Faithfully,

*A. Mitchell Palmer*  
Attorney General.

109

*Noted  
Nov 27  
L. J. P.*

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374



## The Emma Goldman Papers

830214030

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 24, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Byrne H. Uhl, Assistant Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.— 1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: In anticipation of Harry Weinberger's visit, Uhl sends Caminetti Goldman's file and the transcript of her deportation hearing. He recommends early deportation.

Notes: For enclosed transcript, see 830214027.

98713/52

### U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR IMMIGRATION SERVICE

OFFICE OF  
COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION  
ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.  
November 24, 1919

Commissioner-General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

I enclose copy of hearing given to Emma Goldman, who was arrested on Department Warrant 52410/43.

The exhibits referred to in the record are mailed to you under separate cover, together with that portion of the Bureau file which you forwarded here. Mr. Weinberger telephoned this office today, but would not state whether or not he would submit a brief. The time granted him in which to submit the brief has expired. He further stated that it was his intention to appear in Washington tomorrow (the 25th instant) to argue the Goldman case, and the case of Berkman, before Mr. Post and Mr. Caminetti. I am therefore hastening the record to you tonight. It speaks for itself, and requires no comment from me. She is clearly here in violation of law, as charged in the warrant, and I recommend her deportation at the earliest possible moment, to Russia, at Government expense.

She is at present at large under bond of \$15000.00. As soon as the warrant of deportation issues, I recommend that I be directed to call upon the bondsman to produce her here, in order that she may be held pending her deportation.

APS

~~APB~~

*Byrne H. Uhl*  
Assistant Commissioner.

102

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375

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 25 [Washington, D.C. to Louis F.] Post [Assistant Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Edw[ard] McGraw, Private Secretary [Department of Labor].— 1 p. ; 19 × 18 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** McGraw asks Post to answer A. Mitchell Palmer's letter for the secretary of labor.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 830214034. For reply, see 810113078.

November 25 1919.



Memorandum for Mr. Post:

Please prepare a reply  
to the attached letter of  
Attorney General Palmer for  
the signature of the Secretary.

*Edw. S. McGraw*

Private Secretary.

*B. J. I  
for answer  
reply L. J. H.  
Nov 27/19*

107

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376

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 25, Chicago [to] Marlborough Churchill [Director, Military Intelligence Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / Thomas B. Crockett [Department Intelligence Officer] Central Department, War Department. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett sends Churchill a report by undercover agent No. 7, whom he believes is reliable.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810331128.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT  
CHICAGO

November 25, 1919.

PERSONAL and CONFIDENTIAL

CAPTAIN SNOW  
M.I.4

My dear General:

Referring to your personal letter of November 14 and preceding communications relative to letter said to have been written by Attorney Bloch.

Enclosed herewith, for your information, copy of report of under cover agent for period November 17 to November 23 inclusive. I bring this to your attention in that I think perusal thereof will be of interest to you personally, and will shed considerable light upon the present situation.

I have frequently checked up on the reporting agent, with the result that I have complete confidence in his reliability.

Copy of enclosure has been forwarded to Major Strauss.

Most respectfully,

*Thomas B. Crockett*  
Thomas B. Crockett,  
Major, Infantry.

Encl.  
(Copy report Nov. 17/23 incl.)

Brig. General Marlborough Churchill,  
Seventh and B Streets, N. W.,  
Washington, D. C.

N.

377

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchistic Meeting Held at 56 E. Adams St. at 8 P.M., Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 25 / G.F.R. Cummerow [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 31 × 21 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165. Summary: Agent Cummerow reports that he attended Goldman and Berkman's meeting with seven other agents. Notes: Light copy; barely legible.

REPORT FORM No. 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>G. F. R. Cummerow</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Detroit, Michigan</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>November 25, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 23, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In Re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman Anarchistic Meeting held at 56 E. Adams St. at 8 P.M.</b>			
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:  <b>At Detroit, Michigan.</b>  Agent, in company with Agent in Charge, Arthur L. Parker, and Agents Apelman, Wilson, Egan, Reed, Quinn and Kato, attended the above meeting. For detailed report, refer to Agent Apelman's report of this date.			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:			7-617

P - 1

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchistic meeting held at 56 E. Adams St. at 8 P.M., Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 25 / B[ernard] Kahn [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 27 × 19 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Agent Kahn attends Goldman's meeting with seven other agents.  
 Notes: Broken type; light copy.

UNCLASSIFIED FORM NO. 1

15446

REPORT MADE BY: <b>B. Kahn</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Detroit, Mich.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>November 25, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In Re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman Anarchistic meeting held at 56 E. Adams St. at 8 P.M.</b>		
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.: <b>At Detroit, Michigan.</b>		
<p>Agent, in company with Agent in Charge, Arthur L. Barker, and Agents Apelman, Wilcox, Hessler, Dowd, Spain and Summerow, attended the above meeting, full details of which will be given in Agent Apelman's report for this date, he being in charge of the Radical Department of this office.</p>		
COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:		P - 1

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379

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner, Chicago, 1919 Nov. 25 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 x 19 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Spolansky reports that he could not find Jacob Kersner in Chicago.  
 Notes: Reply to 880606202.

Report Form No. 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>J. Spolansky</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Chicago, Ill.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Nov. 25, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>11/16:22/19</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION <b>In re: <u>Jacob Kersner</u></b>		Noted P.D.M.	
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.			
<p><b>AT CHICAGO:</b></p> <p>Employee was given a telegram from Chief Frank Burke, dated November 12, 1919, requesting me to locate one <u>J. Kersner</u></p> <p>Employee made every effort and could not find any trace of this man in Chicago. Nothing could be found to establish that subject resides in Chicago, however I have instructed several confidential informants to locate subject and if he is in Chicago, he will be located.</p>			
<div style="text-align: right;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;"> <b>RADICAL</b>            NOV 23 1919         </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block; margin-top: 5px;"> <b>RADICAL</b>            NOV 23 1919         </div> </div>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Washington &amp; Chicago &amp; JS:JKB P. 2</b>			

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380

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 25, Buffalo, N.Y. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief] Bureau [of] Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington [D.C.] / [M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** Blackmon sends Burke the name and address of someone who knew Jacob Kersner in Chicago.

**Notes:** Dark copy; barely legible. For coded version, see 880606238.

Am. 42 gov't

Buffalo, N. Y. November 25, 1919.

Bureau,

Bureau Investigation

Washington.

Five step lettered November twenty second re Jacob  
Kersner learned from Joseph brother Jacob Kersner  
that Herman M. Goldberg, 3402 Douglas Boulevard,  
Chicago can give information desired. Fired these  
facts to Chicago office.

BLACKMON

11:52 a.m.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 25, Buffalo, N.Y. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief] Bureau [of] Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington [D.C.] / [M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Coded version of 880606237.

4wa 41 govt

Buffalo, N. Y. November 25, 1919

Burke,

Bureau Investigation

Washington

Five stop littered November twenty second re adder spousepoux

learned from shiwougr Brother adder spousepoux that Hourtep

bennetted patchery thirty six naught two vulnerable skin squire

mate can give information desired wired these facts to squirmate

office.

Blackmon

11 52 A M.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 25 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke instructs Brennan to follow Goldman every moment she is in Chicago and to interview Herman Goldberg about Jacob Kersner's death.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For related document, see 880606237.

15446

Motel  
F.D.I.

JHE-GFO

COBK

November 25, 1919.

Brennan,

Federal Building,

Chicago, Ill.

Advised by Buffalo office that HERMAN M. GOLDBERG, 8408 Douglas Boulevard, Chicago, can give information concerning Jacob Kersner's death. Give this matter immediate attention and wire department results interview. Advised that Brennan and Goldman will leave Detroit for Chicago Wednesday night. Have instructed Detroit office to shadow these individuals while in Detroit and to have agents proceed with them to Chicago, at which point I desire that you take up the shadowing. Do not permit any actions of subjects to remain unnoticed by your office. Handle in discreet manner. Keep this office advised daily by wire of activities. Five. Stop.

BURKE, Chief.

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383

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 25 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Copy of 880606235.

15446

JNL-OPD

903E

November 25, 1919.

Brennan,

Federal Building,

Chicago, Ill.

✓  
Advised by Buffalo office that ~~BERNARD M. GOLDSTEIN~~, 3608  
Douglas Boulevard, Chicago, can give information concerning  
Sweet Kernner's death. Give this matter immediate attention  
and wire department results interview. Advised that  
Berkman and Goldman will leave Detroit for Chicago Wednesday  
night. Have instructed Detroit office to shadow these in-  
dividuals while in Detroit and to have agents proceed with  
them to Chicago, at which point I desire that you take up  
the shadowing. Do not permit any actions of subjects to  
remain unwatched by your office. Handle in discreet manner.  
Keep this office advised daily by wire of activities. Five. Stop.  
BURKE, Chief.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 25, Chicago [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice; Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.—  
3 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan summarizes the results of the investigation into Jacob Kersner's marriage to Goldman and life in Chicago. He forwards a copy of Kersner's death certificate, under the alias of Jacob Lewis.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810113080. For Sturgis report mentioned, see 880606250.

## Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.

MS:MMO

P. O. BOX 455

Chicago, Illinois,  
November 25, 1919.

Attention J. E. Hoover, Esq.

Frank Burke, Esq.,  
Assistant Director and Chief,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
U. S. Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Noted  
F.D.W.

Dear Sir:

In re: Emma Goldman and her  
Reputed Husband, Jacob Kersner  
Alias Jacob Lewis.

Adverting to several telegrams from the Washington and Buffalo offices requesting information as to the death of Jacob Kersner and any information showing that he was the husband of Emma Goldman, Special Agent F. M. Sturgis of this office ascertained the following facts from Mrs. Hyman M. Goldberg and her daughter Clara; these facts being obtained under a suitable pretext:

Jacob Kersner was known to the family of Hyman Goldberg for a number of years and he used to call at the Goldberg residence nearly every Saturday and Sunday; so much so that, Mrs. Goldberg states, he was considered part of the family. He was known in their home as Jacob Lewis and thought by them to be a fine man.

He posed as a bachelor, but at one time, quite some time before his death, he confided in Mrs. Goldberg that his correct name was Jacob Kersner; that he at one time was the husband of Emma Goldman; that he divorced Emma Goldman on account of her Anarchistic tendencies. This conversation was brought about by Mrs. Goldberg's query as to why he did not marry. She states that he stated at that time that he thought he had no right to marry, as he was very sickly; at the same time he confided in her the above fact — that he had been the husband of Emma Goldman, upon her promise not to tell anyone. She stated to Agent Sturgis that she never did tell anyone, not even her husband, until after Kersner's death.

She stated she did not know where he divorced Emma Goldman, but that she thought it was in the East, presumably at Rochester, N. Y. She also did not know where he married Emma Goldman, but was of the opinion that he also married her in the East and presumably at Rochester.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice; Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan,  
Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.—  
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Notes: For enclosure, see 8t0113080. For Sturgis report mentioned, see 880606250.

Frank Burke, Esq.,

#2

Chicago, November 25, 1919

In re: Emma Goldman and her  
Reputed Husband Jacob Kersner  
Alias Jacob Lewis.

He told Mrs. Goldberg that he changed his  
name to Lewis for the reason that the police were  
"hounding" him so.

Mrs. Goldberg's daughter Clara told Agent  
Sturgis that at the time that Kersner died his effects con-  
sisted of a little money and a few clothes; that the  
clothes were sold and this brought his effects to about  
\$85.00 in cash; that this money is to be used in buying  
a monument to be placed at Kersner's grave. She stated,  
though, the monument would likely cost more than \$85.00, but  
friends of Kersner's would pay the balance. This monument  
is to be placed in about a week or ten days.

She showed Agent Sturgis a receipted bill  
for \$101.25, which was paid to the undertaker, Sam S.  
Piser, 3111 W. 12th St., Chicago; She also showed Agent  
Sturgis a receipted bill from the St. Mary of Nazareth  
Hospital, located at 1120 No. Leavitt St. for the balance of  
expenses incurred at this hospital by Kersner in his last  
illness.

At the above-mentioned undertaking parlors  
it was ascertained that Kersner died at 9:15 P. M., Jan.  
18, 1919; that he was buried on January 20th at Congregation  
S.T.A.M., lot 68, section 2, grave 8 at Waldheim Cemetery,  
(Forest Park, Ills.)

A certified copy of the death certificate  
of Kersner was obtained from the Department of Health of  
Chicago, bearing Register No. 2071, Serial No. 12, which  
copy is enclosed herewith.

It will be noted in this death certificate  
that the age is given as 50 years; the aforementioned Mrs.  
Goldberg thought he was about 48 years of age.

It will also be noted that the death certi-  
ficate showed that he was single; further, that his name  
is given as Jacob Lewis.

Agent Sturgis was informed by the Department  
of Health that the information given on this death certifi-  
cate was given them by the undertaker, beforementioned;  
that he obtained it from Mr. H. M. Goldberg.

The family of Goldberg lives at 3602 Douglas  
Boul., 3rd Apartment.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 25, Chicago [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief,  
Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice; Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan,  
Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.—  
3 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan summarizes the results of the investigation into Jacob Kersner's marriage to Goldman and life in Chicago. He forwards a copy of Kersner's death certificate, under the alias of Jacob Lewis.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810113080. For Sturgis report mentioned, see 880606250.

Frank Burke, Esq. <sup>13</sup> Chicago, November 25, 1919  
In re: Emma Goldman and her  
Reputed Husband Jacob Kersner,  
Alias Jacob Lewis.

Agent Sturgis is of the opinion that Mrs. Goldberg may not wish to make an affidavit as to the statement that Kersner made to her to the effect that he had been the husband of Emma Goldman and divorced her; especially if she knew for what purpose the affidavit would be used. It is therefore suggested that the fact of his marriage and divorce might be substantiated from the public records in Rochester; otherwise, upon instructions this office will try and obtain an affidavit from Mrs. Goldberg. Also due to the fact that she mentioned other friends of Kersner's data may be obtained from them.

Yours very truly,

*Edward J. Brennan*  
DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT.

ENC.  
Copy to Buffalo Office.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Death Certificate [of Jacob Lewis] 1919 Jan. 18 [copy certified Nov. 25, 1919] / M.O.  
 Heckard, Registrar of Vital Statistics. -- 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: Dr. Heckard certifies a copy of Jacob Lewis's death certificate. Lewis is probably the alias of Jacob Kersner.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 880606240 and 810113079.

COPY

from  
 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE  
 Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Form H. D. V. 181 B. 10M. 9-19.  
 Department of Public Health

STATE OF ILLINOIS

Division of Vital Statistics

## DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO

Series No. 12

BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS

Registered No. 2071

### 1. PLACE OF DEATH

### STANDARD CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

(If death occurred in a hospital or institution, give its NAME instead of street and number.)

County Cook  
 City Chicago No. St. Marys of Naz. Hosp. St. Ward  
 2. FULL NAME Jacob Lewis  
 (a) Residence No. 3602 Douglas St. Ward. Ward  
 (Usual place of abode) (If non-resident give city or town and State)  
 Length of residence in city or town where death occurred ysr. mos. days How long in U. S., if foreign born? ysr. mos. days

### PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS

3. SEX Male 4. COLOR OR RACE White 5. SINGLE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED Single  
 (Write the word)

6a. If married, widowed or divorced HUSBAND of (or) WIFE of

6. DATE OF BIRTH

7. AGE Years Months Days If LESS than 1 day hrs. OR min.  
50

8. OCCUPATION OF DECEASED (a) Trade, profession, or particular kind of work Tailor  
 (b) General nature of industry, business, or establishment in which employed (or employer)

(c) Name of employer

9. BIRTHPLACE (city or town)

State or country Russia

10. NAME OF FATHER not known

11. BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER (city or town)

(State or country) Russia

12. MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER not known

13. BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER (city or town)

(State or country) Russia

14. INFORMANT Hyman M. Goldberger

Address 3602 Douglas St.

Filed 1-19 1919

Registrar

### MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

16. DATE OF DEATH Jan 18 1919  
 (Month) (Day) (Year)

17. I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I attended deceased from Jan 16 1918 to Jan 18 1919

that I last saw h. alive on Jan 18 1919

and that death occurred, on the date stated above, at 9:45 a.m.  
 The CAUSE OF DEATH\* was as follows

Tuberculosis Enteritis  
Exhaustion

(Duration) 1 4 mos. days

Contributory (Secondary)

(Duration) ysr. mos. days

18. WHERE WAS DISEASE CONTRACTED

If not at place of death?

Did an operation precede death? Date of

Was there an autopsy?

What test confirmed diagnosis?

(Signed) J. P. Pfeiffer M. D.

Address 1120 N. Leavitt St.

Date 1-19 1919 Telephone Sub. 2600

\*State the Disease Causing Death, or, in deaths from Violent Causes, state (1) Means of Injury; and (2) whether Accidental, Suicidal or Homicidal.

19. PLACE OF BURIAL OR REMOVAL Forest Park

21. DATE OF BURIAL Jan 20 1919

20. UNDERTAKER Sam S. Piser

ADDRESS 3111 W. 12 St.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, COUNTY OF COOK, } ss.  
 CITY OF CHICAGO

I, M. O. HECKARD, M. D., Registrar of Vital Statistics of the City of Chicago, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the records kept by me in pursuance of the laws of the State of Illinois and ordinances of said city.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, this 25 day of Mar. 1919

SEAL

M. O. Heckard M. D.  
 Registrar of Vital Statistics.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 25 [Washington, D.C. to Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Detroit, Mich. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke instructs Barkey to have agents follow Goldman and Berkman everywhere while they are in Detroit.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

15446

JEE-GPO

CODE

November 25, 1919.

Barkey,

Even Building,

Detroit, Mich.

Re ALEXANDER BERNMAN and EMMA GOLDMAN, desire that each of these persons be immediately shadowed by your office, detailing sufficient agents so that at no time will they be able to make any move without the agents of your office knowing of same. This matter should be handled in the most discreet manner. Should subjects leave town have agents proceed with them and upon arriving at whatever destination they may go, have the local office of that city take over the shadowing. Wire at once when agents have been detailed for this work and keep office advised daily by telegraph of results. Five. Stop.

BURKE, Chief.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 25 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hoover reminds Caminetti that Goldman and Berkman are on a speaking tour and urges him to decide their cases quickly.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

JHE-370

FILE: BUREAU FILE

13-446 November 25, 1919.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,  
Commissioner-General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Caminetti:

My attention has just been called by the Detroit office of the Bureau of Investigation to the fact that EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN are now in that city on a speaking tour and that on Sunday, November 23, 1919, these subjects spoke in that city. They are again scheduled to speak on Wednesday. Upon leaving Detroit, they will proceed to Chicago and no doubt continue their tour across the country.

It occurs to me that in view of the fact that these persons are now engaged upon a speaking tour throughout the country that the decisions in their cases should be expedited, so that this Department will know definitely whether or not they will be permitted to continue their present activities.

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 26 / John A. Dowd  
[Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Dowd reports that Goldman's speech on political prisoners, given on November 23, was not extremely radical.

Notes: For text of Goldman's speech, see 810930188.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

15446

REPORT MADE BY: <b>John A. Dowd</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Detroit, Michigan</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>November 26, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 23, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:  <b>In Re: Emma Goldman</b>			
SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:  <b>At Detroit, Michigan.</b>			
<p>At direction of Agent in Charge, I, in company with other Agents attached to this office, proceeded to <u>Auto Workers Hall, Adams Street, Detroit, Michigan</u>, for the purpose of attending and covering a meeting at which <u>Emma Goldman</u> was to speak. Said <u>Emma Goldman</u> appeared at this Hall as scheduled, speaking on the subject of <u>"Political Prisoners and Prisons"</u>. A crowd which overtaxed the Hall, compelling the subject to speak in a lower Hall, after terminating his speech in the Auto Workers Hall proper, was present. The subject did not engage in any pronouncements which could be considered extremely radical. In fact, the meeting was conducted in a very orderly manner.</p> <p>Alexander Berkman also spoke at this meeting, as did one <u>Jacob Margolis</u>, of Pittsburgh, Pa., who is appearing at this City as <u>Counsel</u> for the members of the <u>Union of Russian Workers</u> who were placed in custody by this Department, and are at present in the hands of the Department of Labor awaiting disposition.</p>			
P - 2			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:			

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391

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 26 / John A. Dowd [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Agent Dowd reports on Berkman and Goldman's speeches at Autoworkers' Hall.  
 Notes: For text of Berkman's speech, see 810930189.

Report Form No. 1

15446

REPORT MADE BY: <b>John A. Dowd</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Detroit, Michigan</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>November 26, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 23, 1919</b>
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TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:  
**In Re: Alexander Berkman**

DEC 1 1919  
 Noted  
 F.D.B.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.  
**At Detroit, Michigan.**

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P - 1

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Barkey reports on the surveillance of Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Broken type; dark copy; barely legible. For coded version, see 880606252.

16-4406  
800a 41 gvt

Detroit, Mich. November 26, 1919;

Re:.

Department Justice,

Washington 15-446

Samuel Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman have detailed  
Agents Kahn and Doud and Wilson cover this matter. Parties  
speak here tonight and we are informed may leave for Chicago  
Thursday. Will keep you advised of developments.

BARKEY

2:15 p.m.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Dark copy. Coded version of 880606253.

20  
Gwa 41 govt

Detroit, Mich. November 26, 1919

Burke,

Department Justice,

Washington

Summed remonstrative housestep and butte sivmtep have detailed  
agents Kahn and Dowd and Wilcox cover this matter parties  
ganged photism huff and we are informed may baptistic over-  
buy squirmate honeymoon will keep you advised of developments.

Barkey

1 17 P.M.

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394



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Barkey notifies Burke of Goldman and Berkman's plans to give a series of speeches in Chicago. He promises to keep them under surveillance.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For coded version, see 880606247.

15446

608 ba 718 PM 47 0 R 710P

Detroit Mich Nov 26, 1919

Burke,

Department Justice, Wash DC

Five stop Referring Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman as  
informed they leave Thursday noon for Chicago where they  
speak Saturday night at Curran's Hall on Ashland Avenue.  
On Monday they expect attend banquet at hotel Morrison.  
Expect remain in Chicago about ten days giving series  
speeches and then return to New York. We will keep them  
covered as instructed.

BARKER

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395

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Wash[ingto]n, D.C. / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Notes: Dark copy. Coded version of 880606248.

60V bu 710PM 67 @ R 710P

Detroit Mich Nov 26 1919

Burke

Department Justice, Washn DC

Five step Refrring remonetisee heuxseptep and butte zimtep an  
inferred they leave Moneymeen cleating for squirmate where they  
ganged fibbed clack at seured brackish perined on rmbriol  
saxonite peried On cape they expect sampler sorat at placet castanet  
peried. Expect remain in squirmate about hellenic terces giving  
series garrisoning and then return to oiliate peried. We will keep  
them thrive as instrcted

Barkey

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396

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Deportations] Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America [Detroit] / Alexander Berkman. — 1919 Nov. 26 [government transcript]. — 21 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Speaking on the eve of his deportation, Berkman discusses the status of the Russian Revolution, the political conditions in the United States, and his own deportation.

Notes: For speeches of Goldman and Jacob Margolis at same event, see 890216000 and 890216001. Includes introduction by Paul Taylor.

Wednesday Evening, November 26, 1913. C-3

Report of meeting held at the hall of Local Number 127,  
United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America.

Speeches by I. Paul Taylor, Chairman; Alexander  
Berkman; Margolis, and Emma Goldman.

-----

The meeting was called to order by I. Paul Taylor,  
Chairman. (Applause).

MR. TAYLOR: I suppose that part of that applause  
was for Mr. Berkman because the Department of Labor has  
decided to send him over to be the Secretary of State of  
the Russian Soviet. (Applause). You know one of the peculiar  
things about this situation of deporting people is this, the  
other day we were having a meeting and somebody in the back  
of the hall got up and said, "They deported me from England  
to the United States". (Laughter). We keep shoving these  
people back and forth, we deport them from England, from  
Scotland, well they don't deport them from Ireland yet.  
(Laughter). We deport them from the United States over to  
Europe and they deport them from this place to that place  
and I suppose some day that these people are going to wake  
up and realize that this movement is not a United States  
movement or an English movement or a French movement, but it  
is a world wide movement. (Applause).

I have always felt that it did not make any differ-  
ence to me whether I live down in Virginia with the very best  
families that were brought up on the best of Rye, or Kentucky  
eye opener, or whether I live in New York or whether I live

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Deportations] Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America [Detroit] / Alexander Berkman. — 1919 Nov. 26 [government transcript]. — 21 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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Summary: Speaking on the eve of his deportation, Berkman discusses the status of the Russian Revolution, the political conditions in the United States, and his own deportation.

Notes: For speeches of Goldman and Jacob Margolis at same event, see 890216000 and 890216001. Includes introduction by Paul Taylor.

in Pennsylvania or Michigan, it does not make any difference, the movement is the same. And they can, I suppose, deport us to this place or that place but if they cannot crush a man's spirit with stone walls and bars of iron, how in the world do they expect to crush it by sending them across a little strip of water. (Applause).

I made the statement here on Monday night that none of us were free as long as there was one person in prison. I do not mean that in an idealistic sense. I mean that in a real practical way. There is no one free as long as anyone is in prison, because if they can imprison Russians, and I. W. W.'s today, it will be Americans and A. F. of L. people tomorrow (applause), and if they can deport socialists and anarchists today, they will send Americans over to the Philippines tomorrow. (Applause). In fact, I understand there is a bill in Congress at the present time to make a sort of Siberia out of one of those islands over there. Whether they had actually had that in mind when they took that as part payment for the -- what was that war with Spain for anyway? (Laughter). Well, that war with Spain by which the American Sugar Refining Company got all the plantations of Cuba and Porto Rico -- I don't know whether they had that in mind when they took over the Philippines or not, or whether they had the exports of the Philippines in mind. Anyhow, now they have got it, and now you have got it, what are you going to do with it, and you have got to use it, you know. (Laughter). As long as the best people are in jail and the next best people are being deported, why, we

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Deportations] Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America [Detroit] / Alexander Berkman. — 1919 Nov. 26 [government transcript]. — 21 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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Summary: Speaking on the eve of his deportation, Berkman discusses the status of the Russian Revolution, the political conditions in the United States, and his own deportation.

Notes: For speeches of Goldman and Jacob Margolis at same event, see 890216000 and 890216001. Includes introduction by Paul Taylor.

should worry, let us all go along and start it up over there, and if we once get a co-operative commonwealth in the Philippines, why the thing will just spread. You know England did that with Australia once; they sent all their convicts down to Australia, and now the Government of Australia is so far ahead of that of England that they are trying to copy it. (Applause).

So, I suppose after they get through deporting us — there is only one country in the world I know of they do not deport people from, and that is Russia. (Applause). And I understand when they had the revolution in Russia, and Petrograd fell that there were five buildings in Petrograd that were burned down during that reign of terror, and one of them was the jail. (Laughter). They have got an awful peculiar idea of civilization over there. Well, they really believe in freedom. They have gone crazy, you know, (laughter) so I really believe that Mr. Berkman is going to find himself very much at home over there. Of course he is going to lose his habitual boarding houses, and probably won't feel at home for a little while after living 32 years at the expense and having free board and regular employment, why, you cannot lose your job in one of those places. (Applause). You have not got any employers' association to fire you. They cannot draw up, they cannot blacklist you or anything. You have a perpetual job waiting for you if you can only keep strong enough to keep going to it.

But you have come here tonight, not to hear me talk around the bush, but you have come here to hear the old reprobate Berkman. I am glad to introduce him. (Applause).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

399

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Deportations] Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America [Detroit] / Alexander Berkman. — 1919 Nov. 26 [government transcript]. — 21 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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ALEXANDER BERKMAN: Friends, I think we are living in a very critical and significant time in this country as well as in the world at large. It looks rather dark and black just now, but it may be the darkness before the dawn. It is over a year now since the armistice was declared. We are supposed to have declared the war at an end practically, but peace there is not, and now looking back a little, I think we can get a better perspective than we had two or three years ago as to what really happened before and during the war. You all know the price that the world has paid for the war; you know the countless sacrifices, you know about the ten million people that were killed; you know about the other millions that were crippled; and you know about the untold and untellable agony of tears and heartbleeding that the world has suffered, and what for?

Well, I suppose, it is fresh in your minds, the promises that were made to us as to what the war is going to accomplish. It was going to be the last war; it was going to be a great war for democracy, for liberty, for the wellbeing of the peoples of the world, for their self-determination. Labor especially in this country was going to become free, labor was going to become the dominant power. We had to beg labor, the Government had almost to go down on its knees to get the full co-operation of the forces of labor in order to win the war, and it was proclaimed that labor did win the war, and now, look around you, what is the results of the great victory that we have from the war? Look at the terror, the White Government, and capitalistic terror that has the country in its grasp. Look around you and see what is the condition of labor in this country today. Look

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400

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5

at the strikes, the innumerable, almost uncountable strikes for better conditions, for higher wages, for more humane treatment on the part of those, for instance, that are involved today in the steel strikes, on the part of the miners of this country, on the part of the railroad men who are about to go out on a strike, and look about you and see the terror used as to those who are supposed to be the cause of all dissatisfaction and unrest that is permeating the country today. Look at the tactics used today with regard to the suppression of liberty, of free speech, with regard to the suppression of any free thought at all. Is that the democracy that we have spent ten million human lives for? Is that the result of the war? And of the great promises that were made us, and which I want to ask you, which of the many factors that brought about American participation in the war, which of those many factors was one of the most important ones? I must confess to myself that one of the most important factors in getting Americans into the war, and thus prolonging the war, were the so-called intellectual classes of this country, the so-called liberal, progressive, and to a great extent the radical element of this country. It was they who were deluded by the high sounding phrases of a college professor. It was they who were routed out from their conception of a life time, from their ideas of peace, of human brotherhood. It was they who influenced the country for war, and it was they chiefly who upheld the hand that brought us into the war. There were here and there some persons, very, very few that stood out against the war, and who said that war always is a calamity, that the result of war is always a reaction; they pointed to historical facts, they pointed to previous wars, and they pointed out that every time there is a war a reaction sweeps the countries

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401

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involved. These voices that protested against war and human slaughter, that said we have nothing to gain from it, they were gradually stifled, and it was the radical and so-called liberal element that was chiefly responsible for the stifling of the few voices that were raised in behalf of humanity and progress. There were here and there some Socialists, some Anarchists, some I. W. W.'s, that spoke up against militarism, that said the laws that we are passing temporarily, as was promised because of the necessities of the war situation, that those laws will remain, and remain a weapon with which every expression of free thought after the war, and every aspiration of labor after the war will be crushed. There were voices raised that pointed out that to poison the human mind and human heart with hatred is not a question only of a temporary war, but that such poison remains in the human heart and continues there to spread and to poison the whole system. And we have poisoned the human mind with this spirit of hatred during the war, with the spirit of intolerance and persecution, and that is not a spirit that can be done away with at the behest of some declaration. That is not a spirit that can be eliminated as soon as war is over.

We see today as a result of the war and of this spirit created by the war, and this spirit of intolerance and persecution and hatred, we see the result today that this same spirit continues to dominate the country, that the spirit of mob violence is strong, stronger in this country today than it was ever before, that the spirit of hatred is stronger in this country than it ever was before, but as during the war this spirit of hatred was directed against the so-called Hun, against

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7

the German, today that spirit of hatred has been deflected against another element, and that is the element of radicalism, of liberalism, the Russians, the so-called foreigners and aliens in this country. The same spirit that dominated the war, the spirit of bitterness and persecution and hatred, dominates the country today. It is not so easy eliminated.

*new* The question is why all this hatred, why all this persecution and why this terror that is being used by the Government against this radical element? I suppose you know what is being done today practically in every city in the country. You have heard about the arrests, the clubbings, the raids that are being perpetrated practically every day in every large city; you have heard about the arrests of hundreds of young men and young women merely on the suspicion that they might have some free idea, on the suspicion that they belong to some organization that wants to help them go to Russia, or about the arrests and clubbings and sentences to twenty years prison for a few young fellows, practically children, eighteen or nineteen or twenty years of age, in New York, who merely gave out a hand bill protesting against the blockade in Russia. You have heard about the Mollie Steimer case, and the Abrams case, and the other two boys involved, each one of them got twenty years to prison, and Mollie Steimer, a slip of a girl only twenty years of age, got fifteen years for distributing a hand bill asking people of this country to protest against American participating in war against the Revolution of Russia, and also asking the people to lift the blockade of Russia, the blockade that is starving millions and millions of people in Russia today.

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403

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Now, we are not at war with Russia. Congress has not declared war. The people of this country have not declared war against Russia, and yet this country is actually at war with Russia as is England and France and Italy and Japan. What is the explanation of all this? Why this war against Russia, this blockade that is starving millions, and why this White terror against the Russians of this country and other aliens supposedly responsible for the unrest in America? There is one particular reason, and that is the existence of Soviet Revolutionary Russia, and why? Soviet Russia is one of the greatest steps forward that humanity has ever taken. (Applause). It is the first time in the history of the whole world before or since Christ that any country has tried to do away with crime and misery and poverty and exploitation and suppression and oppression. It has never been tried before on the scale that Russia, a country almost three times as big as the United States, with a population almost two hundred millions, is trying to do today. It is the greatest social experiment in the history of the world. And they have achieved a great deal. They have for one thing declared this principle, the lands, the soil was not created by any human hands, it cannot belong to any individual to exploit, and to monopolize. The land belongs to everybody who wants it and needs it. (Applause). And they have declared another great principle, and the first time in the history of the world, and that principle is no private capital can monopolize the sources of wealth, no private capital can be allowed to monopolize the products of labor's toil. (Applause). In other words, they have abolished capitalists. They have established the principle

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that the workers as a class that produced all wealth of the world should own that wealth. (Applause). That the workers are entitled to all they produce. They have established the principle that he who does not work either mentally or physically, he shall not eat. (Applause). And I repeat that this is the first step, the first real step that any country has ever taken to introduce into the world a new social life based on work, on usefulness, and liberty, and self-expression, the first time in the history of the world where a country is trying to give real liberty, real opportunity and real well-being to the people at large, to every individual and to society as a whole.

It established the principle that all men and all women are brothers and sisters, that they are one family, and that as long as there is plenty for one human being, no other human being should be sentenced to starvation. They have established the principle that all are equal, a principle written in the American Constitution but never practically applied in the life of the United States. (Applause). They have established the principle of equal opportunity for each and every one, with special consideration for the children of the country, the children of the workers.

Now, what Russia has done, the abolition of capitalism, and the giving <sup>to</sup> the workers control of the industry of production and distribution, this is a crime that the governments and the capitalists of the world can never forgive Russia. (Laughter). Russia has repudiated her debts. To some, it may seem a terrible thing. If you owed a man five dollars, by what right can you repudiate your obligation? Why, that does not apply to Russia. The debts Russia had were the debts of the Czar and of his

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10

Government, who borrowed American and English and French and Italian money in order to raise a big army in order to keep the people down. That was the money that American capitalists and English capitalists loaned to Russia, to the Czar, in order to help him oppress and tyrannize over the people, and when the people liberated themselves, when they sent the last Czar to his fathers (laughter), then they said -- (applause) -- then they said, "By what right can we tax these people, the Russian people in order to pay the debts of the Czar who used the money to oppress us, and by what right can we pay debts to America and American capitalists" -- I am sure you cannot find an American workman to whom Russia owes anything. (Laughter). They asked, "By what right shall we tax the Russian People to pay debt to American capitalists who had no business to lend money to the Russian Czar?" And for that reason they repudiated the debts, and I think justly so. It would have been a crime to pay those debts. The American capitalists and the other capitalists might have forgiven Russia for repudiating the debts; they have made millions upon millions, billions in the war, and they can afford to lose a few hundred thousands or millions that Russia owes them. France also owes them a lot of money they will never pay, (laughter), and they are not sending any army to France.

But, though the capitalists of the world and the international imperialists could forgive Russian Soviet for repudiating the debts, there is something else they cannot forgive, and that is that Russia has set an example for the whole world, for the workers to take charge of the world. (Applause and cheering).

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406



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11

This can never be forgiven the Russian people and it is for this reason that the governments and the capitalists of the world are waging war against Russia, are trying to down the Russian revolution, are helping such generals like Kolchak and Denekine who are -- (booing and hissing) who are nothing else than representatives of the Czar and the governments know that. Of course, I do not mean to suggest that Denekine or Kolchak have any chance in Russia. Their army consists of officers only, and these officers are the sons of former aristocrats and millionaires who now find that Russia is a terrible country because it expects every able bodied man to do some useful work. (Applause).

Therefore I say that American and other capitalists cannot forgive Russia this particular thing, the abolition of capitalism and the institution of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, which merely means in simple English, a new term we have, you will find it in the next dictionary, I suppose, but simply means that the working classes shall have control of the things that belong to the working class, a very simple thing, the houses and the buildings and the railroads, and the big castles, and the mansions, and the wonderful wealth that the country has created, has been created by the toil of workers, by the manual and intellectual toil of workers, and why should ~~not~~ not these workers own the wealth they themselves have produced? I do not think there is any human being alive who can give a good reason why the workers should always be those that have nothing, producing as they do all the wealth in every country. There is no reason why they should not, and Russia argued that way, and for once in the

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407

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12

history of the world actually applied that argument in their lives. Now, they have abolished capitalism, and capitalism cannot forgive Russia that, and hence the hatred and the persecution and the war against Russia. But that is not enough. The hatred and persecution of Russia has been transplanted into the United States, also for a very good reason. Because in the United States today the example of Russia is already manifest, and manifest even in the American Federation of Labor. There is a tremendous spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction in the ranks of labor. You find the high cost of living and a thousand other things that make living impossible even at the supposedly high wages that are being received. They receive fifty dollars a week where before they received twenty-five, but the dollar is not worth today even fifty cents when you are going to buy something. And so conditions in the country are such that the working class has become restive, is dissatisfied, wants a change, is still groping to a great extent in the dark, but the spirit of dissatisfaction is permeating the whole of America, and we are trying to find some way by which we can change conditions, and that is true even of those who are not consciously social in their aspirations.

Now, this spirit of unrest, this spirit that manifests itself in the American Federation of Labor, as well as throughout the whole country, is directed against the institutions of capitalism, and to a great extent also the government that supports capitalism, and capitalism feels there is danger, there is a menace. Labor demands more and more. Today they want fifty cents more, and next week they go out on a strike for two dollars more, and there is no guarantee that

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408

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13

in a month they will not demand five dollars more, and it is true, fortunately, I say, capital feels the menace of labor much more than labor understands the situation. Capital feels that the example of Russia has inspired the whole world, and that in spite of capitalistic misrepresentations and lies, people do begin to see what is happening in Russia, people do begin to see that Russia is trying to give the working man a chance. And now capitalism asks itself what shall be done? We have to suppress this dissatisfaction and unrest. We will compromise a little bit with labor, we will give them a little participation in the control of industry, we will play some camouflage game; we will make him believe he is boss, but still capital is afraid labor actually wants to become the boss, and they see it coming every day stronger and stronger. It is necessary to throw sand in the eyes of the people; it is necessary to delude the working class, so the cry is raised, the dissatisfaction comes from the foreigner, the alien is responsible for all of this, it is Russian, or Bolshevik, I. V. F., or Socialist, or Anarchist. That is the explanation for the hysteria that is desinating the country today against every progressive and every radical.

You remember that the Czars in Russia, every time they felt the approach of a revolution, when the people began to show signs of strong, active dissatisfaction, -- what did the Czars do, and their Government? They pointed out the Jew, and they said to the worker and the peasant, "your troubles all come from the Jew, if you get after him, your troubles will be all right". (Laughter). And the Jew was lynched, pogroms, we call them. But after the Jew was lynched here and there,

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409

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14

the peasant found it was the same thing, conditions did not improve, taxes grew higher and higher, and oppression grew worse. The Government resorted to the same methods again, and pointed to the Jew, and the next generation of the peasants, and the next generation of the workmen, deluded by the government, and incited by whisky and some of the capitalistic intellectuals of Russia, would make another pogrom, and another pogrom, until the revolution came, and you have not heard of any pogrom since, <sup>free, Soviet</sup> ~~in Russia~~ Russia. (Applause).

*non* In this country today, the government and the capitalistic press are trying to make a goat of the foreigner, the alien. As the Czar pointed out the Jew, they point to the radical, the I. W. W., the Bolshevik, the Russian, the alien, and says, "Workers of America, you are all right, the conditions are all right, but here is the trouble, get the foreigner out". (Laughter). They feel that the foreigner is responsible for the dissatisfaction, but this is another form of camouflage. Intelligent capitalists, Vanderlip, for instance, have come out quite openly. They know the dissatisfaction is not created by any foreigner or by any alien. Dissatisfaction cannot be created except by conditions themselves, and it is not the alien, it is not the foreigner, it is not the radical that is a menace to the people. The greatest and only menace to the people of this country is capitalism itself, that is the menace. (Applause).

I think the government is paying quite a compliment to these aliens and foreigners and revolutionists, quite a compliments, because in pointing at them they acknowledge that <sup>are the</sup> ~~these~~ <sup>do</sup> ~~men~~ and women who have ideas, ~~that~~ they believe that the

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410



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15

American people have no ideas at all? Too stupid -- (laughter)  
I think the intelligent American ought to resent the attitude of his government because it puts him in a very unenviable light; it makes him look like a fool. No one seems to have any ideas in this country except the alien, according to the government, and the government and the press want to suppress and eradicate these new ideas. It is pitiful, the stupidity of governments is really indescribable. All history shows that every government tried to do that. Russia has tried to do this, suppress and eradicate certain progressive ideas. For over, one hundred fifty years they have tried to do that. And where is the Czar's government today? And today, America is repeating the very same fatal mistake of other governments, they are trying to eradicate these radical ideas by suppressing the alien or foreigner or Russian, by throwing them into prison, by deporting, and they have passed under the mask of the law and of the war, and the war's necessities, they have passed new laws. The radicals at the time pointed out this fact, that the war is being taken advantage of by capitalism to put the muzzle on the American people after the war. We have pointed that out, and unfortunately we were right. The war is passed and the muzzle is on. Not only it stays on, but new laws are being passed, Federal and State, at every session, to suppress thought and speech, to suppress ideas.

Now, let me tell you, I do not feel any anxiety at all about the suppression of ideas. It is an impossibility, but I should not like to see America commit the same mistakes that Russia did, because America will have to pay, as Russia has paid for one hundred and fifty years back. I should not

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411

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16

like to see this country commit the same fatal errors, but as to the suppression of thought, it is an impossibility. Revolution begins in the mind, and the mind will think and be active in spite of laws, and it seems to me we stand in the midst of a revolution. It is not visible to the average eye, but we are today in this country in the midst of a great upheaval of a revolution, because every revolution begins intellectually, it begins with your thoughts.

After all, if you analyze social life, you will realize that society is not based upon certain institutions; it is not based upon government or capitalism, no. Society is based upon certain ideas, and these ideas express themselves in certain institutions, and if it were not for the ideas of private ownership of public utilities, the idea of private capitalism, the idea of authority and suppression, then government and capitalism could not exist, and these ideas upon which present society is based, are beginning to change. That is always the symptom of a revolution, when the ideas change. Ideas are certainly changing today in the world. Even the average American is beginning to think, and that is the greatest sign of a coming revolution. (Laughter and applause).

Now they passed certain laws -- my time is too short to talk about them all, and I want to point out one law that practically covers the <sup>spirit</sup> ~~principles~~ of all the rest, and that is used today in order to suppress not only the I. W. W.'s and Socialists and Anarchists and various aliens, but to suppress labor, suppress the working class of this country, and that is the Federal Anti-Anarchist Law. Under the mask of this

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412

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17

Anti-Anarchist law, men and women are arrested every day who are not even Anarchists; some of them never heard of anarchy, ordinary working men, men of no social views, men of no social interest, just ordinary working men are arrested and beaten up and sent to Ellis Island for deportation because they happen to be Russians to Italians or Spanish. They are arrested and deported because sometimes they are active in a strike, because they demand better conditions, because they belong to some union. Occasionally they belong to the Union of Russian Workers, and joined that organization in the hope that they will be able to go to Russia, back to their native land. For that itself they are arrested and deported, or at least kept in Ellis Island because they are not deporting anybody just now to Russia. They are afraid to strengthen the hands of the Soviet.

*msn*  
The Anti-Anarchist Law is the greatest menace for the working class of this country, because they are starting to do under that law, and under similar laws, under the Criminal Syndicalist Law, under the Criminal Anarchy Law of New York, and similar laws in different other states, they are beginning a new principle on a wholesale scale, the principle of deportation. That is a very, very important matter. I think that my friend, Emma Goldman and myself are soon going to Russia, and I am very glad of that. (Applause) But it is not a question only of Emma Goldman or Berkman. It is the question of the principle that underlies deportation. The principle of eradicating every social protestant, of suppressing every new thought, of striking at workers who demand better conditions of living, of striking at organized labor, of striking at the very heart of the American people.

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413

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That is the principle that is involved in deportation. Today they deport aliens, so-called. Tomorrow they will banish Americans, natives, and you all know if you read the papers that a bill has already been brought up in Congress to punish native Americans, to punish them for holding certain ideas, not for any act they may have committed, not for anything they might have done, but for holding certain views. Disbelieving in government of a certain form, for instance, to punish them with a new Siberia in America, in the Philippines and I think they have chosen the Philippines, a warm climate, merely not to antagonize very much the liberal element and the people at large, not to create too much resentment all at once. It will not be ultimately the Philippines, I am sure it will be a Russian Siberia in Alaska that belongs to America today. But the principles once established, there is no stopping. If you establish the principle of deporting people because they hold the views, because you do not like those views, you will next deport natives that hold views you do not like, so that deportation involves banishment, exile for the native American. I want to warn the people of this country if they permit deportation they are sentencing themselves to the conditions that prevailed in Russia under the worst Czar, for that is going to be the ultimate effect. I understand that the Government decided yesterday to deport me. Mrs. Goldman will speak of her own deportation, I suppose, and I want to say just a few words in conclusion concerning my own deportation. It may be the last time that

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19

I face an audience. It may be the last time I have the opportunity to say in public just how I feel about deportation.

I want to remain in this country for a good reason. A very great American, a poet and a writer said, "My place is where liberty is not" and that is why I want to be in America." (Applause). I think the American people need me a great deal more than the Bolsheviks or the Soviet of Russia. (Applause), but I am perfectly willing, if necessary, to go to Russia, to a certain part of Russia, for instance to Soviet Russia (applause). I do not care to go to Kolchak or Denikine, and I do not think that they will have any place left for themselves by the time I get there (applause).

*now* I made the Government of the United States a certain offer; I told them, I told Washington through my lawyer, that I was willing to go to Russia if the Government insist upon deporting me, and I want to pay my own fare, I want to spare the American people even my fare, but I am afraid the Government is not going to accept my offer because I insist upon choosing my own port of debarkation. I want to go directly to Russia, to European Russia and not Asiatic Russia, not to Siberia. Siberia still has to me the old sounds that I knew when I was a boy under the czars. There is a bad sound in my ears. But the Government does not care about the saving of the money that would be required to send away these men and women to be deported. There are thousands of Russians in this country today sentenced to deportation, and held in jails and prisons, who have offered

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415

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Deportations] Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America [Detroit] / Alexander Berkman. — 1919 Nov. 26 [government transcript]. — 21 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Speaking on the eve of his deportation, Berkman discusses the status of the Russian Revolution, the political conditions in the United States, and his own deportation.

Notes: For speeches of Goldman and Jacob Margolis at same event, see 890216000 and 890216001. Includes introduction by Paul Taylor.

20

the Government to go to Russia willingly, and some of them even offered to pay their fare and yet the Government is not sending them, but is keeping them in prisons. Now, what is the explanation of that? I think there can be only one reason, and that is the American Government does not want to send us just yet to Soviet Russia because they are afraid we are going to make Soviet Russia too strong. (applause), but whatever the consideration, the Government is going to carry through this principle of deportation and of banishment. Unless the American people open their eyes and awake to the situation, I am afraid there will be very terrible conditions in this country.

Let me say to you that it is a matter of comparative indifference to me in what part of the world I am. I have a certain kind; I have certain ideas; I think certain things are right, and certain things are wrong, and I will express and advocate these ideas wherever I am. I even tried to do so in prison. So that it would make no difference to me in what part of the world I am, I am going to work in the future as in the past for what I think right. I am going to work in the future as in the past for the emancipation of the working class and for humanity. (Applause).

And, meanwhile, while Mrs. Goldman and myself still have a chance and opportunity to be in this country and to express our views, we are trying to make a fight against deportation, not so much a fight against our own deportation, but against the principle of deportation, and for all those who are in danger of being deported perhaps

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416

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21

into a very dangerous situation. We are making this fight through publicity, through trying to educate the American people, <sup>we</sup> are making this fight for the benefit of the men and women, who are about to be deported and also specifically for the benefit of the natives who will be deported to the Philippines before very long if they permit they permit these kind of deportations to go on now, and if our work now and for the last thirty years can help the American people to open their eyes to some extent to see the things as they are, and to profit by the great example of Russia so that they will soon see that their best interests and the best interests of humanity as a whole, necessitates the abolition of all suppression and oppression, the abolition of capitalism, the abolition of robbery and crime, if our work of the last thirty years has helped them to see this, then I think we have done well in this country. (Applause).

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417

## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216000

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

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22

CHAIRMAN I. PAUL TAYLOR: I have just been trying to reach one thing out in mind, and that is this, why it is we have to put up a barrier against the immigrants coming into this country, having put up a barrier against the man who wants to leave the country and are yet carrying on a campaign of deportation, which reminds of a little jingle I heard in school, "You can lead a horse to water but you cannot make him drink; you can send a man to Congress, but you cannot make him think." (Laughter and applause).

Before announcing the next speaker, there are a couple of announcements I have been requested to give.

(Making announcements).

WBN  
This morning, the wife of a judge in this town called me up and said that a member of the American Legion had visited their house and said that the American Legion was planning to pack the Arena on Sunday afternoon. I hope they do. They may hear something worth while. But if all of the American Legion go up to the Arena<sup>on</sup> Sunday afternoon to hear Bill Haywood, it is very likely that some of you will not be able to get in. Therefore, I called up the I. W. W. Headquarters and made this suggestion to them, we will be holding here on Sunday afternoon our regular forum with Langdon Davis, of England as the speaker on "Direct Action in Britain." I made this suggestion, that if they have the overflow up there, that they shove them down here and shove Bill Haywood down here to speak to the overflow. So that if you fail to get in up there or you want to be sure to have a seat to hear Bill Haywood, come



## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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23

to the Auto Workers hall.

Now, with all due respect to the thousands - or how many ever they have in American Legion, I do not think they can pack both halls.

The speaker, as I understand it, is somewhat in the position of the piece of ham in the sandwich. He is a lawyer, but an honest man. (Laughter). You know it is <sup>near as</sup> pretty/hard to find an honest lawyer as it is an honest preacher (laughter). Which reminds me, last night, a couple of nights ago I was talking to a couple of them I used to know in my reprobate days, and one of them said to me, "Taylor, tell me how many people in this town are really in favor of bolshevism?" I said, "I don't know, I never counted them." But I said, "I will tell you this, during the war I understand - - I don't know what you mean by bolshevism, probably you mean the I. W. W.". He said, "Yes, the same thing." (Laughter). I said, "All right, during the period of the war the I. W. W. have increased in this town from a few hundred to over four thousand." He said, "Well, how many honest-to-goodness Americans are in the organization?" "Well," I said, "I have been looking up some statistics about Detroit lately, and I find that in Detroit, from a half to three-quarters of the people in this town are foreigners, or of foreign born parents and I should say that if the I. W. W. keep the same proportion, that probably half or three-quarters of them would be foreigners, and my knowledge of them would be they are an average Detroit crowd." He said, "Is that possible? Is that possible?" I says, "Yes, it is not only possible, but it is a fact."

## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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24

Tell, it got me off of this subject of Margolis.

Mr. Margolis is not only a lawyer, but he is somewhat of a Billy Sunday except he has got -- (laughter); let me explain that. In the first point, both Billy Sunday and Margolis are very good collection takers. The big point of difference in them is this, that Billy Sunday keeps it for himself and Margolis gives it to some one else. I understand he is not only interested in this thing from a viewpoint of principle, but he is interested because he has got some clients, and these clients have not got anything to pay him with. Now, he has got to raise something for the clients, you see. But it is more than that. Margolis is so blamed interested in this thing he does not care whether the clients pay him or not, but in this particular town we have got a little situation that Margolis is going to explain to you, and after he explains it to you, I know you are going to feel with him, you are going to feel with me, and you are going to feel with Berkman that the cause of freedom is yours and it is mine and it is for you and me to support this thing on a question of principle, and not only on a question of principle, but from a selfish point of view, because we do not want our children, we do not want our wives put in the position of some other wives and some other children in this town.

So I am going to introduce to you to your old friend who is really going to be a new friend to us because he is a new one in Detroit, but he is an old friend of labor, and anybody that is a friend of labor is a friend of mine. Mr. Margolis. (Applause).

## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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25

JAKE MARGOLIS: It has been my privilege long before the deportation matter became acute in America to realize that this question of deportation was a very serious matter. As early as May of 1918, while the war was on, this matter of deportation was actually started. At that time the men and women who were selected for the purposes of deportation were Italians chiefly, and I represented in 1918, four Italians. At that time it had no special significance. It really did not mean very much because it was <sup>not</sup> something really needed by the capitalists of America in order to maintain themselves. In those cases, they proceeded under an act of February 5th, 1917. That act was not all inclusive. That act had some weaknesses from the point of view of those who believed in deportation. So, therefore, on the 16th day of October, 1918, they passed a law which was proof against the shrewdest and the most capable lawyers in America. It was a law that nobody could possibly attack and succeed in doing anything with it. Because under that act of October 16th, 1918, they had a clause that any person who disbelieves in organized government is an anarchist who should be and can be deported from the United States. Do you understand how broad that act is? That any man or woman in this crowd, in this audience, who happens to be an alien, who has a philosophical view that at some distant future day that our common humanity will be able to get <sup>along</sup> together without any superimposed authority, that our common humanity will not need policeman, that our common humanity will not need jails, will not need dungeons, will not need courts, will

## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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28

not need all manner of superimposed direction, that if you hold such a philosophical view; that you are subject to deportation. That is what the law actually provides. There are sixteen different sections to that act, and while speaking to the solicitor for the Department of Labor, who is now not connected with me, he quite triumphantly told me that he succeeded in drafting an act which would cover every possible case, which might come under it. I agree with him.

However, we have come to a point in this deportation matter which is quite acute. It is no longer a simple matter which is of no importance. It has become quite a serious matter and I want to say that those who are directing this campaign at the present time are quite profound psychologists, they understand things quite well, and let me explain to you why this is not a matter which has been hit upon accidentally, but which has actually been worked out.

With the war over, you cannot accuse any sentiment any more against Germans; pro-Germanism no longer has anything to it. Particularly since the boys who were in the Army of Occupation of Germany came back and told us that the Germans were real human beings. You know, I have made it a point, and I think some of you have done the same thing, to ask the boys who were over in Germany in the Army of Occupation what kind of people are these Germans? Are they really such terrible degraded inhuman creatures? And with every one I spoke, they said to me frankly, "We found the Germans a fine lot of men and women." That is what they told me. That seems to have permeated our American



## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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27

atmosphere and it is pretty hard nowadays to believe those terrible things that were told to you about the Germans, so it is quite difficult to arouse any particular hatred or antagonism against the Germans. But when they ran out of that method of propaganda, they hit upon another one, and that other one is right now the Russian Bolsheviks. You cannot very well today, with the public clamor in the capitalists' newspapers, take a stand in favor of the Russians. You have to be quite a courageous individual to do that, and most people do not have the requisite courage to express themselves about an unpopular thing. I hold, and it is so beautifully set forth in Mark Twain's posthumous work, "The Mysterious Stranger". The people do not hate. That people really do not want to burn witches, that they do not anathematize, that they do not want to injure, but every fellow is afraid of his neighbor. You remember the Mysterious stranger in the crowd, when they were hanging one of the witches, if you have read the work, he was able to look into their hearts, he was an angel who came out from Heaven, to see the foolish mortals how they acted. When he looked in the heart, he saw neither envy nor malice nor hatred, he saw only fear, and that seems to be the trouble, that fear. And because this thing is unpopular, therefore, people fear. They have, therefore, selected the Russians for the vicarious punishment. You understand it is a transferred punishment. They do not really mean it so much for these poor Russian workers, but they are that particular group who are in disfavor, they do not have many many friends, of course, they do not have those

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28

in the public who are for them, the newspapers in every city write terrible articles about the terrible bolshevik, about the terrible Russians, and they, therefore, have concluded that public sympathy is not with the Russians, that public sympathy is away from the Russian, so that they have selected them for the punishment. In religion, we know about vicarious atonement. My ex-preacher friend here could tell you more about that. (Laughter). But today we have an illustration of vicarious punishment, that is it is transferred over to the Russians, and the Russians are paying the penalty by reason of the fact that they are an unpopular group today. That is the actual situation.

This thing has become very acute, the Russian situation, the Russians in the jail all over the eastern part of the United States has become an acute problem. It is such an easy thing for them to do it. The fact of the matter is that practically all of the Russians in the United States are aliens. That is the truth of the matter. From my experience in the deportation cases, and I have told you they cover quite a long period, I have had a large number of cases, I find this upon the examination of the witnesses, that they came over to this country by reason of the oppression in Russia, by reason of lack of economic opportunity in Russia, by reason of the narrowness of the life, by reason of the advertisements printed in newspapers of the golden opportunities over here, the steamship agents who told them about the glorious country where money was in the streets, and they listened to these alluring stories, they believed them because they are simple folk. If you know the Russian,

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29

you will find that he is probably the most credulous and sympathetic of all the people of the world. That has been my experience with them. These people came over to the United States to find a land flowing with riches and with gold, and with beautiful things, and they came over here and they were put to work in our basic industries, they went to work in the steel industry and the coal industry and the automobile industry, in the metal mining industry, they went to work in all the industries where their real brawn, because they have it, was such a tremendous asset. They brought them over here because they knew these people had really no vision, that these people were really suppressed in Russia, that they thought only in terms of superstition, and if they had any time, that they spent it very often in drinking hard liquors. They realized that these people are only transients in this country, that they are only coming here for the purpose of making sufficient money so that they may go back into Russia, and buy a little piece of ground more than they had, probably a couple of cows, a couple of pigs, and live a glorious life according to their idea of it. And they brought over these people in the thousands; they brought them over in the tens of thousands, in the hundreds of thousands, and they put them into the mills and into the factories, the coal mines, the iron mines, and they worked there and they produced untold wealth. They have made all the Pittsburgh millionaires and we have lots of them. They are making all the Detroit millionaires, and they are making millionaires all over the country, this working class is, and a large section of this working

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890216001

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30

that  
class/ie making these millions for our millionaires, are  
the Russians and others who have come over from Europe.  
While they are in this country working in these places,  
and I made it a special part of my inquiry to ask them,  
"Were you ever asked to go to school and learn English,  
were you ever told to study the institutions of America  
by your foremen and by your superintendents, were you ever  
asked to take out your first papers, were you ever asked  
to become a citizen of the United States, did the corpora-  
tion for which you worked ever take an interest in you other  
than as a mere worker to be exploited, did they ever show  
the slightest concern in your welfare, did they ever do  
anything in order to cause you to become assimilated and  
to be a part of our American life," and the answer in every  
case has been, so far as my investigations have carried me,  
that in no instance have the corporate interests of America,  
have the capitalists of America ever done anything to en-  
courage these people to become a part of our American life.  
Not a thing, and for that reason I say it comes with  
such terribly bad grace, it is such <sup>ugly</sup> a hypocritical thing  
to shout, "these aliens, these men who refuse to become  
Americanized." What did they do to Americanize them?  
All they did was to brutalize them, all they did was to  
exploit them, all they did was to make of them ~~themselves~~ as  
debased creatures as they possibly could. (Applause).

In Pittsburgh, in the steel district, they worked  
them twelve hours to fourteen hours, and I asked these men,  
"When you come out of your work, and when you had completed  
your day's work, did you have the energy to do anything?"



## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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31

Did you have the energy to go to school if you wanted to? Did you have the inclination to study anything?" And the uniform answer has been, "I was so tired that after I had my supper, I went to bed so that I could get up next morning to go to work." That is an actual situation. You may not know it so acutely here in Detroit, because I understand there are a lot of eight-hour shops around here, but in the steel industry, the common laborer works twelve to fourteen hours. The common worker, the Russian, Hungarian, Croatian, the Romanian, and all those workers, who are brought over here from Europe only to be exploited, these men work twelve and fourteen hours a day, and now they say, "These aliens are dangerous to the country, these aliens have not become Americanized". I say to the corporate interests of the country, "What have you done except to draw the life blood out of the people? What have you done to make Americans out of them? Nothing have you done." (Applause).

I am not talking to you certain theoretical things. These things which I tell you I have learned from these very men who are in the prisons of America today. These Russian boys, for the most part only in the last year and year and a half or two years, has it dawned upon them that they too are human beings, that they too can live like human beings, that they too can have new values, that they too can realize what life can possibly hold for them. It is only in the last two and a half years since that tremendous thing happened in Russia that these men have begun to realize that they are human beings. For twenty-five years

## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216XXX1

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32

in the Pittsburgh district, these men were satisfied to do nothing but work and work and work, and in their time of recreation to go to church and to be told the glories of the Czar and to drink whiskey when they had nothing else to do, or play cards. Ideas were total strangers in their minds. They never thought of those things; they had no time to think about them. Nobody wanted them to think anything about it, because when they came over from Russia to the United States, the Russian government saw to it that their agents came along with them, and these agents were known as the Russian priests; they were maintained by Russia when they lived in America and they did the same work in America as they did in Russia, to keep the people in darkness, and it was a terrible land of darkness before the great day dawned. (Applause).

But, as I say, when that great day came, a new day came into the life of the Russian here in America too. It was a new day for the Russian over there, but it was equally a new day for the Russian over here. The Russian over here commenced a new life. To him the old values started to drop away. It was like the removing of a scaffold after the new structure is erected. You have no need for the scaffold. It fell away, those old values which they held, those old values of superstition, of making money, of hoarding, of drunkenness and all those other things, and that Russian who basically had a fine sympathetic spirit because he knew so much through actual experience of suffering and misery and wretchedness, when these old superstitions

## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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33

and these old values fell away, he stood much as a new human being, as a human being who was his real self and that real self was distinctly worth while, and because of that, and because they were no longer subservient as of old, because no longer they could be used as they had been used for the twenty-five years past in the steel industry, for that reason they became very disagreeable to the masters of old, they became very disagreeable to the corporate interests of America because no longer were they satisfied to work long hours so that they could make a little more money to carry back to Russia. No longer did they care so much about money. It is a remarkable transformation in the Russian character, if any of you have seen him lately. Formerly he was quite a hard fisted sort of a guy because he knew the value of money. It meant so much in the Old Country. There is a transformation in Russian character; they do not care so much for money, it does not mean so much because they have been told that in Russia, the land today to which they all want to go, that money does not count so much, that you can have a million dollars in Russia and still starve to death, so that they do not care so much about it. They want to live more and during the steel strike in Pittsburgh, the investigators that went out, that is, the competent investigators, that is those who did not take a superficial view of the things, those who wanted to look into the various causes that contributed to that strike, they learned that there is one thing that the Russian particularly wanted short hours. He did not want to work twelve hours any more; he was willing to work eight

## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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34

hours and get less money. He wanted something more in life than mere work and drudgery, and ugliness, and because of this fact it became necessary something be done to curb this, something be done to stop this movement among the Russians.

*now*

I want you to bear one thing in mind, and I want this distinctly understood so that there will be no mistake about it, these Russians who have been arrested all over the United States, although they had a fine spirit of internationalism, although they had a fine understanding, a sympathetic understanding, and they really would like to do something in the American labor movement, that their hearts are over on the other side, and for an excellent reason, their hearts are over on the other side. In investigating these cases, I asked them how long is it since you have heard from your people over in Russia, and they usually answered two or three or four or five years, as the case may be. I ask any one of you who has any persons for whom you care, a wife or a sweetheart or child or brother or mother or father or any person, if you had not heard from them for two or three or four years, and you did not know what happened to them, how would you feel about it? Would you want to go back to see what had happened to them? Would you want to go back to find out what the vicissitudes of life had in store for these people? Would you be anxious and would you feel quite chagrined, and would you feel an injustice was done to you if you were not permitted to go back to see them? I would submit it to the most hard heart-



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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35

ed person in the world, if he had not heard from somebody whom he held dear for four or five years, if he would not want to go back to Russia.

There is a curious situation developing here.

These people want to go back; they ask to be permitted to go back and they are not permitted to go back, and yet they say they will deport them, they neither let them go back or deport them, but the way they solve this problem or cut the Gordian knot is by putting them in jail; there is the solution of the problem, there is the situation; there are the people today in the jails of the United States. In the jail in the City of Detroit there are 47 Russian boys, 47. Their only crime as I can possibly see it is because they are no longer satisfied to be the submissive slaves they used to be in the past, and because they want to go back home; that is their crime and they therefore, utilize the situation knowing the unpopularity of Russia, to take these people and put them into the jails, thinking nobody would be interested enough, thinking nobody would have the courage to stand up for them, thinking that the American, that is, that person who was born in this country, but whose parents in all probability came from some foreign land, thinking that that individual would have no sympathy for him at all, but sad and truthful to tell you, it is quite true, that our American, who has come from the other side, I mean his father or mother came from the other side, that his grandfather, as far back as that, has come to feel that this land which is

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36

made up by foreigners, that this land which is made up by those who formerly lived on the other side, which was a refuge and a haven and asylum for the oppressed of all countries, that those people have gotten a narrow insular nationalistic spirit today, which says this is no longer a place where the oppressed of the world may come. We will put a fence around it and we will kick out all those who do not do what we want them to do. That is true, but it is a very sad fact, and they are counting upon that fact, the capitalists of America, are counting upon that fact so that they may be able to get an entering wedge into the situation and start forthwith on a wholesale scale with the deportation of all those elements who are unsatisfactory to them. As they have started out <sup>with</sup> the foreigner, with the Russian, they may carry out Senator McKellar's scheme of having an island in the Pacific, or some other place, to send malcontents who are not aliens, whose fathers or mothers were born here, but who had the good fortune to be born here themselves, and that is what they propose to do, and they have got the entering wedge.

Therefore, it becomes quite an important thing that you who either have the courage or a scrap of an international spirit or the spirit of solidarity of workers, it is up to you to do something so that you may prevent capitalism from carrying out this dastardly thing they propose. It is up to you to do that; it is up to you to do something. They are proposing not only to deport these boys, these Russian

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890216001

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37

boys, these Russian workers, they are all workmen, all of those I know of in the jails in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, all of those with whom I have spoken, are working men, working boys, who never knew about anything, as I told you, up to a few years ago, and yet there are some who are not manual laborers. There are some that have been the torchlights in American life, that have attempted to illuminate the darkness, or attempted to spread some light where they came; among those are my two friends, Berkman and Goldman.

It is not such a terrible thing for them to be deported to Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia will not lose anything by it, Soviet Russia will gain by it. It is you who will lose when they go away. It is the American working class that will lose when they go away because we need them and we need others like them who love people, who love the worker, who have a sympathetic feeling for the worker, who try to understand the worker, and who do not permit barriers to be set up and say, "This worker, because he is dark, or this worker because he is yellow, or this worker because he is another color, there is any difference between them;" they say all the workers are alike. They are all alike. They have a sympathy for those not only here in America who came from those Slavic countries who were called enemies of America, but they have an interest also in those who are not enemies of America, and can by no actual construction be so-called, but who are enemies of Her Britannic Majesty. I am speaking about the Hindu. I want to call your attention

## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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38

to the fact that the Hindu is as precarious a situation as is the Russian.

If the Russian should be sent to the Kolchaks and Denekines, they are going to be lined up against the wall in all probability, if they don't get in through Denekines and Kolchak's Army. To send a political Hindu back to England for an offense is practically signing his death warrant. And our friends are interested in the Hindu, in the Italian, in the Greek, in the Spaniard, in the Russian, in the Pole; they do not make such distinctions. They are workers, they are human beings, and, therefore, entitled to their sympathy and to their consideration, and for that reason, we want you here to do something, not only to do something in a material way, but we want you to do something, we want you to make the powers of America, the powers of darkness in America, the capitalistic forces in America realize that the Russian, that the Hindu, has friends here in America. We want you to make them realize that fact. (Applause). Because if you do not make them realize that fact, they will go through with their program. They will go through with it unhesitatingly. The only thing that will make them hesitate is when you, as workers, when you as workers will make them realize that you feel that there is a common bond between you as a worker, and that Russian worker or Hindu worker, that Spanish worker, or whatever other worker he may be.

It is up to you to see to it that these things do not pass unheeded, that this terrible crisis among other



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39

crimes of deporting people because they have a belief in the possible future of humanity being able to get along without authority. There have been crimes and crimes, but I want to say that I cannot conceive of a crime that is really quite as serious, quite as degraded as the crime of deporting a man and putting him in jail under a bond of ten thousand dollars because he holds to a philosophical belief, not even an expressed belief, a belief which he may keep to himself and never express it until questioned about it. That is the offense with which these people are really charged, because in all of the cases which I have had, it seems quite a startling thing that no single one of the men charged with being alien anarchists has been guilty of an offense under the criminal code of the State where they live, or under the criminal code of the country from which they came. That is the actual situation. Not a single one of these men has ever been arrested for a felony or misdemeanor. That is a rather curious situation. I am speaking about those with whom I have come in touch directly. That is what the records will disclose.

Now, I am going to ask you to do something for these people, for the forty-seven men who are in the prisons in Detroit, to do something for yourselves, to see that our friends are not sent over to Russia because we need them here. I am going to ask you to do something in a material way. I am going to ask you to do something in a grand way for once, to do something in a generous way

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41

for once, to do something which you can feel when you are through here. "I at least have contributed my share to let the capitalists interests of America know that these people are not forgotten, that their cause is your cause and that you are going to see the thing through for them." I, therefore, am going to ask you to give until beyond the hurting point, beyond the hurting point. I feel that it is something which you can do to put yourselves in debt for awhile if necessary, because it may be an opportunity which you will not very often have, and it is one of those cases which will really show your courage. This is one of those cases which will show you have really a sympathetic interest, that there is a bond between you and these people who are in jail in this country for the only crime of believing that there is a possible state of society superior to the present one.

(Here the collection was taken up and the amount announced at the end of the meeting to be \$1,348.).

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CHAIRMAN I. PAUL TAYLOR: On last Tuesday morning I sat down and wrote a letter to Commissioner Inches of the police of the city, and I told him how much I personally appreciated the attitude of the commissioner Inches himself, and of Mayor Cuzens in their stand for free speech in this town, and I also told him how I appreciated the personal attitude and the treatment which was accorded us here on Monday night by the particular policeman that he sent up here to protect us from the American Legion. (Applause). And I want to suggest to you that if you think the department has pursued the proper policy, if you think that these policemen tonight have been Americans and courteous and gentlemanly, that you sit down tomorrow morning and write Commissioner Inches a letter and tell him so. Because, don't you forget, every member of the Board of Commerce will sit down and write him a letter telling him he has made a mistake, and that he has got to get just as many letters on the other side letting him know that he has done right, and then -- I am not going to say how many years, let us put five years as an outside limit, within five years, when I am the mayor of this town -- (laughter) -- and Eugene Debs is president (applause), I want to assure Commissioner Inches and all the policeman that I will give them a job.

During the war I remember seeing the advertisements of a moving picture show, entitled, "America's Answer." Just the billboard of the pictures of the thing were enough to keep us away from it because it was one of those military things showing the beauties<sup>of</sup> violence for which we are

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43

deporting people now, showing what we gave as our answer to the Kaiser, for his autocratic methods. I simply want to say this, that when they propose deportation for thought, that this is America's answer (holding up a large handful of paper money). (Applause).

Somebody said that the American Legion packed this place on Sunday night, and if the American Legion had not turned out that night, we would not have had anybody here. I am glad they came because they contributed nearly eight hundred dollars. (Applause).

Now, I suppose we have all waited to hear the climax. Of course money talks -- you know in church, fellows used to drop in the suspender buttons on me (laughter), but when we are buying liberty, they drop in in gold rings. Now, somebody has dropped in a gold ring. There are not any initials inside of it; there is a monogram on the outside, "D.I." I think it is. Well, I don't know but what the best thing to do with this ring -- Berkman has got one --

MR. BERKMAN: No sir, I have not got any.

CHAIRMAN I. PAUL TAYLOR: Here to auction it off. Who wants a ring that was given for liberty?

(A man here arose in the audience and stated that if the ring were held until tomorrow he would give \$10 for it.)

CHAIRMAN I. PAUL TAYLOR: I was going to say that money talks, and we have certainly spoken eloquently tonight, and I suppose that because she is such a good talker and because she speaks so eloquently, that the

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first syllable of her name is "Gold" and because she  
speaks so vehemently, because she speaks with such  
authority, the last part of her name is "man". I  
want to introduce Emma Goldman. (Applause).

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439

## The Emma Goldman Papers

890216001

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45

EMMA GOLDMAN: Friends: By the introduction of our good chairman, I can see that he is a man. The conceit of the male that when you think deeply and express yourself with intensity you must be manly and not womanly. I want to tell him that I know any amount of man who neither think nor express themselves in any shape or form. (Laughter).

Our good chairman held up the money collected tonight, the amount will be told you a little later, and said this was "America's answer to the persecution of the Russian and of all radicals." This alone is not America's answer. The real American answer will come when the American working people will ask the Russians now sent back to Russia to represent America in Soviet Russia. (Applause).

Now, what I have to say about deportation: Friends, Washington has decided that Alexander Berkman should be deported. I expect in another week it will decide that Emma Goldman should be deported. If they think that we are considering the tragedy of going back to Russia, they will find themselves mistaken. We want to go to Russia and we would have gone to Russia if the American Government had not refused to let us and many Russians go to Russia. But I wish to say for the benefit of the gentlemen who call themselves the "arch-patriots" of the country, who belong to the American Legion, and for the benefit of many other patriots with the question mark, present in this hall, that I consider myself infinitely more of an American than they are. (Applause). They are Americans by compulsion. They

were not asked whether they should be born and should be

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440

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45

born in America; but I am an American by choice. I came to this country, because like many foolish and deluded foreigners I believed that America is the promised land. I believed with all the intensity of a girl of sixteen that America is indeed the haven for all the oppressed nations. That is the legend we were fed on in different European countries, that America holds out the beacon light to all the oppressed, to all the world, to all those who are weary and sore in mind and in body and in heart, that they should come to America, and here they should find rest, here they should find peace, here they should find life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is this promise, this symbol which lured thousands and millions of foreign born people, including myself, to what once upon a time represented the most hospitable shores on the face of the earth. But these people who were brought here by false promises, and under false pretenses, have realized very soon after their arrival in the United States that whatever America may have been, in its inception, / whatever America was to be from the point of view of a Jefferson, or a Thomas Payne, or a George Washington, or a Wendell Phillips, or a Lloyd Garrison, America is not that anymore. For the America of the feudal lords of this country, the America who accumulated untold fortunes out of the sweat and blood of the millions of the people who came to their shores, the America of these un-Americans, is quite another America than the America conceived by the forefathers of this Republic. (Applause). And I wish to say for the benefit of these various patriots who are patriotic because it pays, and because it is safe, I wish

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441

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47

to say for their benefit, that the law-breakers of this country and those who have degraded America, and those who have besmirched the escutcheon of America, are not the Russians, are not the Jews, are not the Italians, are not the different foreigners, but these so-called Americans whose only emblem is wealth and power and affluence at the expense of the workers. (Applause).

Oh, I have a right to say that I am much more of an American than many of the patriots, for I came to America believing that freedom, that liberty, that well-being, was here for everyone without any exception, without any regard of race and color, but I learned very soon after I arrived in this country, and was forced into a factory to work ten hours a day at two fifty a week, I realized then that the promise held out to the millions of foreign born people was a false promise, that the foreigners have built up this vast country, have made of it the richest land on earth, have proven to the world what labor and efforts can do, and in return these foreigners are given what?

So long as they are quiet and contented, so long as they are kept as our friend just said here, in the power of darkness by the representatives of Heaven after death - - there need be no hell after death, for you are living in a hell which is a thousand times worse than anything conceived by the depraved minds representing a church - (applause) - I say, friends, that as long as these foreigners were satisfied, are contented, did their work, and knew only one way, and that is from their so-called homes to

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their factory, and back again, and possibly into their churches, the foreigners were welcomed here, not only were they welcome, but the representatives of wealth and power of this country spent fortunes to send their agents into the remotest parts of the globe and there to tell the innocent, many ignorant people, of the wonders that were awaiting them when they came to this grand country.

So much so that there used to be a saying amongst the old Jews who first came to America on their way when they came to New York, one of them found a silver dollar and wanted to pick it up. The other one said, "Do not waste your time picking up silver, the streets are lined with gold. You will be able to get it all."

This may be a story, friends, but there is more truth than fiction in the story. I will grant you, friends, that many foreigners have succeeded. Why, as a matter of fact all of America has been built up by foreigners. The patriots speak of being Americans. How are they Americans? Their forebears came from Holland and from England and from Spain; there was only one kind of an American in the United States, and he was the Indian. (Applause). And all the others to a large extent are foreigners, or at least from foreign soil and foreign lineage. But at the same time, these men to whom cheap labor is essential to maintain their wealth, they to this day send out their agents to different European countries, and tell them how wonderful it is here, and what opportunities they have here.

It is true that many foreigners have succeeded that if you will excuse the names of the millionaires of the United

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443

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49

States, and the billicnaires, you will see that most of them, the majority of them, have foreign names; but these people whose parents or grandparents themselves were foreigners and pioneers, when they came to this country, they became the persecutors of other foreigners who are coming to this country. So we see the very interesting spectacle that the sons and daughters of foreigners, or the grandchildren of foreigners are now the loud-mouthed patriots in America and are joining the mobs that beat and rape and rob men and women of foreign birth of their freedom and of their life.

Owing to this wild hysteria you have conditions in America, which were unbelievable twenty-five years ago, and I am convinced that <sup>that</sup> if people could realize what is going on, the forefathers of this great Republic who established a conception of freedom, and equality and well-being, as perhaps unique in the history of the world, they would turn in their graves, they would turn in their graves if they could see what their children and great-grandchildren have made of the wonderful gift which they have given to the world.

Friends, one of the provisions of the law under which we are to be deported is this, not only that you may not disbelieve in the Government of the United States, but if you disbelieve in any other government, you may be deported from the United States. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that only thirteen years ago in 1905 and 1906, when the great Russians came to America (here naming several Russians) and the others, when they came to America they were received with open arms, not only by the people

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50

of America, but even by the governing class of America. These people when they came to America did not come only to express opinions - I want you to remember that - they came to America to collect money for weapons, for bombs, for dynamite, in order to depose the Russian autocracy. This was not done in secret. It was known to the Government department, and the immigration of labor department, and the Department of Justice, that these men and women came here to foment rebellion in Russia, and yet they were received with open arms. And this has been the usage and the habit of America almost from time immemorial.

When the great Hungarian Revolutionist Kossuth, came to this country, he was dined, and wined and entertained and fêted, by the representatives of Government.

When Karl Shurz, a revolutionist of 1848, came to this country he was received with open arms.

When the 1871, driven out of their own country, came to America, they were received with open arms. Never was it known in the history of the United States should lend herself to be the henchman of autocratic governments, to turn over men and women for their political opinions to the Czar or to the Kaiser, or to Bismarck's regime, and yet in the year 1919, there are, after the war which was to end war, right on top of our Fourteen Points, right on top of the promise that this is a war for Democracy, America is about to turn the Russians over to whom? Is she going to turn them over to Soviet Russia? If so, Soviet Russia will help her at the best of Soviet ability. The representative of Soviet Russia, the ambassador of Russia, for he is that,

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445

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61

whether the American Government wants to recognize him or not, has made an offer to the United States Government to send ships for all the Russians who want to go back to Russia. (Applause).

If the American Government wants to get rid of the Russians, why not save herself all the trouble and all the expense and all the anxiety and all the foolish editorials in the newspapers, and all the bills introduced into Congress? Why not say, "Send your ships and let us get rid of these Russians whom we do not want." Why, anybody knows America has a guilty conscience because she knows if these Russians go back to Soviet Russia, they will tell the truth about America. (Applause). Therefore, we must go through a farce of legality of locking people up, of beating them up, of clubbing them, of sending them to detention places, or jails or Ellis Island. My friend, Jacob Margolis tells us here nothing was ever done to the Russian people to Americanize them. No, indeed, nothing was ever done for them, and what is more important, we never tried to do something for those who are considered a menace to society.

*now* Let me call your attention to the fact that when the Russian House was raided in New York and some of the boys had their skulls split and their bones broken, among the dangerous documents, two documents were discovered, and both of them were covered with blood; one was an arithmetic and the other was an English grammar. These are the terrible documents that are being discovered <sup>when</sup> in the Russian House or the Union of Russian Workers are being raided. That is the crime and offense of the Russians, that they actually

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52

wanted to know English, that they actually wanted to be educated, that they actually wanted to be informed. Is that the way to naturalize foreigners? Is that the way to teach them their love for the Flag and love for the Country and love for the Fourth of July? Is that the way to teach people the Declaration of Independence? Why, gentlemen of the American Legion, I call your attention that you are guilty of a crime because you are trying to make foreigners accept the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution at the point of a club and the point of a gun. You do not reason with them; you do not argue with them; you do not show them the <sup>beauty</sup> contained in the Declaration of Independence; you do not tell them the guarantees of freedom and liberty and independence contained in the Constitution.

You go to them and say, "Are you going to become Americans?" If you don't <sup>down</sup>/you go with the club and you have your skull broken. Is that the way to do propaganda? Is that the way to educate people? For shame, if that is your patriotism!

These are the laws under which the Russians, Berkman and myself are to be deported. As far as my own case is concerned, friends, I have no desire to make a fight on the ground of my principles. I have been an Anarchist for thirty years and I expect to die an Anarchist. (Applause and cheers)

If that is a crime, help yourself to your method of punishment. It is not the first time, and if I remain in the country I suppose not the last time that I will be punished for my ideas.

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447

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Notes: For speeches of Berkman and Jacob Margolis at same event, see 880606249 and 890216000. Includes introduction by Paul Taylor.

53

I am not arguing the point of my principles. I claim my right to my opinion. I call your attention to the fact that you have guaranteed me that right in your Constitution, and in your Declaration of Independence, and in every Fourth of July Speech your politicians are making. You have guaranteed me the right to my opinion/<sup>and</sup> as long as my opinions are such that you cannot prove (no matter how much you have tried) that I have induced or propagated to anybody that he should go and kill and rob and destroy, I have the right to my opinion. Why should I tell people to kill when the governing class does it so much more efficiently and successfully? (Applause)

Has there ever been any group of revolutionists; has there ever been any group of anarchists who could, even if they wanted to, (which they do not want) -- even if they wanted to kill, they couldn't have done it as successfully as all the united governments of the world have done during the last five years of slaughter.

W.B.M. No, I leave the business of killing to the patriots and the representatives of law and disorder, and to all those who proclaim the wonderful principles which they have helped to bury alive a long time ago.

No, my fight with the immigration authorities is not going to be on any denial of my principles. I am proud of Anarchism, because to me Anarchism, as a great poet John Henry Wacher has said, "is all that I can conceive in human freedom, in solidarity, in peace, and in the sanctity of human life." But the fight I am going to make, and by Heavens it shall be a bitter fight, is whether or no America can guarantee to a man or woman citizenship -- whether America, such a detest-

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448

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech on Political Deportations, Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America, Detroit] / Emma Goldman. — [1919 Nov. 26 (government transcript)]. — 17 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Goldman discusses her own pending deportation and the conditions of foreign-born workers in the United States. She plans to fight to prove her American citizenship.

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54

sion passed, can deprive you of that citizenship.

I consider myself a citizen. I have claims to citizenship; and if it is true that you induce every foreign-born person to become a citizen, and you tell him that citizenship carries protection, carries guarantees, carries happiness and freedom, and all sorts of wonderful high-sounding phrases, then I want you, though I don't come from Missouri, I want you to show me that it does. (Applause)

If citizenship is going to be a gamble; if you are going to use it merely as a means of alluring people into it, and then if it suits the whim of the ruling class to deprive him or her of it, very well, let us at least face the issue, let the natives realize that though their citizenship cannot be taken away from them because they are born here, there are plenty of prisons where they can be sent, and if the Philippines isn't quite as cold as Siberia, it is hot, and they will be sent there.

Let the natives not deceive themselves; let them not be foolish enough to think that if the Russians and the Italians and the Germans and the Hungarians are going to be sent out, then they will sit back and they will read poisonous newspapers and chew tobacco and be perfectly at ease, and all is well in Heaven and hell, and there is nothing the matter with them.

I have a high regard for the American. I know the American; I know the real type of the American; not the camouflage American. I know the Americans who have given to this country thought, ideas and books, works of art, and

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449

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55

songs and music, and they are the creators of civilization and not the other loud-mouthed patriots who amount to nothing at all. And therefore I say to you, in the words of the great French thinker and philosopher, "tell me what you read, tell me what music you hear, tell me of your thoughts and of your ideals, and your hopes for the future, and I will tell you the kind of a man you are."

Therefore I go with the Emersons, with the Walt Whitmans, I go with the Thoreaus, I go with the great men and the great women who have built up this great country, not in cents and dollars, but in character, and in spirit and in ideals. They are my countrymen, and not the others who have besmirched it. (Applause) Well, friends, it is not so easy to get rid of Emma Goldman. You know they say that a woman must always have the last word. Who knows but what I may have the last word. I am not a braggart; I do not like to boast, but I merely say that if I was given citizenship with the understanding that I am to enjoy a certain amount of protection, and a certain amount of guarantees, by Heavens I am going to fight for that citizenship until the last ditch. There isn't anyone who is going to deprive me of it unless, of course, they wish to set the example to all the rest of you that your citizenship is merely a scrap of paper and can be thrown in the waste-basket whenever it suits the capitalistic regime of this country.

So, in making my fight it is not because I do not want to go to Russia. Indeed, I am willing to go tomorrow if you will let me go at my own expense, and if you will let me go to Soviet Russia; and I will promise you something else:

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450



## The Emma Goldman Papers\*

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58

I will not only go alone, but I will have ten times, a hundred times as large an audience as is gathered here. (Applause)

I am not afraid to go to Soviet Russia, but I am not going to be kicked out. I am not going to be thrown out without a fight, and that is why I am making the fight.

Not so very long ago, I think in 1905 and 1906 when these Russians came here and had wonderful meetings in New York and in Detroit and everywhere, and the friends of American Freedom, rather the Friends of Russian Freedom at the time, helped them to raise fortunes for the overthrow of the Russian Czar, at one of the meetings a very great American, one of the finest types this country has produced, a poet and a thinker, a leader of men, Ernest Crosby presided at one of the meetings, and when he made his appeal to his countrymen in behalf of Russia, he said this:

"Friends, now the Russians have come to us to ask us for our assistance to overthrow the blackest autocracy on the face of the earth and to establish freedom and liberty in Russia."

I see the time coming when we Americans will have to go to the Russians and say, "Give us your help so we can get rid of autocracy in America and establish freedom in this land." (Applause and cheers)

And friends, in conclusion I wish to say that if I finally have to go to Russia, I promise you, I take a pledge tonight, that I will work in Russia to help you Americans gain your freedom. (Applause)

There is much more to be said, but we have kept you here long enough, and you have shown wonderful patience and

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451

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57

wonderful beauty of spirit. It will mean much to us, if we should have to go in the end, and never face you again, never face an American audience again, or an American audience in an American city, it will mean a great inspiration to us.

I feel that this one meeting demonstrated to me that my thirty years or rather thirty-four years in America have not been in vain: If I have worked in the slums, in the factories, in the shops, or going out as a district nurse, taking for twelve years the most appalling cases, or being in your prisons, and I have been in any number -- I know them all by heart (laughter) that it was all worth-while; and I assure you if I had my thirty-four years to live over in the United States, I should be glad to do the same things, over and over again.

For who shall say, friends, who should say in what manner the germ of thought takes root? Nobody is in position to say whether his ideas and his thoughts and words have not taken root somewhere, and while I am not foolish enough or conceited enough to believe that I have revolutionized America, I am yet willing to admit in open court that I have helped to mould the intellectual life of the people of America; and I am proud of that and I am glad of that.

As to going to Russia, what difference does it make where we are, ideas are there. I believe with Thomas Paine that to everyman the world shall be his country and to do good shall be his religion. And so, if I have to go in the end, I shall go with a song in my heart and with a smile upon my face, because I will know that sooner or later the American people are going to wake up. I have more faith in

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452

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the American people than the politicians and the representatives of authority, and representatives of wealth and power. I know that there is a tremendous wealth of possibilities in the American people; I know that it takes an American man a long time to wake up, but once he wakes up he is a fighter, and nothing can stop him if fighting for what he considers right. (Applause)

Oh, I know, friends, that the American working man will wake up; he is already waking up, and I agree with my friend Berkman that that is one of the reasons why the ruling class wants to get rid of the foreigners; they are afraid that if the foreigner remains any longer in America, and the American working men wake up, then the working men will get rid of their foolishness, of their prejudice, of their superstitions, and they will make common cause with the working men. (Applause)

But do not think by sending out the foreigners you are going to put a damper upon American thought. You do not know your own people; you do not know the psychology of the American; you have never known it. But I know the American psychology; I have studied the American psychology in colleges, in mines, and in mills, in steel factories, and textile factories; going up and down the land, from west to north, and south to east, for thirty years. I know the American, and I know whether the foreigners stay here or go, the American people will wake up, and the torch of liberty will become a reality and not a farce as it is today. (Applause)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Nov. 26 / Vincent P. Creighton [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Attempting to determine the exact date of Jacob Kersner's death, Agent Creighton interviews Kersner's father and brother in Rochester.

Notes: Broken type.

Page 1. 15446

REPORT MADE BY: Vincent P. Creighton	PLACE WHERE MADE: Buffalo, N.Y.	DATE WHEN MADE: Nov. 26, 1919	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Nov. 24-25
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TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In Re - Emma Goldman - Anarchist

RADICAL,  
NOV 28 1919

DEPARTMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

At Buffalo, N.Y.

The following telegram was received, in code, from the Chief of the Bureau :-----

"Chicago office reports no record Jacob Kersners death December 1918 Communicate direct with Chicago supplying additional information Matter of utmost importance and should be expedited at once Five"

On instructions from Agent in Charge Blackmon, I proceeded to Rochester, N.Y., leaving Buffalo, N.Y. at 11 A.M. via the New York Central Railroad and arriving in Rochester about 12:30 P.M.

I proceeded to the home of Abraham Kersner, father of Jacob Kersner, at 64 Weld Street and talked with him for a long time regarding this matter. Mr. Kersner was unable to recall the date of his son's death, but stated that it was in the Fall of the year. He talked with his wife regarding the date, and afterward stated that he thought it was about this time, a year ago. He stated that they did not receive word, direct, of Jacob's death, but that he thinks that just before he died his son must have mentioned the fact that he had relatives in Rochester, and that one of his friends must have written to a friend of his in Rochester giving him the information. He stated that a man, whose name he thinks is Mr. Klonic, came to his home one Saturday morning last Fall, on his way home from the synagogue, and showed him a letter which he had received sometime previous telling of the death of Jacob Kersner in Chicago. He could not recall whether the man had left the letter with him or whether he had only allowed

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:  
Buffalo, NY and Chicago, Ill.

-1-

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Page 2.

In Re - Emma Goldman - Anarchist.

him to read it and then taken it away with him. In this letter some mention was also made regarding some personal belongings of Jacob Kersner's which his father stated he had never made any effort to secure.

I talked with the old gentleman for nearly an hour and a half in an endeavor to get some definite information from him, but the only reasonably definite information I was able to secure was that the son had been employed previous to his death in the tailoring establishment of the Hart, Schaffner and Marx Company, in Chicago. Mr. Kersner said that he recalled this because at his death his son had some back wages coming to him which he, the father, might have collected had he cared so to do, but he did not want the money, as he felt that inasmuch as his son had gone away and left his parents for so many years without so much as writing to them or letting them know where he was, he did not wish to have anything to do with him.

In the course of my conversation with him, I also learned that Mr. Kersner has another son, who works in Rochester and lives at home, and whom, he stated, had also seen the letter announcing the death of his son Jacob. He stated that possibly the son might recall the details of the letter more plainly than could he, and he told me where his son was employed.

On leaving the Kersner home, I prepared and sent the following telegram to Agent in Charge Brennan of Chicago,

"Kersner father of Jacob cannot recall exact date of Jacobs death To his recollection it happened about year ago this time he thinks Jacob was employed as tailor with Hart Schaffner and Marx Clothers Chicago Also says he is not sure whether son went under name Kersner or used alias Recalls Jewish Attorney also in real estate business took charge remains If more information received will wire you"

-2-

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455

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Page 3.

In Re - Emma Goldman - Anarchist.

Later, I learned from Joseph Kersner, brother of Jacob, that one, Herman M. Goldberg of 3602 Douglas Boulevard, Chicago, Ill., was the man who had written the letter regarding the death of his brother, and he, no doubt, will be able to give all of the desired details.

It will be impossible to get an affidavit from Mr. Kersner as to the exact date of the death of his son.

I returned to Buffalo, N.Y., via the New York Central leaving Rochester at 4:05 PM and arriving in Buffalo at 5:30 PM.

On the morning of November 25th, the followings wires were prepared in code and sent to Chicago and Washington, in regard to this matter:-----

TO CHICAGO.

"Joseph Kersner brother of Jacob living in Rochester states that full information concerning Jacob Kersner can be had from Herman M Goldberg 3602 Douglas Boulevard Chicago Advise if further particulars necessary"

TO WASHINGTON.

"Five stop Referring your wire November 22nd re Jacob Kersner learned from Joseph brother of Jacob Kersner that Herman M Goldberg 3602 Douglas Blvd can give information desired Wired these facts to Chicago office"

Respectfully Submitted

*Vincent P. Creighton*

Special Agent.

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456

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Her [?] Jacob Lewis—Deportation Matter, Chicago [1919 Nov. 26?] / F.M. Sturgis, Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Sturgis interviews Mrs. Hyman Goldberg, a friend of Jacob Kersner, regarding Kersner's marriage to Goldman. Sturgis obtains a copy of Kersner's death certificate, under the alias of Jacob Lewis.

Notes: For follow-up report, see 880606295. For related document, see 880606240.

P. M. Sturgis

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFICE CHARGED ON

In re: Emma Goldman and Her He,  
Jacob Lewis---Deportation Matter.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

## At Chicago

Referring to various telegrams from the Washington and Buffalo offices, the following information was obtained, from Mrs. Hyman M. Goldberg and her daughter Clara, residing at 3602 Douglas Boul.

Jacob Kersner was known to the Goldberg family for a number of years as Jacob Lewis, he being a regular visitor at their home and considered as a relative by them. He posed as a bachelor, but quite some time previous to his death he advised Mrs. Goldberg that he at one time was the husband of Emma Goldman, but that he divorced her on account of her Anarchistic tendencies; that he changed his name to Lewis because the police were hounding him so. This conversation was brought about by Mrs. Goldberg's query as to why he did not marry and he confided in her on her promise not to tell anyone. Mrs. Goldberg stated to Agent that she never did tell anyone, not even her husband, until after Kersner's death.

Mrs. Goldberg stated that she did not know where he divorced Emma Goldman nor where they were married, but she thought in the East, presumably at Rochester, N.Y.

Agent was further advised that at the time Kersner died his effects consisted of a little money and a few clothes; that the clothes were sold and this brought his effects to about \$85.00 in cash; that this money is to be used in buying a monument to be placed at Kersner's grave. It was stated, though, the monument would likely cost more than \$85.00, but that friends of Kersner's would pay the balance. This monument is to be placed in about a week or ten days.

Washington 3 Chicago 1

Page 1  
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457

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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In re: Emma Goldman  
Alias: Jacob Lewis  
Deportation Matter.

Agent was shown a receipted bill for \$101.25, which was paid to the undertaker, Sam S. Fiser, 3111 W. 12th St., Chicago; also a receipted bill from the St. Mary of Nazareth Hospital, located at 1120 No. Leavitt St. for the balance of expenses incurred at this hospital by Kersner in his last illness.

It was also ascertained that Kersner died at 9:15 P. M., January 18, 1919; that he was buried on January 20th at Congregation B.T.A.M., Lot 68, Section 2, Grave 8 at Waldheim Cemetery, (Forest Park, Ill.).

A certified copy of the death certificate of Kersner, under the name of Jacob Lewis, was obtained from the Department of Health of Chicago, bearing Register No. 2071, Serial No. 12, which copy was forwarded to the Washington office, under date of November 25th. It was stated in this certificate that Kersner's age was given as 50 years - Mrs. Goldberg thought he was about 48 - and that he was single.

Agent is of the opinion that Mrs. Goldberg may not wish to make an affidavit as to the statement that Kersner made to her to the effect that he had been the husband of Emma Goldman and divorced her; especially if she knew for what purpose the affidavit would be used. It is therefore suggested that the fact of his marriage and divorce might be substantiated from the public records in Rochester; otherwise, upon instructions this office will try and obtain an affidavit from Mrs. Goldberg. Also due to the fact that she mentioned other friends of Kersner's, data may be obtained from them.

Page 2  
(2110)

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458



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]19 Nov. 26, Syracuse, N.Y. [to Louis F.] Post [Assistant] Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / John S. Markell, Superintendent [Onondaga] County Penitentiary. — 2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Markell, Superintendent of the Onondaga County Penitentiary from 1895 to 1917, informs Post that Jacob Kersner claimed to be single when he was in the penitentiary and that Goldman visited him there.

Notes: Enclosed with 830214214. For Kersner plea and sentence, see 830214150.

*Onondaga County Penitentiary*

*Mr.*

*John S. Markell, Superintendent*

*Erving J. Broad, Deputy*

*Nov 27 1919*  
INSPECTORS 1918  
A. HENRY, SYRACUSE  
J. POWERS, PASADENA  
E. L. HOTCHKISS, MARICOPA

*Jamesville, N.Y.*

*191*

*Syracuse N.Y. Nov 26/19*

*Secretary Post.*

*Department of Labor*

*Washington D.C.*

*Dear Sir.*

*In the matter of Emma Goldman,  
I was Superintendent of the Onondaga  
Penitentiary, twenty-two years, from Jan'y  
1<sup>st</sup> 1895 to Jan'y 1<sup>st</sup> 1917. Jacob Kersner  
was among a sentence there when I  
went there Jan'y 1<sup>st</sup> 1895, and served  
under me untill Sept 18<sup>th</sup> 1895, during  
that time he received a visit from  
a man who he said was his father  
& that he was in the clothing business in  
Rochester N.Y. he also received a visit  
from a woman, it was common  
talk about the prison, that this woman  
was Emma Goldman, I notice in  
the Press that Emma Goldman claims*

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that she was married to Jacob Kersner in Rochester in 1887. and that he was naturalized, you will notice by the following, that when Jacob Kersner was received in the Penitentiary on June 19<sup>th</sup> 1894. that he claimed to be single.

Received from County Court, Syracuse

N.Y. June 19<sup>th</sup> 1894 - Grand Larceny

1<sup>st</sup> degree, Term 1 yr 6 Mos

Age 29 - Born in Russia - Single

and a Tailor by occupation.

Term expired & was discharged.

Sept 18<sup>th</sup> 1895 -

The law & ruler at that time did not require an extra as to naturalization &c

Very Truly &c

John S. Markell  
183 Oakwood Ave  
Syracuse N.Y.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 26, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Weinberger informs Caminetti that unless the Bureau of Immigration grants him an extension of time in Goldman's deportation case he will file a writ of habeas corpus and withhold his brief.

**Notes:** Handwritten postscript by Louis Post that request denied and case closed. For reply, see 830214029.

HARRY WEINBERGER  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
261 BROADWAY, NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

November 26, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.



Dear Sir:-

In reference to the hearing under warrant of arrest against Miss Emma Goldman, I beg to state the following and desire this letter to be filed and made part of the record.

At the close of the Government's evidence in reference to Miss Goldman's opinions, and on the question as to her citizenship, I requested that I be allowed one month's time to submit evidence as to her citizenship. We do not deny on behalf of Miss Goldman that she is an advocate and believer in the doctrines of anarchism. The reason for asking one month's adjournment is because of the difficulties and complexities of the proof as to her citizenship.

103  
The United States Government, as I am informed, has spent \$25,000 or more and has had enumerable Officials in the proceedings, whereby Jacob A. Kersner's citizenship was revoked. The proof in these proceedings shows that Kersner was not present at the hearing of the revocation proceedings, that he was served by publication, that Miss Goldman was not a party to the proceedings and was not served either by publication nor by personal service. It is our contention that on the evidence of Kersner's citizenship, Miss Goldman became a citizen and that the proceedings against her husband were null and void. It is our desire to prove, among other things, that the said Jacob A. Kersner was dead at the time of these proceedings, and therefore the entire proceedings would fall. Surely what took the United States Government ten years or more to gather together for submission and then in my opinion, insufficient, we should be allowed a reasonable time, having heard the Government's proof, to submit counterproof. These proceedings are not like Court proceedings. In a Court proceeding when you know at the beginning of the proceeding that you will not be actually ready, you so state to the court and the proceeding goes over until you are actually ready to begin and are able to finish the proceeding. While in these proceedings, the Government adjourns them from day to day, until it completes its hearing on different days, with even intermissions in-between, and we ask the same right and believe that outside of the furore now rampant in the criticism directed against your Department, there would be no question that we would be allowed this reasonable request.

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461



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 26, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Wein-  
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HARRY WEINBERGER

COUNSELOR AT LAW

201 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE CONNECTION

-2-

I am not seeking unnecessary delay in these proceedings as must be apparent to you in the Berkman case where we closed the matter and allowed your Department even to finish it before Berkman was released from Atlanta. I want, and believe I am entitled to, as a matter of right, sufficient time to lay the basis in these proceedings, where if your decision should be adverse, I would have sufficient foundation for a Writ of Habeas Corpus.

Kindly submit this letter to the same conference of Mr. John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Mr. Louis Post, First Assistant Secretary of Labor, and yourself, before coming to a final decision. I may state further, that if your Department refuses me this reasonable request, I refuse to submit any brief.

I also respectfully request in this case, that when your Department has actually come to a decision and before putting that decision into execution, that it wire me, at my expense, so that I may come to Washington and consult again with you and Mr. Abercrombie and Mr. Post before that decision is put into effect.

Respectfully yours,

*Harry Weinberger*

104

HW/ICW

*After conference finding  
final decision, as  
requested above, the  
application for further  
time is denied. The  
case is closed, and the  
alien is ordered  
deported. Aliens  
allowing to be wired  
of ~~the~~ final decision  
as above L. J. P.*

*Adl. 11/29/19.  
H. W. J.  
M.*

*Nov 29/19*

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462



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 26, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence] 4 [War Department].— 5 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Military Intelligence's weekly situation survey includes a progress report on Goldman and Berkman's deportations.

**C O P Y**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and  
the Chief Special Agent  
File No. 504-69

C O N F I D E N T I A L .

WEEKLY SITUATION SURVEY FOR WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 26, 1919.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, GENERAL STAFF,

SECTION M. I. 4.

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RESUME	Page 1
RADICAL ACTIVITIES	2
The Aftermath of the Centralia Clash	2
Berkman and Goldman Deportation Charges	4
Radical Cases in New York	4
Martens before the Lusk Committee	5
The Labor Party Founded in Chicago	7
Berger's Campaign	8
The Congressional Investigation at Ellis Island	9
LABOR UNREST	10
The Coal Strike	10
The Steel Strike	12
Strikes Ended	14
Strikes Continuing	15
New Strikes	16
Strikes Threatened	17
NEGRO SUBVERSION	18
Propaganda	18
I. W. W. Activities	18
The Arkansas Uprising	19
CONDITIONS IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT	20
Radical Influence in the Army	20
Theft in the Army	21
Misuse of the Uniform	21
FOREIGN COUNTRIES	21
Mexico	21
France	22
Germany	23
Spain	24
Portugal	24

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## RESUME:

Ten men under arrest for participation in the recent murder of four ex-soldiers at Centralia will probably be brought to trial this week. Sporadic outbursts of reprisal against the I. W. W. are reported throughout the country. The Department of Labor has approved the deportation of Alexander Berkman and still has under consideration the case of Emma Goldman. The Department of Justice is continuing its campaign against the League of Russian Workers, and the Grand Jury is considering the evidence collected against numerous radicals by the Lusk Committee. In the course of its investigation the Committee has haled before it Ludwig Martens, so-called "Ambassador" of the Soviet Republic. Martens consistently denied that he has engaged in Propaganda, or that he had paid Dudley Field Malone to speak in behalf of Soviet Russia as alleged. It is believed that it will be proved that Martens is directly connected with the Bolshevik movement in this country, and that his deportation will be consummated.

Various Socialists, "Parlor" Bolsheviks and radical trades unionists met in Chicago for the inaugural conference of the Labor Party, and adopted resolutions of a radical character. Victor Berger, who was denied a seat in Congress upon charges of disloyalty, is conducting an aggressive campaign for reelection upon a pro-German platform reiterating his Socialistic policies. The Congressional Committee investigating the question of deportation is conducting its hearings with difficulty. Seventy-three radical aliens held for deportation have refused to testify. The Acting Commissioner of Immigration at New York has testified that a considerable number of persons held for deportation in the past have been released on their own recognizance and have disappeared.

A deadlock prevails in the coal strike because of the inability of the miners and the operators to agree on the proposed increase of wages. Four thousand miners are reported to be out, and nation-wide restrictions on the coal supply are extended. The only serious disorders have been reported from Virginia. The Supreme Court of North Dakota has ordered the return of the mines confiscated by the Non-Partisan League Administration. The steel strike is weaker than at any time since it began although the coal strike has in a measure reinforced it. Twenty strikes, involving about 24,000 men, are reported as ended. Thirty-five strikes, involving about 640,000 men, are reported as continuing. Fifteen new strikes, involving about 8,000 men, are reported. Fifty-six strikes, involving about 610,000 men, are threatened.

Radical propaganda continues to spread among the negro population, through various negro publications. There is much activity on the part of the I. W. W.'s among the negroes in Chicago; also in the strike districts. The sentencing to death of twelve negroes involved in the Arkansas uprising is bringing forth a storm of protest from radical negro publications and organizations. Radicals are making a determined onslaught on the morale of enlisted men of the Army; especially among troops in the strike districts. Investigation of the use of the uniform by peddlers and beggars has disclosed cases of desertion and imposture.

The Yaqui Indians of Mexico are reported to be on the war path and threaten a wholesale massacre in December. The Villistas are active in Chihuahua; General Angeles has been executed. An embryo Red Guard is advocated by the extreme socialists in France avowedly for the purpose of securing order at political meetings. The Propaganda activity of Germany has been centralized in one Society with offices at Berlin, and Bolshevik propaganda for foreign countries is being distributed by this group from Lucerne. Syndicalism in Spain is revolutionary and has for its purpose the placing of industries in the hands of the workmen. Practically no Bolshevism is reported in Portugal, where Bolshevik agitators have been refused admittance.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 4 -

## BERKMAN AND GOLDMAN DEPORTATION CHARGES:

The deportation of Alexander Berkman was brought one step further on November 25th when the Department of Labor approved the recommendations of the Immigration Bureau at New York that Berkman be deported.

The case of Emma Goldman has reached the Department of Labor with a similar recommendation, and it is reported by the Bureau handling the case to be proceeding rapidly to a decision.

## RADICAL CASES IN NEW YORK:

Agents of the Department of Justice continued to be active in New York during the week in gathering in additional members of the League of Russian Workers and in collating and sifting evidence to be used in the conviction of those already held. Among the persons summoned before the Grand Jury, in the course of the investigation being conducted under the auspices of the Lusk Committee, were Bella Gitlow, sister of Ben Gitlow, who is now under indictment, Mrs. Nicholas J. Hourwich, wife of the prominent Communist and editor of "Novy Mir", Benjamin G. Kapler, secretary of the Jewish Protective Society, whose organization is strangely intertwined with the socialist and communist groups, and Dr. Morris Zucker, the Brooklyn dentist who is one of the principal leaders of the Communist Labor faction of Greater New York. Of especial note as a witness was Dr. Jacob Hartmann, former professor of literature at the College of the City of New York, and now connected with the Soviet Bureau.

The investigators have taken up an interesting line of research in seeking out the "parlor" Bolsheviks who are most prominent in providing the funds by which radical societies, journals, and other enterprises are run. A careful list of these has been prepared and is now being checked up for early action. The first victim of this line of attack was Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes, the famous Russian Jewish Communist

- 4 -

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466



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 24 -

## SPAIN:

Syndicalism in Valencia is of very recent date and is the direct offspring of the Catalonian Syndicalism. It has been aided and established as an actual force by propagandists and agitators from Barcelona. It dates from May, 1918; before this date it amounted to nothing and the success obtained by the organization in Barcelona gave it its present prestige. After a series of strikes had occurred, all unions of workmen joined a single syndicate to which each syndicate elects representatives. The whole purpose of this syndicate is revolutionary and their definite aim is to place the factories, etc., in the hands of the workmen. The situation in Valencia has been very dangerous and the danger is still present.

## PORTUGAL:

The Military Attache, Portugal, reports that there is now practically no Bolshevism in that country. Several Bolsheviks of northern nationality have been deported from South America and have attempted to land in Lisbon, but have been promptly told that they were not wanted in Portugal. During the week of October 21st six Portuguese Bolsheviks who had made trouble in and had been deported from Brazil, were disembarked at Lisbon. They were immediately arrested there and will be sentenced to a long term of confinement or deported to a penal colony.

las.

Wrisley Brown,  
Lieut. Colonel, U. S. Army,  
Chief, Foreign Influence Section.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 28, Chicago [to Military Intelligence Division, War Department], Washington [D.C.] / [Thomas B.] Crockett [Department Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett informs Military Intelligence that Berkman and Goldman arrived in Chicago. He summarizes the telegrams they sent since arrival.

Notes: For follow-up letter, see 810331071.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
WASHINGTON

original  
To  
10110-154-105  
APR 2-1  
56  
WAR DEPARTMENT

102x

## TELEGRAM

Chicago

Dated Nov. 28, 1919.

Recd. Nov. 29, 1919. 9:05 AM

C O D E

Milstaff

Washington

CAPTAIN SNOW

M. I. 4.

NOTED - W. B.

No. 549, Nov. 28.

Last night Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman arrived in Chicago. They are in telegraphic communication with Henry Montgomery, 114 Tyler Ave., Hylan Park, Detroit, and M. E. Fitzgerald, 28 Grove St., New York. Refer to big meeting Saturday night. Request Montgomery to get in touch with Margolis through one Nelson, and insist upon presence here Monday. Also request that Fitzgerald rush prison pamphlet, special delivery, parcel post.

C R O C K E T T

rsd

*Phoned to Justice  
3:30 Nov. 29. 1919.  
J.B.*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 28, Chicago [to] George F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan sends Lamb the text of an intercepted telegram from Berkman to M.E. Fitzgerald.

Notes: Dark copy.

Edw. J. Brennan  
~~RECEIVED~~  
DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT

839 FEDERAL BUILDING  
TELEPHONE HARRISON 4700

## United States Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation  
OFFICE OF DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT  
CHICAGO

FILE

1.

Nov. 28, 1919.

RE: EMMA GOLDMAN

Copy to the Chief for  
attention Mr. HOOVER

GEORGE F. LAMB, Esq.,  
P.O. Box 241,  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Agents of this office have the above mentioned  
subject under surveillance.

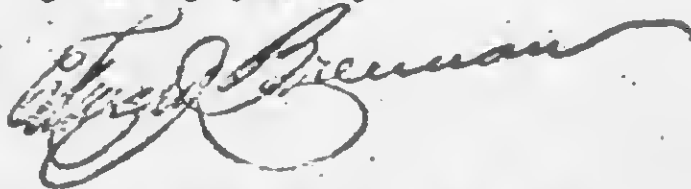
Last evening a telegram was transmitted by the  
Western Union Telegraph Co. by one of her party which  
reads as follows:

"Chicago, Ill.,  
Nov. 27, 1919.

Mr. E. Fitzgerald,  
28 Grove St.,  
New York.

Arrived here O.K. Your wire received very thoughtful  
of you things look promising first big after Satur-  
day Rush prison pamphlet parcel post special delivery  
Feeling better E (Emma) will write you soon don't  
expect much time in re deportation Hope you are well  
address mail to hotel Love. S."

Very truly yours,



Division Superintendent.

EJB/DD

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470



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 28, Chicago [to] A[rthur] L. Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Detroit, Mich. / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan sends Barkey the text of an intercepted telegram from Goldman to Henry Montgomery in Detroit, in which she asks him to send Jacob Margolis to Chicago.

Notes: Broken type; dark copy.

Edw. J. Brennan  
DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT

850 FEDERAL BUILDING  
TELEPHONE HANDBOOK 4700

## United States Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

OFFICE OF DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT  
CHICAGO

Nov. 28, 1919.

MR. A. L. BARKEY,  
P.O. Box 881,  
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Sir:

RE: EMMA GOLDMAN

The above mentioned subject is under surveillance of agents of this office and last evening she caused a telegram to be transmitted by the Western Union Telegraph Co. which reads as follows:

Nov. 27, 1919.

Henry Montgomery,  
114 Tyler Ave., Highland Park,  
Detroit, Mich.

Arrived safely. Located New Southern Hotel. Very anxious about the boys we discussed knew you are busy moving but remember how important the matter is will await anxiously result of your efforts get in touch with Margolis through Nelson his presence here Monday indispensable let him try his best love E (Emma)

Very truly yours,

*Edward J. Brennan*  
Division Superintendent.

RJA/10

Copy to Chief for the attention MR. HOOVER.

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471

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Detroit, Mich., 1919  
Nov. 28 / W.W. Spain [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 26 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Spain summarizes his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman on November 23, 26, and 27.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. For Wilcox report mentioned, see 880606260.

15446

REPORT MADE BY: W. W. Spain.	PLACE WHERE MADE: Detroit, Mich.	DATE WHEN MADE: Nov. 28, 1919.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Nov. 23, 1919.
---------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	--

Re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

At Detroit, Michigan.

Agent attended meeting held at 56 Adams Street, West, at 7:30 P.M. on the above date in company with Special Agent in Charge, Barkey and the following Special Agents, Hessler, Wilcox, Apelman, Ferguson, Cummerow, Dowd and Kahn.

Arriving at the hall, Agent was instructed to cover the overflow meeting in the basement at 56 Adams Street, West, while Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman addressed the audience on the floor above. The overflow meeting was addressed by four local speakers, the general subjects being labor organization; nothing of importance taking place worthy of entering into report.

On the 26th, Agent attended meeting held at 56 Adams Street, West, at 7:30 P.M. in company with Agent in Charge Barkey and the following special agents, Hessler, Wilcox, Apelman, Cummerow, Dowd and Kahn.

The following day Agent accompanied Special Agents Wilcox, Dowd and Cummerow in an automobile, following the auto of the above subjects, who drove directly to the House of Masses, corner of Gratiot and St. Aubin and Agent was there relieved at 1:00 A.M. for the night.

On the 27th, Agent in Company with Agent Cummerow was on duty through out the day, keeping the above subjects under surveillance, and respectfully refers to detailed report of Agent Wilcox in regard to same.

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Anarchists, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 28 / Thomas C. Wilcox [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Wilcox reports on Goldman and Berkman's speeches, given on November 23 at Autoworkers' Hall.

Notes: Broken type. For stenographic notes mentioned, see 880606232, 810930188 and 810930189.

PROPERTY FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>Thomas C. Wilcox</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Detroit, Michigan</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>November 28, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 23, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES OR STATE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In Re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman Anarchists.</b>			
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.: <b>At Detroit, Michigan.</b>			
<p>Pursuant to instructions of Agent in Charge, Agent, this night, together with the other Agents of this office, attended a lecture given by the above subjects at Auto Workers Hall, 56 East Adams Avenue. The interior of this Hall, which would seat possibly one thousand people, was packed with what appeared to be almost entirely a Russian audience.</p> <p>During the speeches of both of above subjects, any reference to radicalism, anarchism, or kindred subjects was the signal for thunderous applause. Under direction of Agent in Charge Barker, the speeches of both subjects were taken stenographically. The crowd present were orderly, no demonstrations were attempted, and following the lectures both of the above subjects left the Hall quietly.</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:			P - 1

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Anarchists, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 28 / Thomas C. Wilcox [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Wilcox reports on his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman on November 26, including their speeches at Autoworkers' Hall.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

15446

REPORT MADE BY: <b>Thomas C. Wilcox</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Detroit, Michigan</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>November 26, 1919 Nov. 26, 1919</b>	FOUNDER FOR WHICH MADE:
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES OR NATURE OF MATTER BEING INVESTIGATED: <b>In Re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman Anarchists</b>			
DEPARTMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.: <b>At Detroit, Michigan.</b>			<b>DEC 1 1919</b>

Agent was this day advised by Agent in Charge Barker that instructions had been received in this office from the Chief of the Bureau to cover the above two subjects, and keep them under constant surveillance during all of the time they were in this City.

Pursuant to instructions, and working with Agents Kahn, Dowd, and Spain, and by use of a confidential informant, Agent was enabled to learn from Rev. I. Paul Taylor that the above subjects were living at the home of Henry Montgomery, 114 Tyler Avenue, Highland Park. Both had registered at the Hotel Statler, but had later canceled their reservations by telephone, much to the satisfaction of the Manager of the Statler Hotel, Mr. Klare, as he advised Agent later.

Mr. Montgomery, at whose home the above anarchists were living, is an assistant ~~prosecutor~~ <sup>investigator</sup> in the State Attorney's Office of this City.

Following the receipt of the above information as to the exact location of the above subjects, this information was later made more positive through the same confidential informant, and the proposed movements of the above subjects for the next ten days were learned.

Working with the above Agents, the house at 114 Tyler Avenue was covered throughout the balance of the day, and subjects were covered to the Auto Workers Hall at 56 East Adams Avenue, where they were to speak again this evening.

Agent was in attendance with all of the other Agents of this office at the Lecture of above subjects at Auto Workers Hall

P - 1

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Anarchists, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 28 / Thomas C. Wilcox [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** Agent Wilcox reports on his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman on November 26, including their speeches at Autoworkers' Hall.

Re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman  
Anarchists

this night. Particular attention is directed to the speech of subject Goldman, who stated, in the course of her remarks, that she was proud to state she was an anarchist; that she always had been an anarchist, and irrespective of whatever the United States Government might do to her she would always remain an anarchist. This remark was followed by a great outburst of applause. At the close of their lectures Agent, accompanied by Agents Kahn, Spain, Dowd and Cummerow, proceeded to keep the above subjects under surveillance. They departed from Auto Workers Hall, and drove to the House of the Masses, Corner of Gratiot Avenue and St. Aubin Avenue, where there was a Thanksgiving Eve Dance in progress. They arrived at this Hall shortly after 11 P.M., and remained in said Hall until about 12:30 A.M. Leaving the Hall, they were taken across the City, and directly to 114 Tyler Avenue, Highland Park, where they were making their home in this City. The house was covered by Agents until about 3 A.M., when all persons therein had retired for the night.

P - 2

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475

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Anarchists, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 28 / Thomas C. Wilcox [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Wilcox describes his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman in Detroit.

Notes: For related report, see 850205056.

Form No. 1

15446

REPORT MADE BY: <b>Thomas C. Wilcox</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Detroit, Michigan</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>November 28, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 27, 1919</b>
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TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

**In Re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman  
Anarchists**

CHARACTER OF OFFENSES, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, DATES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

**At Detroit, Michigan.**

Continuing the surveillance of the above subjects, Agent this day joined Agents Cummerow and Spain in keeping under surveillance the home of Henry Montgomery, 114 Tyler Avenue, Highland Park. Neither one of subjects left this house during the entire morning. At about 2 P.M. the above subjects, accompanied by Rev. I. Paul Taylor, Agnes Inglass, Henry Montgomery and Mrs. Montgomery, and some children, left the house at 114 Tyler Avenue, and proceeded via automobile to the Liberty Kitchen, a Jewish Restaurant at the corner of Monroe & Library Avenues, where they remained for approximately half an hour. Leaving the Liberty Restaurant, they drove directly to the Michigan Central Railroad Station, where they boarded a Michigan Central train leaving Detroit at 1:55 Central Standard time, which is 2:55 Detroit City time. Their baggage was checked to Chicago, and Agent saw their tickets as they passed through the gate to enter the train, which tickets also read Chicago.

Agent Kahn proceeded on the same train with the above subjects, to keep them under surveillance into Chicago.

Agent immediately sent the following wire to Agent in Charge Brennan at Chicago:

"Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman left here at one fifty five today for Chicago via Michigan Central Railroad. Agent Kahn covering to Chicago. Signed Barkey."

P - 1

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476

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 28, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Barkey reports that Agent Kahn is following Goldman and Berkman on the train to Chicago.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For coded version, see 880606256.

1880. 118.2.

Detroit, Mich., November 28, 1919.

Barkey,

Department Justice,

Washington

Five stop Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman left here Thursday  
via Michigan Central Railroad one fifty five. Agent Kahn went  
with them. We advised Chicago office.

BARKEY

2:00 p.m.

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477

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 28, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Coded version of 880606257.

105.O. 510.R.

Detroit, Mich., November 28, 1919.

Burke,

Department Justice,

Washington.

Five stop remonstise houxuptap and butte simstap barber photism  
honeymoon via Erub conceit orthoscope outflanked period regressive  
sperp karma lamb highlander period we advised squirmate commoner.

Barkey.

1: p.m.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 29 [Washington, D.C. to Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthon] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Caminetti sends Post Harry Weinberger's request for an extension to submit evidence of Goldman's citizenship. He reviews the file and advises Post to deny the request and close the case.

**Notes:** For Weinberger's request and Post's response, see 830214031.

54210/43-A

November 29, 1919.

In re EMMA GOLDMAN, aged 50, Russian.

*Supplemental* MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY:

In the matter of Emma Goldman, at white marker herein you will find application of Harry Weinberger, attorney for the alien, to be allowed one month's time in which to submit evidence as to her citizenship.

With reference to this application the Bureau begs to submit that the time for the submission of evidence was when the case was under examination at the Ellis Island office, of which examination Mr. Weinberger had due and ample notice. It is my understanding that opportunity was given to him at that time and during such examination to offer the testimony of which he now speaks. Moreover at the conclusion of the hearing Mr. Weinberger was given six days's time to file his brief in the case. In this brief he had the opportunity to present anything pertinent to the issue involved and make such objections or request such action to be taken as he might ~~advise~~. The period within which he could file such brief expired upon the 21st of November. During this time the record fails to show that he filed any such brief or did he request additional time within which to do so. Thereafter such proceedings were had as are shown by the record and the record <sup>was</sup> transmitted to the Bureau from the Ellis Island Station where the alien was examined. Upon the 25th day of November the memorandum of the Bureau was prepared and submitted to the Department for its consideration. At that time Mr. Weinberger appeared and requested permission to file on or before Friday, November 28th, his application for a month's time to offer testimony as to the citizenship of Emma Goldman. This he has done in due time. At the same time Mr. Weinberger also stated that he does not apply to file a brief in the case but waives nothing. The application now before the Department states that if the Department refuses to grant him the time applied for that he refuses to submit any brief in the proceedings.

In view of what the Bureau has set forth hereinbefore, it recommends that the application be denied. Mr. Weinberger also requested that when your Department has actually come to a decision and before putting that decision into execution, that it wire me, at my expense, so that I may come to Washington and consult again with you and Mr. Abercrombie and Mr. Post before that decision is put into effect."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 29 [Washington, D.C. to Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

**Summary:** Caminetti sends Post Harry Weinberger's request for an extension to submit evidence of Goldman's citizenship. He reviews the file and advises Post to deny the request and close the case.  
**Notes:** For Weinberger's request and Post's response, see 830214031.

54210/43-A

(2)

Concerning this request the Bureau begs to state that if its recommendation of refusal of the time asked for in the said application is approved, and since Mr. Weinberger states in his said application that if same is denied him he refuses to submit any brief, then it is recommended that the case be ~~entirely~~ closed at this time, as any visit of Mr. Weinberger to Washington, since his statement that he refuses to submit any brief and his further statement in his application that "we do not deny on behalf of Miss Goldman that she is an advocate and believer in the doctrines of anarchism," cannot alter the facts and circumstances in this case nor alter the recommendation of the Bureau or the Department.

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner-General.

Approved: 

Assistant Secretary.

AC/JKL

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480

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 29, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti, Commissioner Gen[era]l [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p.; 18 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caminetti denies Weinberger's petition for more time in Goldman's deportation case and orders her deported.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 830214031. For related document, see 830214029. For transcription, see 850712331.

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

## WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT

C236W 20 4 EX COLLECT

WASHINGTON DC 513 P 29

HARRY WEINBERGER

261 BROADWAY NEWYORK NY

APPLICATION FOR FURTHER TIME CASE EMMA GOLDMAN DENIED CASE IS CLOSED AND  
ALIEN ORDERED DEPORTED

CAMINETTI COMMISSIONER GENL OF IMMIGRATION.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 29, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: Transcript of 850712330.

XXXXXXX

Form 11

## CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR **COMMERCIAL COLLECT:**  
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

52420/43

Nov. 29, 1919.

Harry Weinberger,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N.Y.

Application for further time case Emma Goldman denied. Case is closed  
and alien ordered deported.

HMc/n

Commissioner-General of Immigration.

////////////////////////////////////

\* \* \* \* \*

The above is an official copy of telegram sent this day.

14-468

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General.

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482



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]19 Nov. 29, Washington [D.C. to Bureau of Immigration [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / John W. A[bercrombie] Acting Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor.— 1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Abercrombie asks the Bureau of Immigration to acknowledge and file the enclosed letter.

Notes: Left hand document only. For enclosure, see 830214215.

JOHN S. MARKELL

SUPERINTENDENT  
OF THE PENITENTIARY  
NEW YORK

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

To Bureau of Immigration

Name *Emma Goldman*

File No.

The attached letter  
from John S. Markell  
is self-explanatory.  
Please acknowledge  
and file.

*John W. A.*  
Acting Secretary.

Superintendent

Deputy:

*N.Y.*

191

*Enclosure NY Nov 26/19*

*Labor*

*W.C.*

111

letter of Emma Goldman  
out of the Outwarda  
to year, from Jan  
1917. Jacob Kersner  
see there when I  
is self-explanatory. 45, and served  
upt 18<sup>th</sup> 1895, during  
and a visit from  
said was his father  
to clothing business in  
so received a visit  
it was common  
on, that this woman  
I notice in  
Goldman claims

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 29, Chicago [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department.—  
1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett sends Churchill the text of a telegram, sent the day before.

Notes: For copy of telegram, see 810331070.

## WAR DEPARTMENT HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT CHICAGO

DIO-II  
5508/60

November 29, 1919.

From: The Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.  
To: Director of Military Intelligence, Washington, D. C.  
Subject: Emma Goldman-Alexander Berkman Meetings.  
(DII - 10668-426 M. I. 4)

### IMMEDIATE

1. Telegram was sent you yesterday, as follows:

"Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman arrived in Chicago last night. Are in telegraphic communication with M. E. Fitzgerald, 28 Grove Street, New York, and Henry Montgomery, 114 Tyler Avenue, Hyland Park, Detroit. Refer to big meeting Saturday night and request that Fitzgerald rush prison pamphlet special delivery parcel post. Also request Montgomery get in touch with Margolis through one Nelson and insist upon presence here Monday."

*Thomas B. Crockett*  
Thomas B. Crockett,  
Major, Infantry.

TBC.N.  
no encl.

Copy to Major Strauss.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
FOR THE  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

10/10-15-4  
27  
WAR DEPARTMENT

102x

CAPTAIN SNOW  
M. I. 4.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Nov. 29, Washington [D.C. to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / J[ohn?] T. S[utter?] Assistant to the Director? Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p.; 23 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Suter summarizes the contents of Goldman and Berkman's telegrams which the Military Intelligence Division intercepted.

Notes: For text of telegrams, see 880606258 and 880606259.

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
CHIEF, BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,  
AND REFER TO INITIALS.

157446  
Department of Justice,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington.

FILED  
O.P.R.

JTS:RJS

P.D.W.

November 29, 1919.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER

Colonel Brown, Military Intelligence, informed the Bureau, by telephone, of the receipt of a telegram from the Military Intelligence Officer in charge at Chicago, reporting that Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman arrived in Chicago last night, and are in telegraphic correspondence with Henry Montgomery, 114 Tyler Avenue, Highland Park, Detroit, and M. E. Fitzgerald, 28 Grove Street, New York City. In communication with Montgomery they refer to big meeting Sunday night, and request him to get in touch with Margolis, through one Nelson, and insist upon his presence in Chicago Monday. In correspondence with Fitzgerald, they urge him to rush prison pamphlets special delivery parcel post.

J.T.S.

Arrived Chicago  
11/29/19  
H.F.R.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 29 / G.F.R. Cummerow [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Cummerow reports on his surveillance of Goldman while she was in Detroit.

Notes: For report mentioned, see 850205055.

Report Form No. 1

REPORT MADE BY: G. F. R. Cummerow	PLACE WHERE MADE: Detroit, Michigan	DATE WHEN MADE: November 26, 1919	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Nov. 26-27, 1919
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES ON WHICH REPORT MADE UNDER INVESTIGATION: In Re: Emma Goldman Anarchist			1919
DEPARTMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC. At Detroit, Michigan.			DEC 2 1919 J.E.H.
<p><u>November 26th.</u> Pursuant to instructions from Special Agent in Charge Barkey, Agent, accompanied by other Agents, was instructed to keep above named subject under surveillance until her departure from the City. In accordance with said instructions, Agent attended meeting held at 56 Adams Avenue, and after said meeting followed subject to the House of the Masses, and remained there until 2 A.M.</p> <p><u>November 27th.</u> This Agent, accompanied by Agent Spain, proceeded to 114 Tyler Street, where subject was stopping, and relieved other Agents at daybreak. Subject was kept under close surveillance until 2:55 P.M., when subject departed on a Michigan Central train for Chicago.</p> <p>For detailed report, refer to report of Agent Wilcox.</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:			F - 1

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486



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Detroit, Mich., 1919  
Nov. 29 / Fred H. Hessler [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. —  
1 p.; 26 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Hessler reports on his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman on November 26 and 27, 1919.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For stenographic notes mentioned, see 880606249, 890216000, and 890216001. For Wilcox report mentioned, see 880606260.

Fred H. Hessler	Detroit, Michigan	Nov. 29, 1919.	Nov. 26 and 27, 1919.
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:			
Re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman			
SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESS OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.			
DEC 4 1919			
At Detroit, Michigan			
<p>Agent, in company with other agents, proceeded to the Auto Workers Hall on Adams Street, West, where we attended a meeting at which the above subjects addressed an audience of 2,000 or more. The subjects were well received, giving a detailed report of the situation.</p> <p>On November 27th, 1919, Agent in company with other agents, proceeded to cover the above subjects prior to their leave for Chicago, Illinois, on the Michigan Central Ry. at 12:55 P.M.; Agent Kahn being assigned to cover them from Detroit to Chicago.</p> <p>For a detailed report on the above matter, I respectfully refer to report of Agent Wilcox for this day.</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:			

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Berkman—Radical Activities, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 29 / John A. Dowd [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Dowd reports on his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman on November 26, 1919. He describes Goldman's plans, which he obtained by posing as a reporter. He notes that Goldman's evening speech was vitriolic.

Notes: Dark copy.

REPORT MADE BY: <b>John A. Dowd</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Detroit, Mich.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Nov. 23, 1919.</b>	PLACES WHERE MADE: <b>Nov. 26, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND SUBJECT ORIGIN OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In re: Emma Goldman &amp; Berkman Radical Activities</b>			
SUBJECT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED: <b>At Detroit, Mich.</b>			
<p>Acting under instructions of Agent in Charge, I proceeded, in company of Agent Kahn, to locate and keep under surveillance Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, during their stay in this city.</p> <p>From a confidential source agents learned that the subjects were residing, while in this city, at the home of Henry Montgomery, 114 Tyler St., Highland Park, Detroit, Michigan.</p> <p>Agents proceeded thereto and kept the house of Mr. Montgomery under surveillance the entire day. No persons were observed to enter or leave the house. Thru a confidential informant and interview with Miss Goldman, under cover, as a representative of the press was secured, and Miss Goldman divulged the following:</p> <p>That she and Berkman were preparing their speeches for tonight's meeting (Nov. 26, 1919) at Auto Workers Hall, Adams St., Detroit, Mich. That she and Berkman expected to leave Detroit, Mich., en route for Chicago, Ill., via the Mich. Central RR., at 12.30 p.m., on Friday, Nov. 27, 1919. That their first public appearance in Chicago, Ill., would be made at a meeting held at Mar-Mona Hall, on the evening of Nov. 29, 1919. That on the evening of Dec. 1, 1919 they would attend a banquet held at the Morrison Hotel, Chicago and would spend ten days at Chicago, Ill., during which period they would give a series of lectures. They would then proceed to New York City, N.Y.</p> <p>In the evening agent, with other agents of this office,</p>			
COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>New York and Chicago offices.</b>			

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Berkman—Radical Activities, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 29 / John A. Dowd [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Dowd reports on his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman on November 26, 1919. He describes Goldman's plans, which he obtained by posing as a reporter. He notes that Goldman's evening speech was vitriolic.

Notes: Dark copy.

covered the meeting at Auto Workers Hall at which the subjects spoke. The pronouncements of Miss Goldman and Mr. Berkman were both venomous and vitriolic particularly the former who publicly declared that she was and had been an anarchist for thirty years. She attacked the American Legion, the Federal Injunction, the various anarchist and syndicalist laws etc., while Berkman attacked the methods of deportation and his treatment at the Federal prisons and invited the workers to rise and meet the various barricades placed before them.

At this meeting Jacob Margolis, Pittsburgh, Pa., attorney for the Union of Russian Workers was also a speaker.

After the meeting had adjourned this agent accompanied Agents Wilcox, Spain, Curmerow and Kahn in shadowing the subjects who proceeded to the I.W.W. headquarters on Gratiot St., this city where they remained about one hour. Agent was relieved at 1 P.M., while Agents Wilcox and Kahn continued to cover subjects until they retired for the night.

Case is closed.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Nov. 29 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke instructs Brennan to have Goldman and Berkman followed closely while they are in Chicago.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

10-4-16

072:153

November 29, 1919.

Brennan,  
Federal Building,  
Chicago, Illinois.

9.2.2.2

As informed by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman arrived  
in Chicago Friday twenty eighth. Understand they will  
hold big meeting Sunday night. Locate them and cover  
their activities closely. Communicate with Military Intel-  
ligence officer in Chicago for further details. Stop, Five.

BURKE,

Chief.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

880429007

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Chicago, 1919 Nov.  
30 / Eugene Bernstein [Operative? Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. -  
5 p.; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Bernstein reports on Berkman and Goldman's speeches on "Their Prison Experiences," given in Chicago on November 29, 1919. He describes the audience, the announcements, the fund-raising speech and the atmosphere of the evening.

Notes: For related document, see 880606270.

(Department Intelligence Office - Chicago)

-COPY-

WAR DEPARTMENT

Chicago, November 30, 1919.

In Re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman:

Saturday evening, November 29, 8:00 P. M., I, in company with a number of other operatives attended a meeting held at Carmen's Hall, Van Buren St., and Ashland Blvd., Chicago, where the above subjects addressed their so-called comrades on the subject of "Their Prison Experiences." The meeting was presided over by one called "Hy" Simons, a forcible speaker whom I understood was at one time a reporter for the Chicago American and who lately was discharged from a Federal Military Penitentiary for being a "conscientious objector." The price of admittance was fifty cents.

On the outside of the building on the sidewalk, various individuals were selling tickets for a banquet for Emma Goldman and Alex Berkman. The usual literature was on sale, i. e. the various well known radical and atheistic literature as is usually sold at similar meetings of this sort, in the lobby of the building.

The hall was crowded, the gallery packed, and the aisles, in a number of instances, were filled. Those in attendance were Russians, a good many or at least a majority of them were what may be termed Russian Jews. Eighty-five percent of these in attendance were of the age between twenty-five and thirty-five, three percent above that age and the remainder between eighteen and twenty-five.

I had difficulty in securing a seat. Meeting one of Sergeant Mill's men assigned to this meeting he introduced me to "Hy" Simon, as a member of the press and secured a seat at the platform, and therefore, have a complete stenographic report of the proceedings. However, I do not believe it worth the while to transcribe same, as the statements were not what could be called inflammatory or as daring as the subjects are usually wont to make.

The meeting opened at 8:30 P.M. The Chairman of the Evening "Hy" Simons, delivered the opening address, and prior to introducing Alexander Berkman he narrated his "horrible" experiences as a prisoner for being a conscientious objector. He announced several meetings at which Emma Goldman will speak within the next week at the West Side Auditorium and a Banquet to be held at the Morrison Hotel, Dec. 1, 6 P.M. in the Grand Cameo Ball Room. International Mass Meeting to be held Sunday Dec. 7, 1919, at 2:00 P. M. at the West Side Auditorium, under the auspices of the Workers Int. Industrial Union. Further announcing that Wednesday evening these two comrades (Goldman and Berkman) will speak on the "extremely pertinent question of the duty of the United States toward Soviet Russia". (This brought forth a tremendous amount of applause) "or why has not the United States recognized the Government of Soviet, Russia, and why does it still hesitate to do so." Friday night, Emma Goldman will speak in Jewish and Alex. Berkman in English, at the West Side Auditorium.

He further stated that he desired "to call the attention of the members to other intellectual affairs to take place in this city. Alex Margolis, attorney for the I. W. W. in Pittsburgh, will lecture in this city on the subject of Syndicalism and the American Labor Movement, Tuesday night (unable to secure name of Hall.) This lecture will be held under the auspices of the Workers Institute. It is an extremely interesting subject to be treated at this time. Mr. Margolis was heralded in the Chicago Tribune as the man who would not protect his wife, which was run in the Tribune after Mr. Margolis testified before the Senate Committee investigating the Steel Strike.

A debate between Clarence S. Darrow and James Scott Hearing to be held November 30, at Car Men's Hall. He (Hy Simons) made a special effort to induce the audience to purchase the Duluth Truth which was sold for five cents a copy.

He then related an experience of his in the Military Prison, because of his giving out, as he termed it "Underground information" of conditions in the prison. How he was finally 'hooked up' with some of the mail that was sent out 'underground'. That the mail was sent out in the following manner:

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Chicago, 1919 Nov.  
30 / Eugene Bernstein [Operative? Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. —  
5 p.; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Bernstein reports on Berkman and Goldman's speeches on "Their Prison Experiences," given in Chicago on November 29, 1919. He describes the audience, the announcements, the fund-raising speech and the atmosphere of the evening.

Notes: For related document, see 880606270.

-2-

if he would not promise to desist sending out such information and he stated to the Major "Are they not facts?" The Major said, no, and that he did not believe they were all true," etc. And that he informed the Major he would refrain from sending out such information if he pointed out one false statement, and that he was sentenced to solitary as a result of this.

Later in the evening he stated how he happened to be influenced by Emma Goldman, told the audience that he became a conscientious objector and resisted the draft by reason of Emma Goldman's teachings. Alexander Berkman was then introduced to the audience. (The poor ignorant audience stood on the chairs and cheered) When order was restored Berkman began as follows:

"Friends, I appreciate this reception and the spirit of it and I also hope that your greetings for me include also greetings and respect and sympathy with all the political and industrial prisoners that I left behind me in prison. (Cheers) And I am the bearer to you of a message from a political and class war prisoner at Atlanta, Georgia, and a message from them to you, a special message from one whom you all know and who has devoted thirty or forty years of his life to the cause of liberty and of humanity. I have a special message to you from Eugene V. Debs. (Applause and cheers.) It was my good luck, tho it was mostly accidental, that on the morning of my discharge from the Atlanta prison on October 1, 1919, I had a chance to see him, to embrace him, and to talk to our Comrade Debs. It was a wonderful moment in my life and I believe according to his words, his also, and he said among other things, give my greetings to the friends and comrades that you will meet outside and tell them that a very big official from Chicago was here to see me with an offer of a pardon from the Government, a pardon for myself, and I refused that pardon because I shall not leave this prison, until the last conscientious objector prisoner, industrial prisoner, and political prisoner has gone out before me. That is the spirit of Eugene V. Debs, who our free and Democratic government is keeping in prison today. Several thousand of them, some known, most of them unknown, some conscientious objectors, some rebel soldiers from the Philippine Islands, from France, soldiers who rebelled against the inhuman discipline and soldiers who did not want to go over."

He then proceeded to narrate of the experiences of the various prisons and of his experience in the Atlanta penitentiary, claiming that conditions were even worse today than before. He spoke of the straight jacket, chaining up, solitary, and the blind door, and the offenses for which one may be punished, claiming that merely talking when one was not supposed to, was to be sentenced to any of these forms of punishment. He further stated that he was ready to prove his statements, especially to Attorney Gen. Gregory and that he was willing to pay his fare if necessary. Stating that these tortures are especially meted out to political prisoners, further making what would be termed a clinching point by stating "After a great war was fought to secure liberty and justice for all, that exists in Atlanta today." He seemed to be particularly anxious to introduce the audience to the horrors of the blind door, and the length of time men are kept in there and the trivial offenses for which they are so punished. Also, "Such conditions never existed in Russia, even for political prisoners, under the worst Czar."

He then went into discussion of the criminal prisoners, defining certain kinds of crime, and wound up by saying that "the man who commits a crime against humanity usually go to Congress and not to the penitentiary." (This brought forth a volley of cheers and applause.) He then went into a discussion of what is known as the "gun" a criminal of sufficient ~~ability~~ intellectual ability and money who is able to protect himself by his wealth and by other means. He tried to convey to the audience the mistaken idea that exists about there being such a thing as a criminal.

Also stating "Can you imagine for a moment that you can reform by imprisoning men like Debs, or an O'Hare, can you change Emma Goldman by sentencing her to prison."

He completed his address at 9:35. In all, nothing he said could be considered inflammatory. The statements were apparently well guarded.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Chicago; 1919 Nov.  
30 / Eugene Bernstein [Operative? Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. —  
5 p.; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Bernstein reports on Berkman and Goldman's speeches on "Their Prison Experiences," given in Chicago on November 29, 1919. He describes the audience, the announcements, the fund-raising speech and the atmosphere of the evening.

Notes: For related document, see 880606270.

-3-

Dr. William Nathanson, well known anarchist, then addressed the audience.

In part, he stated as follows:

"We must break upon you the news this evening, the news that you will read tomorrow morning in all the papers, and that is that the Government has felt that it would not be just to separate two people who have for a number of years worked in one country for one ideal and the United States Government has decided, just a few hours ago, that not only Berkman must be deported, but also Emma Goldman. (Cheers and applause) (Apparently from the cheers the comrades approved their deportation.) Now my friends, I believe that we must this evening at this meeting give ourselves an account for what purpose have we gathered here tonight, and I believe that everyone of you will agree with me that we gathered here tonight for more than one purpose, you will not only agree, but I am sure that everyone of you, that we have first of all gathered here tonight to express our love and admiration for two people who have suffered all their lives for the ideal for which they believe is the true ideal, for the two people who have decided resolutely and absolutely to suffer the rest of their life for the ideal, no matter what happens to them. We have come here this evening to express our admiration for the two people who physically have been terribly, you cannot realize how terribly, these two people have been weakened physically for the last two years only, but as weak as their body is today, we feel we come in contact with them, that in these two bodies there lies a spirit that cannot be crushed by any power, by any court in this world. (Applause) Because there dwells a spirit similar to the spirit that dwelt in the hearts of those people, in a country that some of you have left there for a number of years, a spirit that made those in that country to go smilingly to the gallows with the last words on their lips, and still there will be a revolution in Russia.

"In the hearts of these two people there dwells the same spirit that has dwelt in the hearts of those two people (apparently referring to Lenin & Trotsky) who are today leading triumphantly the revolutionary proletariat over the Russian bourgeoisie, maybe in the hearts of these two people who today are the firepillars that show the way to the entire world of the victory of the proletariat over the Bourgeoisie, and we have gathered here tonight for another purpose, and that is to ring our voices as loudly as we possibly can so that it will be heard from one end of this country to another. To ring our voices in protest against the incarceration of peoples whose only crime, whose only fault consists in the fact that they are possessed by ideals, who when realized will be contrary to the interests of," etc.

Completing his address by saying, "We shall say to ourselves each and everyone of us here tonight should say to himself, or each of us who cannot afford to do what these people and their revolutionists have done; I cannot afford, I am probably not made of the stuff, and therefore, I cannot afford to go to prison or suffer as much as they have for their ideals but I can at least do all that is necessary in a way of financing a movement which will bring about the freedom and release of the

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493

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Chicago, 1919 Nov. 30 / Eugene Bernstein [Operative? Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 5 p.; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Bernstein reports on Berkman and Goldman's speeches on "Their Prison Experiences," given in Chicago on November 29, 1919. He describes the audience, the announcements, the fund-raising speech and the atmosphere of the evening.

Notes: For related document, see 880606270.

-4-

(political) a movement that will bring about a fact that the Government of the United States will finally be compelled to listen to the protests of the people of the United States and cease deporting people who have committed no crime and I am sure, my friends, that each and everyone of you will tonight contribute to this movement as much as you can. You cannot give them your love and blood for the movement as they have done, but you can give your money so as to help the movement which will eventually bring about conditions where people do, and did give their life and blood because they have ideals. You will give all you can so as to bring about a condition in this country as well as in every other country, that would be similar to the condition which is prevailing in one country today, and we hope will prevail more and more, ever and ever, that is in Soviet Russia."

Appeals were then made by him for contributions. A contribution of \$100 was asked for but there was no response. However, one named either L. Weapun, or L. Wachman, contributed \$50.00. Rosenthal contributed \$25.00. Jake Aganoff, Wm. Bernstein (no relative or acquaintance of mine) Rivkin, Mrs. Grachon, gave \$10. Deutch, Litsky, Israel Duogs, Eisner, Max Roth and Sam Goldman gave \$5.00. Millman, Alex Chavis and others contributed \$3.00. There was a rush to the platform to contribute \$1.00 and less.

One contribution labelled "I.W.W." brought forth this comment from Nathanson: "I.W.W. \$5.00, I do not know him, do you?"

Later in the evening it was announced that by reason of the contributions, a little over \$1100 was given to the cause. This is exclusive of the gate receipts and the amounts held out by "fellow comrades."

Alexander Berkman, all during the counting of the money received from the contributions, which was being counted on the left end of the stage, at which end Alex sat, kept a keen eye on the counters. He was noticed several times to be giving greater attention to the counting than to the other speakers that followed.

"Hy" Simons, the chairman, then announced that Ben Wrightman would speak at Bush Temple, Sunday evening, where he is conducting a church on Christianity.

It was then announced that contributions could be mailed to Emma Goldman at the New Southern Hotel, Chicago, 1310 Michigan Ave.

After the introduction by the Chairman "Hy" Simons of Emma Goldman and his statement of how Emma Goldman influenced his life, Emma Goldman took the platform. Her appearance resulted in a minute and a half of yelling and cheering. When order was restored, she began:

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Chicago, 1919 Nov.  
30 / Eugene Bernstein [Operative? Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. -  
5 p.; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Bernstein reports on Berkman and Goldman's speeches on "Their Prison Experiences," given in Chicago on November 29, 1919. He describes the audience, the announcements, the fund-raising speech and the atmosphere of the evening.

Notes: For related document, see 880606270.

(Department Intelligence Office, Chicago)

-COPY-

-5-

"If it is true that I have influenced the young generation of Americans as typified in our chairman of tonight, a man who stood firmly, fearlessly for his principles and who played such a magnificent part in the first strike in a military prison in the United States, if I have indeed influenced the young generation of Americans, I do not blame the United States for deporting Emma Goldman. For I feel that the future belongs not with us who have given thirty years of our life. The movement belongs to the young generation of the United States. For they will be the force of the element who will change conditions in the United States. Friends to night, we are to speak about the filthy prisons, the uselessness of punishment, both for the common criminal and for the political prisoners and also tell you how vital and the importance it is to raise your voice in behalf of political amnesty." She then narrated a story of the priest and the devil, a story which was found written on the walls of a Siberian prison.

"I remember a time many years ago when I visited England and lectured there at a meeting in London, a boy workman said "What does Emma Goldman know of the conditions of labor, has she ever worked in a shop, has she ever produced useful labor? Of course the young man at the time did not know that I received by baptism in American liberty and pursuit of happiness in a factory working ten hours a day for two and one-half dollars a week. If I shall meet him again, I shall tell him that I have had my second baptism in the United States, this time working in a shop where slavery exists, just the same kind of slavery that existed in the United States before the Civil War for in that prison, friends, men, and women are compelled to make a daily task, young or old, sick or well, they are compelled to produce a certain amount of jackets, overalls, suspenders, etc."

She then told of Kate Richard O'Hara, whom she proclaimed to be a 100% American, more so than the gentlemen from the Department of Injustice or any other such departments.

She told of the propaganda work that Kate O'Hare and she carried on among the prisoners, and stated that neither she nor Kate O'Hare were punished for offenses as the authorities feared them. Also alleging that goods were made by convicts in violation of the laws of Missouri and that she had proof of it, which she claimed she smuggled out.

She further stated, "Is she, (U.S.) going to continue keeping them in prison after the war, or is it that this mighty government is afraid that they will tell the truth about the conditions in prison. I cannot believe that such a powerful government will be afraid of 1500 political prisoners, but don't you wait until the government will be gracious enough to free them. Flesh of your flesh and blood of your blood - it is up to you to demand political amnesty."

Winding up her address by saying, "I am not going to say good-bye to you in a hurry, for I am not yet deported and it will take a little while before I am deported and while I am in Chicago, I hope to meet you tomorrow afternoon when we will speak on deportation."

(sgd) Eugene Bernstein.

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495

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Statement in re:] Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman Deportation [1919 Dec.? (fragment?)] / [Harry Weinberger?]. — 2 p.; 28 × 22 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
 Summary: Weinberger prepares a statement, possibly for the press, explaining the status of Berkman and Goldman's deportation proceedings. He observes that the government would deport Tolstoy or Jesus Christ under current immigration law.  
 Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. Handwritten margin note by Weinberger.

### ALEXANDER BERKMAN AND EMMA GOLDMAN DEPORTATION.

The hearing for the deportation of Alexander Berkman has been closed as stated by Mr. A. Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration. Mr. Berkman has made no objection to his deportation to the City of Petrograd, where he came from, though he does object to deportation of himself or any other anarchist for the mere holding of opinions.

In the hearing at Washington between Mr. Louis F. Post, First Assistant Secretary of Labor, John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor and Mr. A. Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, and Mr. Harry Weinberger, attorney for Alexander Berkman, Mr. Post stated that if Tolstoy himself were in this country, he would be deported under the present anarchist law. Mr. Weinberger stated, "Why not substitute the name of Jesus Christ instead of Tolstoy because you would also deport him for his views under this law", and Mr. Post did not deny it.

On behalf of Mr. Berkman, Mr. Weinberger filed a brief, which said in part as follows:-

"The proceedings charge Alexander Berkman with being an anarchist, and the Government's proof consisting of speeches and writings of said Alexander Berkman is not questioned as sufficient to prove that his social belief is that of anarchism. The position of Mr. Berkman in reference to this hearing has been placed in evidence and is as follows:-

"The purpose of the present hearing is to determine my 'attitude of mind'. It does not, admittedly, concern itself with my actions, past or present. It is purely an inquiry into my views and opinions.

I den the right of anyone - individual or collectively - to set up an inquisition of thought. Thought is, or should be, free. My social views or political opinions are my personal concern. I owe no one responsibility for them. Responsibility begins only with the effects of thought expressed in action. Not before. Free thought, necessarily involving freedom of speech and press, I may tersely define thus: no opinion a law, no opinion a crime. For the Government to attempt to control thought, to prescribe

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Fingerprints of Emma Goldman, 1919 Dec.?] / Bureau of Criminal Identification,  
New York Police Department. — 1 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59. |

Summary: The New York Police Department takes Goldman's fingerprints, probably in connection with her deportation.

Notes: Enclosed with 870717006.

## POLICE DEPARTMENT

CITY OF NEW YORK

### BUREAU OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION

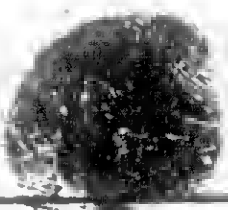
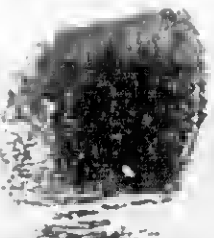
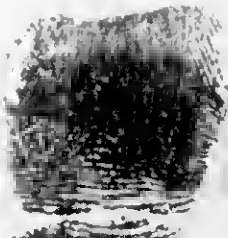

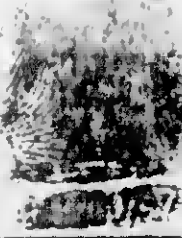
Name *Prisoner, Emma Goldman or Goldman, Emma*

F. No.


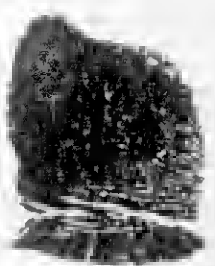
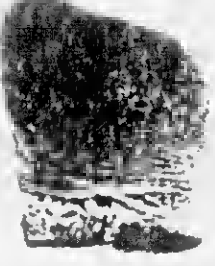


No.

CLASSIFICATION

#### RIGHT HAND

1—Right Thumb	2—R. Forefinger	3—R. Middle Finger	4—R. Ring Finger	5—R. Little Finger
				
(FOLD)				(FOLD)

#### LEFT HAND


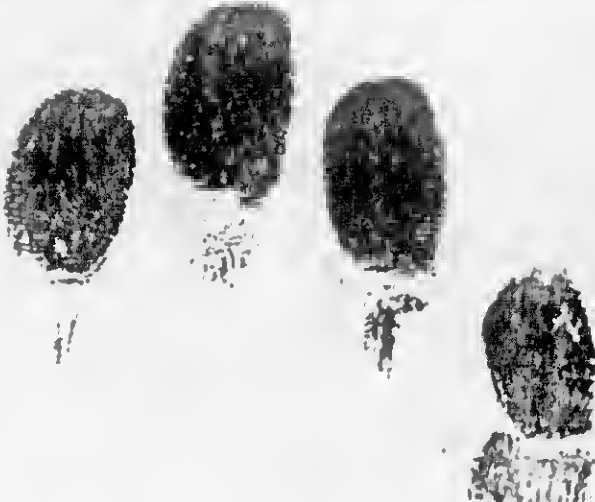
6—Left Thumb	7—L. Forefinger	8—L. Middle Finger	9—L. Ring Finger	10—L. Little Finger
				
(FOLD)				(FOLD)

#### LEFT HAND

Plain impressions of the four fingers taken simultaneously

#### RIGHT HAND

Plain impressions of the four fingers taken simultaneously

	
---	---

Impressions of thumbs  
taken simultaneously

Taken by

At

Classified by

D. D. 16. In effect April 3, 1916

Date

19

*Emma Goldman*  
Prisoner's Signature

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

850712335

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie [Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor]. - 1 p.; 18 x 22 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
 Summary: Abercrombie notifies Weinberger that Goldman must appear at Ellis Island on December 5, 1919, for her deportation.  
 Notes: Broken type. For reply, see 850712337. For warrant mentioned, see 830214080.

WESTERN UNION		CLASS OF SERVICE SYMBOL	
Day Message	Blue	Day Message	Blue
Day Letter	Blue	Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nil	Night Message	Nil
Night Letter	N L	Night Letter	N L
If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.		If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.	

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT      GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT

R317W 55 GOVT

1919 DEC 1 PM 8 45

WA WASHINGTON DC 825P 1

ATTORNEY HARRY WEINBERGER

261 BROADWAY NEWYORK NY

WARRANT COVERING DEPORTATION TO RUSSIA OF EMMA GOLDMAN KERSNER OR  
 EMMA GOLDMAN ISSUED THIS DATE YOU ARE DIRECTED TO PRODUCE AND  
 SURRENDER SAID EMMA GOLDMAN KERSNER OR EMMA GOLDMAN AT UNITED STATES  
 IMMIGRATION STATION ELLIS ISLAND NEWYORK HARBOR NEWYORK ON OR BEFORE  
 TWELVE OCLOCK NOON FRIDAY DECEMBER FIFTH.

ABERCROMBIE

CLASS OF SERVICE SYMBOL

WESTERN UNION

CLASS OF SERVICE SYMBOL

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499

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: Transcript of 850712335.

Form 11

## CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM

## U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1919.

#62410/43

Attorney Harry Weinberger,  
261 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Warrant covering deportation to Russia of Emma Goldman Kersner or Emma Goldman issued this date. You are directed to produce and surrender said Emma Goldman Kersner or Emma Goldman at United States Immigration Station, Ellis Island, New York Harbor, New York, on or before twelve o'clock noon, Friday, December fifth.

Abercrombie.

Attest:

Acting Secretary of Labor.

AC/JML

\* \* \* \* \*

The above is an official copy of telegram sent this day.

14-468

*A. A. Minette*  
Commissioner General.

500

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Warrant] 1919 Dec. 1 [for deportation of Emma Goldman] / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor.— 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Abercrombie authorizes the Bureau of Immigration to deport Goldman to Russia for advocating anarchy.

Notes: Dark copy. Enclosed with 830214216. For copies, see 870701005 and 850812023.

COPY

WARRANT-DEPORTATION OF ALIEN

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
Form 8-B

## United States of America

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
WASHINGTON

No. 52410/43-B

To The ACTING COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, Ellis Island, N.Y.H.

Or to any Officer or Employee of the United States Immigration Service.

WHEREAS, from proofs submitted to me, after due hearing before Immigrant Inspector A. P. Schell, held at Ellis Island, N.Y.H.

I have become satisfied that the alien  
EMMA GOLDMAN KERSNER, or EMMA GOLDMAN

who landed at the port of New York, N.Y.,

on or about the 15th day of June, 1885, has been found in the United States and the Act approved October 16, 1918,

in violation of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, to wit:  
That she is an alien anarchist; that she has been found advocating or teaching anarchy; that she has been found teaching the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; that she believes in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; that she believes in the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law; that she advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; that she advocates the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law; that she advocates the assassination of public officials; that she teaches the assassination of public officials; that she disbelieves in all organized government; and that she is an opponent of all organized government, and may be deported in accordance therewith.

I, JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE, Acting Secretary of Labor, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the laws of the United States, do hereby command you to return the said alien to Russia — the country whence she came, at the expense of the appropriation "Expenses of Regulating Immigration, 1920." You are directed to purchase transportation for the alien from New York, N.Y., to Russia at the lowest available rate, payable from the above-named appropriation.

For so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Witness my hand and seal this 1st day of December, 1919.

(sgd) JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE

Acting Secretary of Labor

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Warrant] 1919 Dec. 1 [for deportation of Emma Goldman] / John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor.— 1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.  
Notes: Enclosed with 870701003. Copy of 830214080. Submitted as Exhibit B in the government's opposi-  
tion to Goldman's petition for a writ of habeas corpus.

## United States of America

EXHIBIT B

### DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

WASHINGTON

No. 98713/52  
52410/43-B

To THE ACTING COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, Ellis Island, N.Y.H

WHEREAS, from proofs submitted to me, after due hearing before Immigrant  
Inspector A. P. Schell, held at Ellis Island, N. Y. H.

I have become satisfied that the alien

EMMA GOLDMAN KERSNER or EMMA GOLDMAN

who landed at the port of New York, N. Y.

on or about the 15th day of June, 1885, has been found in the United States  
and the Act approved October 16, 1918  
in violation of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, to wit:  
That she is an alien anarchist; that she has been found advocating  
or teaching anarchy; that she has been found teaching the overthrow  
of the Government of the United States or of  
all forms of law; that she believes in the overthrow by force or vio-  
lence of the Government of the United States; that she believes  
in the overthrow by force or violence of all forms of law; that she  
advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of  
the United States; that she advocates the overthrow by force or vio-  
lence of all forms of law; that she advocates the assassination of  
public officials; that she teaches the assassination of public of-  
ficials; that she disbelieves in all organized government; and that  
she is an opponent of all organized government

and may be deported in accordance therewith:

I, JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE Acting Secretary of Labor, by virtue of the power  
and authority vested in me by the laws of the United States, do hereby command you  
to return the said alien to Russia the country whence she came, at the  
expense of the appropriation "Expenses of Regulating Immigration, 1920"  
You are directed to purchase transportation for the alien from New  
York, N.Y. to Russia at the lowest available rate, payable from the  
above-named appropriation.

For so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Witness my hand and seal this 1st day of December, 1919.

JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE

Acting Secretary of Labor.

19-244  
A.C.D.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Warrant] 1919 Dec. 1 [for deportation of Emma Goldman] / John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF LABOR IN THE RELATION OF THE UNITED STATES  
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

25410-43-B  
52410/43-B

WASHINGTON

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

EXHIBIT V

United States of America

United States of America

EXHIBIT B

No. 98713/52  
52410/43-B

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

WASHINGTON

To THE ACTING COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, Ellis Island, N.Y.H.

WHEREAS, from proofs submitted to me, after due hearing before **Immigrant**  
**Inspector A. P. Schell, held at Ellis Island, N. Y. H.**

I have become satisfied that the alien

**Emma Goldman Kersner or Emma Goldman**  
who landed at the port of **New York, N. Y.**

on the **15th** day of **June, 1885**, has been found in the United States  
in violation of the **Immigration Act of February 8, 1917 and the Act approved October 15,**  
**approved March 26, 1910, to wit:**

**That she is an alien anarchist; that she**  
**teaches the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the**  
**United States or of all forms of law; that she believes in the over-**  
**throw by force or violence of the Government of the United States;**  
**that she believes in the overthrow by force or violence of all forms**  
**of law; that she advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the**  
**Government of the United States; that she advocates the overthrow by**  
**force or violence of all forms of law; that she advocates the assassi-**  
**nation of public officials; that she teaches the assassination of**  
**public officials; that she disbelieves in all organized government; and**  
**that she is an opponent of all organized government, and may be deport-**  
**-ed in accordance therewith.**

I, **JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE, Acting** Secretary of Labor, by virtue of the power

and authority vested in me by the laws of the United States, do hereby command you

to return the said alien to **Russia** the country whence **she** came, at the

expense of the **appropriation "Expenses of Regulating Immigration, 1920." You**  
**are directed to purchase transportation for the alien from**  
**New York, N. Y. to Russia at the lowest available rate, pay-**  
**able from the above-named appropriation.**

For so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Witness my hand and seal this **1st** day of **December, 1919.**

**JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE**

AJB

Acting

Secretary of Labor.

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503

# The Emma Goldman Papers

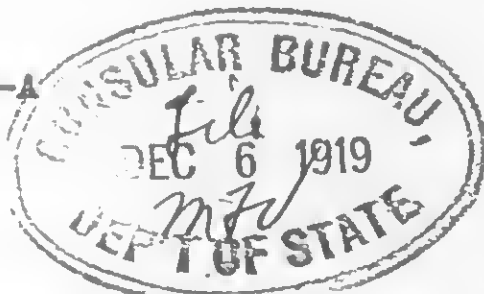
[Letter] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington [D.C. to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Abercrombie informs the secretary of state that he has ordered Goldman and Berkman deported to Russia.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

No. 52410/43-A



December 1, 1919

The Honorable,  
The Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

S i r:

I have the honor to advise you that this Department has this day ordered the deportation of Emma Goldman Kersner, or Emma Goldman, and Alexander Berkman to Russia, via the port of New York, N. Y., under the Act of February 5, 1917, and the Act approved October 16, 1918.

Respectfully,

*John W. Abercrombie*  
Acting Secretary.

JF.

DEC 18 1919

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington [D.C. to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.— 1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Caminetti recommends that the government hold Goldman on Ellis Island pending her deportation to Russia.

Notes: Dark copy. For follow-up, see 830214053. Follow-up to 830214029.

## U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,  
AND REFER TO

No.

*December 1*  
~~November 25~~, 1919.

In re EMMA GOLDMAN.

### SUPPLEMENTAL MEMORANDUM FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY:

In the foregoing proceeding the Bureau, supplementing memorandum of *Nov. 24<sup>th</sup>*, hereby recommends that the alien above named be deported to Russia, the country of her nativity, at the earliest practicable date, and that pending such deportation she be taken into custody and kept at the Ellis Island station until deportation can be effected.

Approved:

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner-General.

*John W. Abercrombie*  
Acting Secretary.

C-ARW

141

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505

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Caminetti informs the secretary of labor that the destination and the ship for Goldman and Berkman's deportation are settled.

**Notes:** Dark copy. Supplement to 830214052.

## U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION

WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,  
AND REFER TO

No.

54236/36.

*December 1,*  
*December 28, 1919.*

### MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY:

(Through the ACTING SECRETARY and  
the ASSISTANT SECRETARY)

In relation to the supplemental memoranda submitted today in the cases of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, I have to state that arrangements have been so far perfected toward securing transportation to Russia for certain deportees, as to secure a vessel for the purpose. The time only remains to be fixed, which would not be at any distant date. ~~h~~ deportation should be effected by delivery into Soviet Russia.

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner-General

C-AKW

142

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506



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 1, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 26 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks Caminetti for assurances regarding the timing and destination of Goldman and Berkman's deportation.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy. Reply to 850712330.

HARRY WEINBERGER  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
261 BROADWAY, NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

December 1st, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

Your telegram stating that my application for further time in the case of Emma Goldman was denied and that the case was closed and alien ordered deported, is before me.

Will you kindly inform me by wire when it is your desire that I come to Washington to consult with you and Mr. Abercrombie and Mr. Post as to the method of putting your decision into execution. Also, may I have the written assurance of the Department that neither Mr. Berkman nor Miss Goldman will be deported to any port of the World where their lives will actually be in danger. As I stated, will you also give me a written answer to my request to allow Mr. Berkman and Miss Goldman to select their own port and pay their own expenses of deportation.

I would also request information as to whether Mr. Berkman and Miss Goldman will have at least three months in order to be ready for deportation.

Respectfully yours,

*Harry Weinberger*

HW/ICW

143

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507

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 1, Washington [D.C. to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, Washington, D.C. / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. — 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.  
 Summary: Caminetti informs the director of Military Intelligence that he has ordered Goldman and Berkman deported to Russia.

*alms, deportation of #16*

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
 BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
 WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
 COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,  
 AND REFER TO

No. 52410/43-A

December 1, 1919.

CAPTAIN FRANK  
 M. I. 4

Director of Military Intelligence,  
 War Department,  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

This is to advise you that the Department has, this day ordered the deportation of Emma Goldman Kersner, or Emma Goldman, and Alexander Berkman to Russia, via the port of New York, N. Y., under the Act of February 5, 1917, and the Act approved October 16, 1918.

Very truly yours,

*A. Caminetti*  
 Commissioner-General.

JF.

RECEIVED  
 DEC 6 1919  
 U. S. DEPT. OF LABOR

REC'D. M. I. B. C. 23 DEC 1 1919

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
 REC'D. DEC 8 1919

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 1, Chicago [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department. — 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett sends newspaper clippings to the director of Military Intelligence.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT  
CHICAGO

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WAR DEPARTMENT

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December 1st, 1919.

CAPTAIN SNOW  
M. I. 4.

From: The Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.  
To: The Director of Military Intelligence - Washington, D.C.  
Subject: EMMA GOLDMAN.  
(No DMI file number)

1. Inclosed for your information are clippings from the "Chicago Tribune" of November 30th and December 1st, 1919.

2. The clippings concern the deportation of the subject and the meeting held in her honor at Car Men's Hall, November 29th, 1919.

*Thomas B. Crockett*  
Thomas B. Crockett,  
Major, Infantry.

CMB  
SMM

2 Incl. (Clipping Nov. 30th  
( " Dec. 1st.)

*OK  
CW*

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MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 1, New York [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / G[eorge] F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Lamb sends Burke a report on the dinner honoring Goldman and Berkman held in New York on October 27, 1919.

Notes: For enclosure, see 821210005.

## Department of Justice.

CJS-JWD.

Bureau of Investigation.

New York City, December 1, 1919.

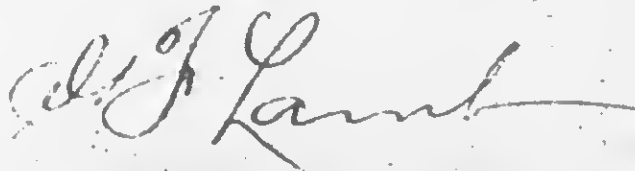
Frank Burke, Esq.,  
Assistant Director and Chief,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mr. Hoover.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith please find copy of report made by investigators in the employ of the Lusk Committee, concerning the dinner given to Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman on the night of October 27, 1919.

Very truly yours,



Division Superintendent.

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510



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman Meeting, Carmen's [H]all, Chicago [19]19 Dec. 1 / Royal N. Allen [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 6 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Allen reports on Goldman and Berkman's speeches on prison conditions, given in Chicago on November 29, 1919. He paraphrases large portions of their speeches.

Notes: Dark copy. For enclosure, see 880606271.

15446

REPORT MADE BY: <b>Royal N. Allen.</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>At Chicago.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Mon. Dec. 1, '19</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Sat. Dec. 29</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>file</b>			
<b>EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN MEETING.</b> <b>Carmen's Hall, Chicago.</b>			
CONTENTS OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.: <b>At Chicago:</b>  Agent was assigned to cover this meeting by reason of a mimeograph announcement, dated Nov. 21, '19, over the signature of GABRIEL V. COOK, 1117 Harris Trust bldg., Chicago—copy of which announcement Agent is attaching to this report. There were between four and six thousand people crowded into the hall but the only occupant of the stage, at first, was the Chairman for the evening, <b>R. AUSTIN SYMONDS</b> , a wellknown "Radical" here at Chicago who served time at Ft. Leavenworth as a conscientious objector recently and whose activities at the Socialist and other Radical gatherings last Summer and Fall are a matter of record in the file of this Bureau. SYMONDS first announced that Subjects would jointly speak Sunday, Nov. 30, at 2:30 P.M. at the West Side Auditorium—their Subject to be their deportation by the Government and that the audience would soon have the pleasure of hearing these "martyrs" in connection with their prison experiences. He also said: "On Monday night, at six o'clock, a banquet will be given at the Hotel 'MORRISON' for these two 'Distinguished' visitors. He also announced that on Wednesday night, Dec. 3, Subjects would speak at the West Side Auditorium and that they would discuss the attitude of the United States toward the Soviet Government of Russia; why has not the United States recognized the Government of Soviet Russia and why does it still hesitate to do so. That these questions will be answered by both of them, Wednesday, at the West Side Auditorium; that Friday night at the same place Emma Goldman will speak in Jewish and Alexander Berkman in English. He also announced that Jacob Margolis, attorney for the I.W.O., from the Pittsburgh district would speak in re. Syndicalism and the American Labor Movement, Tuesday, Dec. 2, '19 and the first annual ball of the Young Peoples' Communist League, Sat. eve. That Clarence Darrow and Scott W. Hearing—"the most skillful debaters either in or out of Congress" their subject being: "Will Socialism put an end to all wars?" SYMONDS then proceeded to vend or boost the sale of various radical publications—asking the audience to purchase same; that they would be passed thru the audience and offered for sale and the receipts therefrom put into the "DEFENSE FUND." He referred too and promoted the sale of two publications particularly, known as Lectures by Emma Goldman on two subjects: The Philosophy of Atheism and the "Fall of Christianity"—another "God and State" by Michael Bakun. He then went on to say that the moment the prison gates opened; the moment the political prisoners began to come forth from military prisons; the moment a few of them begin to get their full liberty, the American people will have the whole truth. "The truth of that situation is beginning to be revolting to you now. Now, tonight, you will have an opportunity to learn the whole truth about two of the most viciously repressive institutions in this country from persons who went there. The first is ALEXANDER BERKMAN. May I say that there are two kinds of persons in every prison: one is the politician—the other, the fellow who bucks. The politician is a hand-chucker, a stool pigeon on the other prisoners and is in with the officials and gets the soft snaps. Political prisoners are not political in that sense."			

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Notes: Dark copy. For enclosure, see 880606271.

They are the fellows who buck, who even in prison put up a stubborn revolt; they are the kind of prisoners that will strike within prison walls and who WIN. ALEXANDER BERKMAN is the leader of that class of prisoners. The only reason he has obtained his liberty is to be able to buck authority on the outside. In Atlanta he spent 7 months in solitary confinement. You can imagine, friends, in what condition he came out and after he came out, it was necessary for him to undergo an extremely serious operation; that is why we are doubly proud to have him on this platform. So, with this word of explanation, after paying your tribute to these comrades, I call upon Alexander Berkman to speak to you.

(Alexander Berkman was received with prolonged cheers led by Symonds.)

"Friends, I appreciate this reception and the spirit of it and hope that your greetings for me, include, also, greetings of respect and sympathy with all political and industrial prisoners that I left behind me in the prisons. I am the bearer of a message from the politicals and class war prisoners at Atlanta, Ga. I have a message from them to you and a special message from one man whom you all know and who has devoted thirty or forty years of his life to the cause of labor and humanity; I have a special message to you from EUGENE V. DEBS. (Cheers) It was my good luck altho mostly accident that on the morning of my discharge from the Atlanta prison, Oct. first, I had a chance to embrace and to talk to our comrade, Debs. It was a wonderful moment in my life and I believe—according to his words—in his also. He said to me (among other things) 'Gave my greetings to the friends and comrades whom you will meet outside and tell them that a big lawyer from Chicago was here to see me with an offer of pardon from the Government; of pardon for myself and I REFUSED that pardon because I shall not leave this prison until the last conscientious objector, political prisoner and industrial prisoner is gone. That is the spirit of Eugene V. Debs whom our FREE and DEMOCRATIC Government is keeping in prison today and that is the spirit of all political and industrial prisoners thruout the country and LET ME TELL YOU there are several thousands of political and industrial prisoners in the prisons of this country today; some well known—some ALMOST unknown; some conscientious objectors—soldiers from France, England and the Philippines who have rebelled against the brutality which has been displayed and others who protested against tyranny and oppression. They fill the prisons today and it is about them that I want to talk to you about. I want to tell you about their treatment in this enlightened day and age. I shall not overestimate the picture. I think it impossible to tell EVEN THE WHOLE TRUTH about conditions in the penitentiaries of this country today and especially about the conditions at Atlanta because it would not be believed but I shall tell you some. FIRST, let me remark on, now, that popular opinion not-with-standing there has been no reform in our prisons in the last 25 years. There has been a great deal of talk about reform in prisons, especially within the last fifteen years but that reform has been mostly in our magazines and newspapers and on the platforms. In the penitentiaries we have exactly the same conditions today that I faced thirty years ago in American prisons. In some respects I found conditions worse in Atlanta in 1818 and 1819 than in the Western Penitentiary of Penna. in '92. In connection with this talk of reform I will remark right now that the main instruments of reform are these: FIRST, the dungeon—to which our Chairman referred—as a hole. This is 2 1/2 ft. wide, spreading to 4 1/2 ft. and is about 6 ft. long. You sleep on the floor; a filthy damp floor and sometimes you get a mattress with the straw sticking up. While I was there

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Page #3.

this straw was NEVER changed and hundreds of prisoners had been in that hole. When you are in the hole, you get two slices of bread; they're small and thin—two slices in the morning and two slices at night and a cup of water—two a day. It is enough to be reported by any officer in the institution; either unjustly or justly for trying to say a few words when you are not supposed to talk and for this you get sentenced to 5, 10, 20 and 30 days on bread and water and if your will cannot be broken in that manner they will try it by chaining you up. The authorities deny that they chain them up by the wrists but I challenge the Government to give me a chance to prove to them whether they do not chain them up by the wrists. I challenge Attorney General Palmer that I will find where they chain them up and I will pay my fare to do it. That these practices are being practiced upon the prisoners are denied by the Administration—by our Federal officers. As that is not all—there is something that was not known thirty years ago. That is the "BLIND DOOR". This is the most refined and cruel punishment that could be inflicted. I have been in the solitary and in the dungeon but the blind door is the worst punishment of all and it exists in our federal prisons in the year of our Lord 1919; in the year after the great war that was fought to secure liberty and justice for all. Let me tell you what this blind door is for. It is a solid door of oak; 2 feet thick—put on top of the iron door of the dungeon. You get a little bit of air thru your bars but if they want to punish you severely and make an example of you, they put the "blind door" on and that means that every bit of air is shut off and every bit of light is shut off; no matter how long you are in there, and I stood up and held my ~~eyes~~ hands before my eyes. I could not see my hand before my eyes and I realized that it was absolute darkness but after 10 or 15 minutes you begin to breathe hard. You suffocate for the lack of ~~air~~ <sup>oxygen</sup> and the best thing you can do is to stretch out on the floor with your mouth at the bottom of the "blind door". Every door has a crack underneath and as you lie on the floor you get a little bit of the foul air circulating thru the corridor. Four or five hours is considered a very severe punishment; then you are taken out unconscious. I know conscientious objectors, political and industrial prisoners who have been kept there twenty-five hours at a stretch and I was kept there thirty hours consecutively and then sentenced to the rest of my time in solitary—7 1/2 months, on bread and water—no mail—send out no letters. Even the bible is refused you. (BOOS and GROANS from his audience) As you lie there, you can just see the reflection of a small electric light bulb in the hall but at 10:00 o'clock, they turn the light off. Such institutions never existed in Russia; even for political prisoners. "..... Just a word about the ordinary convict; they're just as good as you and I; just as human as an average man. The men who commit crimes against humanity usually go to Congress; not to Atlanta, Georgia. .... The average criminal is but the victim of social, political or economic conditions. .... Gun men are never in prison as they are always protected. They have plenty of "fall" money. What would become of our lawyers, police and judges if there were no criminals? .... It is impossible for the Government to change these political, industrial prisoners and conscientious objectors by putting them in prison. I can assure the powers—that be that the Russian Czar tried it for 300 years and where is the Russian Czar now? " He then went on to detail the alleged sufferings of one, Morris Becker, whom he stated worked with him in the clothing shop and who lived 18 months on stale oat meal—only weighing 110 lbs and who, in order that the prison authorities might further punish him (altho they had no special cause) put him together with another prisoner, Louis Craver, now in the Essex County pen, on wheelbarrow work. He went on to detail how there had been a Governmental appropriation of \$1400000 to build a mill for the

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513

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Notes: Dark copy. For enclosure, see 880606271.

Page 14.

purpose of supplying the Government with mail bags—that \$100000 was not used. That now they're employing 300 men and producing thousands and thousands of yards of cloth and that this production comes in direct competition with free labor of all kinds. He said, "They simply stole \$1,400,000 under the mask of necessities of the war." He then went on to detail how Becker, Cramer and an I.W.W., named Massey, were put on the wheelbarrow work and told to life the wheelbarrows and they were put on bread and water in the dungeon for 21 days because they were too weak to even lift the wheelbarrows and every day the deputys would say to them, "We're going to kill you unless you go to work." ..... "You cannot break the spirit of a conscientious objector by sending them to the penitentiaries and using brutal treatment upon them." ..... "They are there for your cause; not for their own. They are punished more severely than the average for the average guard cannot understand such a thing as a political prisoner. I have tried to explain to them that we were put in prison for our ideals." He said, "you fellows are either crazy or great originals" and this is the situation with the average newspaper reader, whose mind has been poisoned by the newspapers he reads. It is reflected in the attitude of the courts; that is why the political gets the warts of it in our present day; America is too enlightened to recognize a political fact.

It is time the Government at Washington be forced to recognize the existence of political and industrial prisoners. It is up to you as members of the working class; as decent men and women and to the working class at large to see to it that such a voice is raised at Washington should wake up; sit up and take notice and proclaim a general amnesty for every political and industrial prisoner in this country. And those that are to be deported. Remember, ..... just close your eyes and try to visualize these men and women at the bars of their cells—looking out so to speak; watching to catch the echo of your views—asking themselves; Eugene V. Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare and the others—at their bars, wondering what is the radical element; what is American labor going to do in behalf of the best men and women of the revolutionary movement of this country?

(Berkman was followed by William Nathan, the I.W.W. Attorney, who appealed for funds.)

Symonds then announced a big entertainment arranged under the auspices of friends of Chas. Ashley (an I.W.W. serving a 20 yr. sentence) at the North Side Turner hall, Friday night, Dec. 19. Symonds then went on to speak concerning the next speaker of the evening, Emma Goldman, remarking that "her influence has been the reason why I have sustained a stubborn resistance against military service"—relating how he had met her in a North side saloon years ago and that—"out of that back room went a dozen or more young men and women who ever since that time have been behind her in her fight for liberty," by reason of her speaking to him and them on that occasion.

EMMA GOLDMAN at 10:22 P.M. spoke in part, as follows: "Friends, if it is indeed true that I have influenced the young generation of America as typified in our Chairman of tonight; a man who stood firmly and bravely to his principles and who played such a magnificent part in the first strike in a military prison; if I have influenced the younger generation of America, I do not blame the United States for deporting EMMA GOLDMAN.

I feel that the future belongs not with us who have given thirty years of our lives BUT to the younger generation of this country and I can well understand WHY the United States is AFRAID of men and women who will influence the younger generation of the United States for they are already the force and the element who will change conditions in the United States. Friends, tonight we are to speak about the futility of prisons, the uselessness of

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of the punishment; both for the common criminal and the political offender and also to tell you how important it is to USE YOUR VOICE." P.D.W.

Some of you have read that sketch by the Russian patriot, Yusefaki, (?) for he was sent as a political prisoner to Siberia and on the wall of his terrible cell was written the marvelous sketch of the "Devil and the Priest." In this sketch, the Devil said, "Hello, you Priest, are you still trying to terrify the people about this Hell when they are MORE Hells on Earth; more trouble, than your Hell. I will show you. So the Devil grabbed the Preacher by the collar and took him to the steel mills----- She then described how the Devil took the Priest to "the hovels of the poor and the outskirts of the earth" and lastly to the prisons and how it all made the Preacher "sick" and he agreed that Hell was on earth. She stated that this was written in Russia-Siberia-70 years ago but that if any of her audience believed that conditions have changed in 1919 they were mistaken, indeed. She said, "Berkman has told you of the dungeons of the Atlanta prison but he has not spoken of what they have done to him but I will tell you what they have done to him. They ALMOST killed him. He came out a physical wreck and but for the fact that he consented to a very serious and dangerous operation he may have saved the Government of the United States the cost of deporting him out of America. The reason that he's still alive is no thanks to the Federal officials of Atlanta. It is because his body has been alive to the spirit of his ideals and nothing on Earth or in Hell could put him out. These are not the only conditions in this country. I was in the prison in the State of Missouri and I saw terrible as the conditions which are perpetrated upon the men, they are as nothing as are perpetrated upon the women. The average American man prides himself upon the fact that he worships and honors womanhood. Would I had the power and means to take these men and bring them to the Missouri State Penitentiary and show them what is being done with his consent and show him what is being done to women of the United States; not foreigners-in Illinois NOT Russian but to American women and after you know of these conditions, if you still have the courage to maintain that women is treated with respect and humanity, then every effort to bring light into your darkened mind will be in vain.

I remember-in London-a young man arose and said, "What does EMMA GOLDMAN know about the conditions of labor? Has she ever worked in a shop? Has she ever produced useful labor?" Ah, he didn't know that I received my baptism in a factory-working ten hours a day for \$2.50 a week. If I ever meet him again I shall say that I was working in a shop where slavery exists; just as true as ever existed in the United States before the Civil War for in that prison men and women are compelled to make a daily task; whether you are young or old, sick or well, they are compelled to produce a certain quota and if they do not produce, they are put in solitary 23 to 25 days; in a dungeon if you please. So if today I am a little limp on one foot I have earned it honestly by working 9 hours a day at a machine making a task; whether I was able or unable to do so. That is not all they do to women in the Missouri State Penitentiary. There are other things." She then enumerated that they do not allow them books to read; that they had nothing to occupy their minds or raise their spirits so that when they got back into society they would make better members than when they went to prison; stated she used to receive numerous books, etc from her friends . . . . . used to hand them out to the other women, etc. The speaker then directed the attention of the Department of Justice particularly to a woman whom she stated was incarcerated in the Missouri state penitentiary at the present time--"a woman who traced her ancestry back to the beginning of time. She send you her love and wants you to know that there is no power on Earth which is ever going to break her spirit or change

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Page 46.

one iota of her faith in mankind." She detailed how KATE O'HARE upon discovering there was no library for women asked that women be allowed to take books from the men's library; intimating that thru Kate O'Hare's prominence and an apparent fear on the part of the Government people that she would tell all she knew about prison life when she got out. The speaker then said, "It is up to you working men and women to demand political amnesty." There is nothing more powerful on Earth than public opinion. The conscience of public opinion, especially the opinion of the men and women who produce the wealth of the country which echoes like thunder all over the civilized world. She said, "We have spent thirty years all over this country and if we have accomplished nothing else when we are deported other than to go away with the consciousness that the workers of this country will be mobilized into one great human mass to call upon Washington to open up the doors of every prison in the United States and to let every prisoner go free, we will be happy." She said, "There are not fifty professional criminals in the prisons of America but there are thousands of poor." The speaker then decried imprisonment as a means of changing the beliefs of political prisoners, saying, "If Berkman ever was a revolutionist, he was strengthened in the Atlanta prison because he there came face to face with all of the evils which he had been fighting on the outside. Does anybody think they will ever reform Eugene V. Debs; that they will ever reform H. Austin Symonds; Bill Hayward or Kate Richards O'Hare? Do you think you can reform Emma Goldman by sending her to prison? I'm afraid that was wasting time. They wasted their time in giving me free lodging and three rotten meals a day. Never in all my life has my spirit been so much at a white heat; did I hate your system so much as I do today. If you cannot reform revolutionists your prisoners are useless. I call your attention to the fact that there are revolutionists crushed in body but their spirit is still alive." She then closed with the statement that the Government believing her to be a dangerous character were about to deport her but that she was not saying "Good Bye" yet because she was not as yet deported and that it would be a little while before it took place and during the interval she would remain at Chicago with headquarters at the West Side Auditorium. Agent remained in the vicinity of meeting 'till 1:00 A.M. as did Special Agent Loula.

Noted  
F.D.N.

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516

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago [19]19 Dec. 1 / Jas. O. Peyronnin [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 5 p. ; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Peyronnin summarizes the speeches of Cassius Cook, Berkman, and Goldman on the general subject of deportation.

REPORT MADE BY: <b>Jas O. Peyronnin</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Chicago, Ill.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>December 1, 19</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 30, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE OR BASIS OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago, Ill.</b>			
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC. <b>AT CHICAGO</b>			
<p>As directed Employee proceeded to the above mentioned Auditorium to cover a meeting to be addressed by <u>Emma Goldman</u> and <u>Alexander Berkman</u> on the subject "Deportation". A gathering of about 1,000 persons were present, in other words the hall was crowded to capacity, and from information received from a confidential source it was ascertained that \$449.00 was taken in at the door, the price of admission being 50 cents. The meeting was called to order at 2:30 P.M. by Chairman Cassius V. Cook, and below are the principal remarks made by the Chairman, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the only speakers of the meeting.</p> <p>By Cassius V. Cook:</p> <p>Now friends we are here to discuss a mutual problem. I am not so sure that by the course of events that are developing that I might wind up in the Phillipine Islands or be banished to Alaska. There is no surety for any one of us. The people it seems are afraid to come here for fear of trouble. I have been attending meetings of this kind for years and I never saw any trouble at any of these meetings that was not started by people who were supposed to keep order. (Applause). The problem that we are chiefly interested this afternoon, is the problem of deportation or banishment from this country or exile from this land of freedom. That problem applies to you who are not native born, and even as naturalized citizens you are not sure of your position. Leo Tolstoi would be deported to Russia if he were in this country that is how far we have departed from the principle of freedom. The law will size you up as to whether you are honest enough to declare yourself an anarchist if you happen to be an alien; this law will never catch the hypocrites, it only catches the honest people. A man who is an anarchist and denies it cannot be deported. (Great applause) .... Alexander Berkman, he will be our teacher after he leaves this land, as a teacher, as a man, he puts into practice the principles that he teaches and he lives those principles, — I have great pleasure in introducing to you such a man in Alexander Berkman. (Tremendous applause)</p> <p>By Alexander Berkman:</p> <p>We live in a very critical time, the world at large and also in this country. The war is over but peace there is not. I find that most people in this country do not seem to realize what has happened since the war started. — ... Unfortunately our prophecies have come true, they took advantage of the war in order to pass all kinds of legislation and laws under the cover of which</p>			
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517



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Jas O. Peyronnin

November 30, 1919

In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

today after the war every utterances of every subject is suppressed. It is easy to arouse hatred of one people against people, but it is difficult to eradicate this spirit that you have aroused. But they did not pay much attention to us; they thought everything would be all right as promised by the President after the war and they listened to these refined phrases, and I must tell that this was the greatest tragedy to me and while I was in prison; then even radicals and revolutionists who should have known better were deluded by the high phrases of the men in Washington; that was the most terrible tragedy. .... It does not require courage to shout for patriotism or for the flag when 10,000 are shouting with you, that does not require courage, any fool can run with 10,000, but it does require courage to stand alone against 10,000 and if necessary against a hundred million. (Applause). Even I say for the ideas of those daring men and women, even if their ideas are wrong they were the best elements of the country because they had the courage of their convictions, but they were not wrong as present conditions are their vindication. Present conditions in this country are absolutely worse of any condition that I knew under the Czar in Russia. ( Tremendous hooting) And this is only the beginning, today we have the white terror in this country, a white terror that we have not seen in the worse days in Russia and Germany. The main reason for this white terror - it is deportation-- the reason given is that the aliens the foreigners are putting false ideas in the hearts of America. Labor throughout the world, even the good law abiding and American laborer is beginning to awaken and open its eyes. Capitalism is afraid of labor, of the awakening of labor - capitalism knows that something has happened in the world that almost undermines the whole foundation of present-day society. And the capitalists of the world have now realized Soviet Russia. They know the bosses and masters know that condition, they created Soviet Russia in Russia and they are liable and almost sure to produce Soviet America in course of time. (Great applause) And capitalism in America has grown mad and I think it is because they see its destruction - they are afraid of the ideas that are gradually beginning to permeate; they are afraid of the great dissatisfaction and unrest that is permeating the ranks of labor, they see thousands of strikes going on in spite of the orders of international, and ultimately they will see the abolition of the bourgeoisie and all capitalism.

In every city meetings are suppressed, men and women terrorized, men and women by the hundreds are picked up on the streets, on street cars, at meetings, at their work shops and sent to Ellis Island for deportation. Remember that just now it is naturally a question of the alien so-call, I wonder who really is the alien in this country, it would be hard to distinguish if properly analyzed which is the alien and which is not. This cry of alien is camouflage, it is merely to throw dust into the eyes of the American so-called natives. The Government is trying to blame the alien for these new ideas and for this dissatisfaction and unrest, but intelligent men and women realize it is nothing but camouflage, and so in the meantime the government is taking advantage of that spirit of hatred and persecution, that same spirit of hatred of the war is used in peace time in order to crush every vestige of liberty, of free speech and free thought. And in this manner and with this view they are passing laws to crush the rising spirit and dissatisfaction of labor. It is not the aliens they are afraid of. And I am afraid that most of our own liberal radical elements do not realize what principle of deportation really means, remember our warning if these principles of deportation is

-2-

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518



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago [19]19 Dec. 1 / Jas. O. Peyronnin [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 5 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Peyronnin summarizes the speeches of Cassius Cook, Berkman, and Goldman on the general subject of deportation.

In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

not fought at its very inception you will have in this country within a very short time worse conditions they have ever had in Russia under the worse Czars, that is the purpose of this principle of this deportation. And under that law that Socialist and I.W.F. was arrested under the anti-anarchist law and threatened with twenty years in the penitentiary; that's how things are formed; that is the result of conditions that menaces the near future; and Alexander Berkman has already been sentenced for deportation under that law, and many men and women in this country.

I have passed enough years in the penitentiaries in this country to be a citizen. (Great laughter and applause). And Emma Goldman is a citizen, so you see it is not because we are aliens they are going to deport us, it is because we are trying to enlighten the public minds as to real facts in this country today. And so I say that we are to be deported, the decision came out only a few days ago, we are to be deported on the alleged grounds that we are aliens; but I assure you that if since I came out of prison, that is we, keep quiet, and had not gone on the platforms to expose conditions I assure you that the Government in Washington would not have any such terrible horror to use warrants for our deportation in such a few days. While we know that though we might be exiled in prison, we refuse to be exiled out of prison no matter what the consequences.

My deportation does not worry me very much. As a great American said, the world is my country. But I will say that wherever I shall be I shall be what I have been for 30 or 35 years. (Applause)

I AM AN ANARCHIST AND HAVE BEEN AN ANARCHIST FOR 32 YEARS, BECAME AN ANARCHIST IN THIS COUNTRY AS A RESULT OF THE CONDITIONS IN THIS COUNTRY. I AM AN ANARCHIST AND I EXPECT TO REMAIN AND DIE AN ANARCHIST. (Tremendous applause)

I have spent many years of my life in prison in this country, but that has not changed my social tendencies, I went into these prisons an anarchist and revolutionist and I came out an anarchist and revolutionist.

But I expect to be deported very likely to Russia, but Russia is a big country and some of it is Siberia, and you all know who General Kolchak is (Vociferous hooting)

But danger there is for myself and others if deported to parts of Russia where the American Government intends to send us, it might mean that we will be lined up against the wall.

We have in Washington a great lover of Great Britain. President Wilson has followed the examples and teaching of Great Britain and there is danger that this country may follow the precedent set by Great Britain to send all Russians to Siberia in charge of the American Army at (Vlad?) and hold them there until they can be turned over to the Kolchaks.

Emma Goldman means to make a fight against this deportation business by virtue of her being a citizen, and that her fight is not only in her own behalf but in behalf of those who are citizens.

The question is how it so far as you are concerned, or rather do you want this principle of deportation fought, you want reactionary to continue in this country until the last voice of liberty is stopped, the question is between liberty and slavery, and today I am aware the Government at Washington is watching to see what the people feel about this matter. I am going to ask you to give a reply to Washington, what is it worth to you to keep Emma Goldman in the United States where she is needed. When I say Emma Goldman I do not mean only her, but all those that are to be deported or sentenced for deportation and those that are going to be deported very soon.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Jas O. Peyronnin

November 30, 1919

In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman:

We have fought many fights for free speech and for the cause of the laboring classes; cases like Tom Mooney and many victims and prisoners of the class war. You have supported us generously in the past, and now we appeal to you to support us in this fight.

Berkman then asked for contributions of \$25.00; not receiving any response to his appeal he then asked for donations of ten dollar bills; and then appealed for smaller denominations — a total of \$487.00 was collected. As previously stated \$449.00 was taken in at the door on admissions.

Emma Goldman was then introduced by the chairman as the next speaker, and on rising from her seat to make her address, the crowd stood on their feet, shouting "Long live Emma Goldman and Berkman, and such other remarks, and the cheering and applause lasted for several minutes.

Emma Goldman opened her address, relating to the audience the spirit of the wonderful women that are still incarcerated in the penitentiaries of the country, and particularly referred to Kate Richards O'Hare. Then Emma Goldman talked at length of Ella Antolini, an inmate of the Missouri State Penitentiary, and of a letter recently received from this girl, which letter is supposed to cover the early life of the girl, how she came to this country when a child with her parents, who located in Louisiana, and there became enslaved and helped to enrich the cotton-barons of the south.

Emma Goldman then consumed much time on the subject "The hatred of nations brought about by the war" and her closing remarks on the subject were "but never at any time was there such a hatred against the foreigners as it exists in America today and that hatred was created by the propaganda of hatred by the agitation of hatred by the war." "After the war is over there is a new kind of hatred and new kind of bitterness, a new kind of persecution, more terrible than even the hatred against the Germans, and that is the hatred against the Russians."

Emma Goldman then spoke at length on the subject of principle of deportation, and her subject rested entirely on conditions in Russia and the banishment of right-thinking people to Siberia under the regime of Czars.

(Excerpt) "Deportation is to become a principle, I will show you why that we insist it shall become a principle — Berkman when he made a statement before the Immigration authorities that I am willing to leave this country within 24 hours if you will allow me to pay my own fare — No! said Washington, if you leave this country at your own expense it will not mean that we deported you; in other words if you will analyze this new decision, this new ruling of Washington, you will find that what they want is that the foreigners should see for themselves the position taken by Washington on this deportation question."

(Excerpt) "I have been told that my deportation has been affirmed (by the associated press) — I happen to have citizenship —

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Jas. O. Peyronnin

In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman:

- I happen to be a citizen - and if Washington is going to deprive me of citizenship I want all of you naturalized Americans to know that your citizenship is only a scrap of paper. (Applause) But I am going to fight this deportation to the last ditch, for my rights. But I am not going to make the fight because I do not want to go to Russia - no, if Washington wants to accept the offer of Soviet Russia, then Soviet Russia will send ships to take us back to Russia (tremendous applause) if Washington will accept that offer I will say to Washington that I will go tomorrow to Soviet Russia, but by heavens I am NOT going to be turned over to Kolchak Russia. (Applause)

I see the time coming when the Americans will have to come to us Russians and then for our help to establish liberty in America. My friends the time is not far off, that within ten years they will ask our help to establish Liberty in the United States."

As previously stated the audience consisted of approximately 1,000 persons, but information has since been given by the manager of the hall that there were over 300 persons in the hall who did not pay admission, and that in his estimation there were nearly 1500 persons present, all available seating and standing room space having been taken. It can be safely stated that approximately 85 percent of the assemblage were foreigners, and the few Americans who were present attended simply through curiosity.

Page -5-

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521



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 1 / A.H. Loula [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Loula summarizes his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman for November 28, 29, and 30. He mentions their speaking engagements, the names of their close associates in Chicago, and includes the text of several intercepted telegrams and letters.

REPORT MADE BY: A. H. Loula	PLACE WHERE MADE: Chicago, Ill.	DATE WHEN MADE: Dec. 1, 1919	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 11/28;29;
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR MATTER BEING INVESTIGATED: In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman Anarchist Matter.			
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, WASHINGTON		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"> <b>RADICAL</b>          DEC 6 1919          P.D.       </div>	
<p><b>AT CHICAGO:</b></p> <p>At a meeting held at Carmen's Hall, Chicago, on Nov. 29, 1919, at which both subjects addressed an audience of approximately 4500 people, and at which an admission fee of \$.50 was charged, a collection was made which together with the admission fee, netted about \$5,000.00. In company with Agents Allen, Spolansky, and Leebl, I attended the affair and for a report on the radical parts of the speeches delivered, reference is made to Agent Allen's report for Nov. 29th, 1919. Both subjects were very mild in their lecture for which they chose as their topic "Our prison experiences".</p> <p>The following telegrams were received by subjects this day:</p> <p>"Detroit Michigan. It is a physical impossibility to be in Chicago Saturday. Jake." (Possibly Jake Margolis)</p> <p>A night letter sent to Mrs. E. J. Ballentine, 36 Grove St., New York, after the Carmen's Hall meeting follows:</p> <p>"First affair tonight very large and enthusiastic. All went well. Second meeting tomorrow. Received news of decision in case of E (Emma) Expect further details from H. W. Monday. Don't worry. Give P. this message. Feeling well. Think of her. With love. E &amp; S (Emma and Sasha) (Sasha is Russian for Alexander.)</p> <p>On Nov. 30th subjects held an overflow meeting at the West Side Auditorium, the receipts for tickets and collections amounting to close to \$1,000.00. For report of speeches of both subjects see Employee Peyronnin's report for Nov. 30, 1919.</p> <p>At 12:40 A.M. the following telegram from New York was received by Berkman:</p> <p>"Sent thousand pamphlete yesterday. Also Abrams matter. Hope all is well. Think you should return after the dinner. (Dinner is held Dec. 1, 1919) My arrangements for trip must be</p>			
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman

made with you. Love. P."

At 1:15 A.M. Emma Goldman caused the following night message to be sent to Harry Weinberger, 261 Broadway, New York:

"Surprised no word from you. Have you decided on next step in my case. May be necessary within a few days. Advise me by return wire. Notify P and Stella (probably Stella Conynna) this afternoon affair very satisfactory. Expect to leave for home next Monday. P.S. wire just received. S (Sasha) cannot return till Monday. E."

The following wire, dated Nov. 30th, signed P addressed to Berkman from N. Y. was received:

"Anxious for wire stating when you are coming."

Cassius Cook, Dr. Ben Reitman, Dr. Nathanson, H. Austin Symonds, and Leon Green alias Butewesky, were very prominent in the affairs of subjects.

Cook was busily engaged in arranging for the sale of anarchistic literature written by subjects, and in the sale of tickets for the monster banquet to be held on Dec. 1st at the Hotel Morrison in their honor, and also acted as chairman of the meeting held on Nov. 30th at the West Side Auditorium.

Ben Reitman, physician attending both subjects, has devoted almost all of his time since subjects' arrival, in private conference with them and in helping about the meeting halls. Reitman signed the contract for the rent of the Arrian Grotto Theater meeting which was later cancelled.

Dr. Nathanson, Chicago citizen, whose sole ambition is to become a martyr to the cause of radicalism, and who on many occasions, while on the public platform has defied the local police to arrest him, rented the West Side Auditorium for Goldman meetings for Dec. 3, 5, and 7; and makes the plea for donations at the various meetings.

Leon Green, alias Butewieky, recently of Seattle, but now residing in Chicago for the past few months, and his wife, are very active in the meetings, introducing lesser radical lights to Goldman and Berkman. Green signed the contract for the Carmen's

Page 2

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

Auditorium meeting.

Leon Malwed, of 121 South Pearl Street, Albany, N.Y., sent the following letter to Emma Goldman, which is on file at this Bureau office:

"My dear Emma:

Nov. 26, 19.

I did not have a chance to write to you. My desire was to write you from the very minute I left you on the train.

I am all broken up today to to conceive the fact that Sasha will probably have to leave us here? How will I stand it should you have to go...

Emma my dearest, let us hope for the best.

I did not get a line from you since you are on the trip.

I hope to hear from you while you are in Chicago.

Write me when you can.

My best wishes to Sasha.

The N.Y. Times is celebrating today about the deportation in a column boxed item, like a warmin they are in their hatred in comparison with ~~with~~ those that love and admire you.

I hope to hear from you this week.

As ever you devoted friend

Leon"

Another letter received by Emma Goldman and signed "Loella" reads as follows:

"I am afraid that they will hurry your case along to. They are chiefly now engaged in kicking the dead dog--the Democratic Party--and all this campaign against Howe is simply to discredit the administration and kill the Immigration Department so that the Department of Justice can hold on to their sinecures. Loella."

A paper headed "Frank O'Hare's Bulletin" which evidently is a code to be used between subjects and their correspondents was found in their room, perused, and a copy of the same follows:

\*246 W.W.L. Minn.  
247 Mrs. E. E. A. Utah  
248 Mrs. Rose McC E.Y.  
249 V.D.S. Mass.  
250 Miss F.H. Ind.  
251 E.T.S. Wash.  
252 Mrs. A.J.B. N.Y.  
253 Mrs. A.P. MO.  
254 Miss E.R. Mo.  
255 E.D.K. N.Y.

\*256 T.A.C. Pa.  
257 Mr. & Mrs. S.C.S. N.H.  
258 P.M.W. Ill.  
259 W.A. California  
260 J.F.P. W.Va.  
261 L.G.L. Mo.  
262 E.A.K. Iowa  
263 H.B. Mo.  
264 S.S. N.Y.  
265 Benj. W.D. Md.

A list bearing the following names, and signed Kate (possibly Kate O'Hare) was also found:

William Mos--North West  
Walter Cook--Comrade Harwell--Atlanta Ga.  
Mary P.M. of Atlanta--Dr. B.  
Florent Deschamps of Johnson City, Ill.  
Jean Loguet of France.  
Dr. Robinson of New York  
Mrs. E. B. Donnell of Reedley California.

Page 3

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524

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 1 / A.H. Loula [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 4 p. ; 26 x 19 cm.

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Summary: Agent Loula summarizes his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman for November 28, 29, and 30. He mentions their speaking engagements, the names of their close associates in Chicago, and includes the text of several intercepted telegrams and letters.

~~In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman~~

Comrade Iren of Sioux City  
Dear Mother Tubbs of Wernard Kansas  
Hon. Wm. H. Wadhams  
Comrade W.C. Howell of Delphos New Mexico."

*dist. to [unclear]*  
Ella Antolini, now an inmate of the Jefferson City, Mo., penitentiary, has written to Emma Goldman inclosing a two sheet typewritten copy of an article entitled "Life History of Ella Antolini" stating that she will write her history which will be composed of about 20 typewritten pages, but that on account of being able to send only a certain amount of literature out of the penitentiary, she will have to send the article two pages at a time.

Pursuant to instructions of Division Superintendent Brennan, both subjects' activities are kept under constant surveillance and a further report on same will follow.

Page 4

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525

# The Emma Goldman Papers

880606272

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Indianapolis, 1919 Dec. 1 / Bernard Kahn [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Kahn reports that he followed Goldman and Berkman when they were in Detroit, shadowed them to Chicago, and obtained copies of their telegrams in Chicago.

Notes: For Loula report mentioned, see 880606269.

RECEIVED FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>Bernard Kahn</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Indianapolis, Ind.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Dec. 1st, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 26th-27th 28th-29th</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In re: EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN Anarchist matter.</b>			
DEPARTMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.: <b>At Detroit, Mich., &amp; Chicago, Ills.</b>			
<p>Nov. 26th. As per instructions from Agent in Charge <u>Barkey</u> to locate the above two subjects and shadow them, Agent in company with Agent <u>Dowd</u> learned through a confidential informant that the above subjects while residing in the city of Detroit were stopping at the home of one Henry Montgomery, 114 Tyler St., Highland Park, Detroit, Mich. The house was kept under surveillance by Agents during the day and no visitors were observed coming into the residence and subjects did not leave the residence that day. Later they were shadowed to Auto Workers Hall where they delivered an address and collection was made.</p> <p>After the meeting, Agent in company with Agent <u>Dowd</u> and Agent <u>Wilcox</u> of the Detroit office, shadowed them to the above address where it was at 2:30 o'clock in the morning subjects went to bed and Agents discontinued the shadow.</p> <p>Nov. 27th. Agent on this day was engaged in shadowing the above subjects when they later took a train at 1:55 P. M. for Chicago. Agent as per instructions accompanied them to Chicago where he was met by Agents of the Bureau, the Chicago office and were later shadowed by the Agents of the Chicago Bureau when they stopped at the New Southern Hotel, Chicago, Ills.</p> <p>Nov. 28th. Agent kept in constant touch during the day with Western Union in order to get some telegrams for the re: above case and later was shadowing the above at the hotel from 7:00 to 12:00 o'clock P. M. All information was given to Agent <u>Lain</u> of the Chicago office who made a summary report of the facts.</p> <p>Nov. 29th. Agent was engaged in shadowing subjects in re above</p>			
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-1-

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526



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Indianapolis, 1919 Dec. 1 / Bernard Kahn [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 27 × 19 cm.

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**Summary:** Agent Kahn reports that he followed Goldman and Berkman when they were in Detroit, shadowed them to Chicago, and obtained copies of their telegrams in Chicago.

**Notes:** For Loula report mentioned, see 880606269.

Case at the Hotel New Southern and full details will be given in Agent Lulu's report in re: above case.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Special report—Emma Goldman and Alex[ander] Berkman, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 1 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Spolansky describes Confidential Informant No. 8's interview with Goldman regarding her claims to citizenship.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY: J. Spolansky PLACE WHERE MADE: Chicago, Ill. DATE WHEN MADE: Nov. 28, 1919 PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Dec. 1, 1919

In re: Special report—Emma Goldman and Alex. Berkman

STATEMENT OF OFFENSES, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

## AT CHICAGO:

Acting under instructions of Division Superintendent Edw. J. Brennan, I have made arrangements with Confidential Informant No. 8, who is on the staff of the Chicago foreign language radicals newspapers, to interview subjects particularly as to deportation. Emma Goldman made the following statement: "The question of my citizenship was raised in 1908 when I was crossing the American Boarder from Canada. At that time I proved that I am an American citizen and I was let in by the Immigration Authorities. Mr. Kersner, my husband, was an American citizen and he disappeared some time ago, and according to the American laws, my citizenship cannot be cancelled but this matter does not concern Washington, who are trying by every possible way to ship me out of this country. They have sent men to the parents of my husband, Mr. Kersner, who are old people, and who made affidavits that my husband, Jack Kersner received his final naturalization papers when he was twenty years of age, which is contrary to the United States naturalization laws. My father signed his declaration of intention prior to my twenty first birthday, and got his final papers when I was twenty-three years old."

Informant then asked Miss Goldman if it was a fact that she was divorced from her husband, which question she refused to answer. She concluded by saying that she is positive that her deportation will be ordered, and that this is her last appearance in Chicago. Having a great amount of friends here, she came for the purpose of telling them about her present exper-

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528

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Special report—Emma Goldman and Alex[ander] Berkman, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 1 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** Spolansky describes Confidential Informant No. 8's interview with Goldman regarding her claims to citizenship.

~~Special Report of Emma Goldman~~

iences and to say her last good bye.

Confidential informant #8 will endeavor to secure another interview with subject, and a further report will follow.

Page 2

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529

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Chicago [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Wash[ingto]n, D.C. / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan asks if his agents should follow both Goldman and Berkman if they leave Chicago separately.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For coded version, see 880606275.

15446

40: ba 41 82 443 P

Chicago Ills Dec 1 1919.

Frank Burke

Dept of Justice Wash DC

Five stop. Indications are that Berkman may separate from Goldman and return to New York or other points in event of departure of either or both do you advise that they be accompanied by agent.

Brennan

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530



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Chicago [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Wash[ingto]n, D.C. / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Coded version of 880606274.

40w bu - BR 443P

Chicago Ills Dec 1 1919

Frank Burke

Dept of Justice Washn DC

Five step. Indications are that Henksley may separate from Sivmtey and return to Ciliate or other points in event of departure of either or both do you advise that they be accompanied by regressive.

Brennan

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531

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Chicago [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 22 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan expects Goldman and Berkman to leave Chicago on December 8, 1919.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For coded version, see 880606276.

17m 25 gvt

Chicago, Illa. December 1, 1919

Burke,

Department Justice,

Washington, D. C.

Five stop Goldman and Berkman two lectures very mild period

Indication they remain in Chicago until December eighth when they will

leave for New York City period Four other meetings scheduled.

Brennan.

2 17 P. M.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Chicago [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 22 × 18 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Dark copy. Coded version of 880606279.

17wa 35 govt

Chicago, Illa. December 1, 1919

Burke.

Department Justice.

Washington

Five stop sivmtep and hounmptepw two vouklaxew very mild

period Indication they remain in Chicago until December

eighth when they will leave for Ciliate stelene period

Four other meetings scheduled.

Brennan

2 17 P.M.

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533



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1 [Washington, D.C. to M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Buffalo, N.Y. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 23 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke asks for affidavits explaining Jacob Kersner's alias to use if Goldman contests her deportation in court.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For reply, see 880606281.

15446

JM-CFO

SCM

December 1, 1919.

Blackmon,

Federal Bldg.,

Buffalo, N. Y.

Am in receipt of from Chicago office of death certificate JACOB LEWIS, said to be husband EMMA GOLDMAN. Desire that you obtain affidavits subject's family, Rochester, to effect that said Jacob Lewis was Jacob Kersner and that he died at hospital Chicago January eighteenth, nineteen nineteen. Wire results of effort to obtain such affidavits. Five. Stop.

BURKE, Chief.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke asks for affidavits explaining Jacob Kersner's alias to use if Goldman contests her deportation in court.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For reply, see 880606283.

15446

JHM-670

9028

December 1, 1919

Brennan,

Federal Building,

Chicago, Ill.

Re: Reservoir November twenty-fifth re death Jacob Kersner alias  
JACOB LEWIS. Absolutely necessary to obtain affidavits  
establishing that Lewis was Kersner and husband of EMMA GOLDMAN.  
Five. Stop.

BURKE, Chief.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

535

# The Emma Goldman Papers

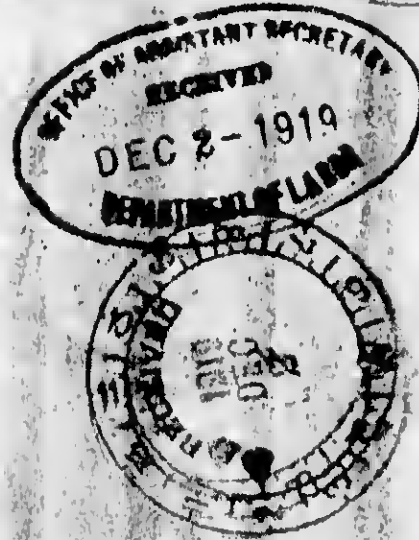
[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, New York [to Louis F.] Post, Ass[istan]t Sec[retar]y of Labor [Department of Labor], Wash[ingto]n, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.  
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Weinberger asks Post whether wives and children may accompany deported Russian aliens.

Notes: Dark copy. For reply, see 850712342.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

TELEGRAM



25 35

By New York Dec 2 1919

Re Post, Asst Secy of Labor, Washn Dc

Will government send wives and children with Deported Russians stop  
What arrangements have been made where wives and children desire to  
go along stop. How soon and where will Russians be sent Telegraph answer  
Collect

Harry Weinberger.

210p

136

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

536

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [New York to] Louis F. Post, Ass[istan]t Secretary of Labor  
[Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. [draft] / Harry Weinberger.—  
1 p.; 19 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
Notes: Draft of 830214217.

## POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT.

### CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

FAST DAY TELEGRAM	
NIGHT TELEGRAM	
NIGHT LETTERGRAM	

THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.

## TELEGRAM

THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY [INCORPORATED]  
TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE  
TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.

RECEIVER'S NUMBER

CHECK

TIME FILED

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the  
terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

Form 3

Louis F. Post

Asst Secretary of Labor

Washington, D.C.

Western Union

Dec 2/1919

Rushy

(B)

Are wives and children of  
~~newly arrived~~ <sup>Ellis Island</sup> Russians, to be deported with their  
husband & father

Will government send <sup>with</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>and children</sup> ~~with~~ deported  
Russians. <sup>(stop)</sup> What arrangements have  
been made where wives and children  
desire to go along. stop How soon  
and where will Russians be sent.  
Rushy <sup>Telegram</sup> answer collect Harry Weinberger



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p.; 18 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caminetti notifies Weinberger that the government plans to deport only Russian aliens under warrants, but it will consider the petitions of family members who wish to accompany the alien.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Reply to 830214217. For follow-up, see 850712353.

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) it is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

## WESTERN UNION



## TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT  
305 BROADWAY NY  
3239W 53 COLL

B. WASHINGTON DC 539 2 2

HARRY WEINBERGER ESQ

12/2/19

261 BROADWAY NEWYORK NY

1919 DEC 2 5 11 PM

GOVERNMENT DEPORTING ONLY THOSE FOR WHOM WARRANTS OF DEPORTATION

MAY ISSUE IF YOU REPRESENT ANY ALIEN ORDERED DEPORTED TO RUSSIA

WHO HAS A FAMILY FILE YOUR APPLICATION FOR FAMILY TO ACCOMPANY  
SUCH ALIEN AND THE SAME WILL BE GIVEN CONSIDERATION THE GOVERNMENT

WILL DEPORT TO SOVIET RUSSIA AT THE EARLIEST PRACTICABLE DATE

CAMINETTI.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

538



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

*Notes: Same text as 850712342, but in different format.*

Dec 2 1919  
Harry Weinberger. Esq.,

261 Broadway. New York City.

Government deporting only those for whom warrants of deportation may issue if you represent any alien ordered deported to Russia who has a family file your application for family to accompany such alien and the same will be given consideration the government will deport to Soviet Russia at the earliest practicable date.

Caminetti.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

850712341

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.— 1 p.; 19 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger asks Abercrombie for extra time before Goldman and Berkman must turn themselves in at Ellis Island.

Notes: For reply, see 850712345.

### POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT

## TELEGRAM

#### CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

FAST DAY TELEGRAM

NIGHT TELEGRAM

NIGHT LETTERGRAM

THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.

THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY (INCORPORATED)  
TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE  
TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.

RECEIVER'S NUMBER

CHECK

TIME FILED

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

December 2nd, 1919.

WESTERN UNION.

John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

Almost impossible to produce Goldman and Berkman for Friday period your telegram just received period Important that I have time to deliver them to Wednesday December tenth period Wire me collect if department agrees.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

540

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. [draft] / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 19 × 22 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
Notes: Draft of 850712341.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES	
CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT.	
<b>CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED</b>	<b>TELEGRAM</b>
FAST DAY TELEGRAM	THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY [INCORPORATED] TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.
NIGHT TELEGRAM	
NIGHT LETTERGRAM	
THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED. OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.	
RECEIVER'S NUMBER	
CHECK	
TIME FILED	

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

December 2nd, 1919.

WESTERN UNION.

*Rush*

John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

Almost impossible to produce Goldman and Berkman for Friday ~~period~~ your telegram just received period Important that I have time to deliver them to Wednesday December tenth period Wire me collect if department agrees.

HARRY WEINBERGER.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, New York [to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.—  
1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Notes: Same text as 850712341, but in different format.

## DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

### TELEGRAM

Bl3Wu. Da. 33 HUSH 1 Extra

By...New York, December 2, 1919

John W. Abercrombie,

Acting Secretary of Labor,

Washington, D. C.

Almost impossible to produce goldman and Berkman for Friday

Your telegram just received period.

Important that I have time to deliver them Wednesday, December  
tenth period.

Wire me collect if department agrees.

Harry Weinberger

10:15 A. M.

138

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542



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie [Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor]. - 1 p.; 17 x 21 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
Summary: Abercrombie refuses to grant Weinberger extra time before Goldman and Berkman must appear for deportation.  
Notes: Broken type. Reply to 850712341. For reply, see 850712337. For document mentioned, see 850712335.

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

WESTERN UNION  
TELEGRAM

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT

2 BR OFY 30 COLLECT

BR WASHINGTON DC 1122AM DEC 2 1919

HARRY WEINBERGER

261 BROADWAY NEWYORK

ANSWERING YOUR TELEGRAM DECEMBER TWO THE DEPARTMENT DEMANDS PRODUCTION  
SURRENDER AND DELIVERY OF BERKMAN AND GOLDMAN AT ELLYSLAND ON OR

BEFORE NOON DECEMBER FIFTH AS PER MESSAGE OF YESTERDAY

ABERCROMBIE

1126AM

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Notes: Dark copy. Same text as 850712345, but in different format.

52410/43-A

Dec. 2, 1919.

Harry Weinberger,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

New York, December 2, 1919

Answering your telegram December two the Department demands production, surrender and delivery of Berkman and Goldman at Ellis Island on or before noon December fifth as per message of yesterday.

ABERCROMBIE.

Attest:

*John W. Abercrombie*  
Acting Secretary of Labor

*14/2/20  
This message was telephoned  
to Mr. Weinberger at 11:00 a.m. today  
HMS*

137

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

544

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor. —  
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
Notes: Copy of 830214218. Same text as 850712345, but in different format.

XXXXXXXXXX

Form 11

CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM

COMMERCIAL COLLECT:

52410/42-A

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

Dec. 2, 1919.

Harry Weinberger,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

Answering your telegram December two the Department demands production,  
surrender and delivery of Berkman and Goldman at Ellis Island on or before noon  
December fifth as per message of yesterday.

ABERCROMBIE.

Attest:

AC/TMC

Acting Secretary of Labor

\* \* \* \* \*

The above is an official copy of telegram sent this day.

*A. C. Minette*  
Commissioner General.

14-468

*Recd from Rusher  
a  
Call Mr. Weinberger  
re phone & read this  
message  
Dec 2/19*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

545

# The Emma Goldman Papers

850712337

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.—  
1 p.; 19 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger insists that the Department of Labor give him a short extension of time before Goldman and Berkman must appear for deportation.

Notes: Reply to 850712345. For reply, see 850712344. For copy of telegram as received, see 830214049.

## POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT

# TELEGRAM

### CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

FAST DAY TELEGRAM	
NIGHT TELEGRAM	
NIGHT LETTERGRAM	

THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.

THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY [INCORPORATED]  
TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE  
TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.

RECEIVER'S NUMBER

CHECK

TIME FILED

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

Rush

December 2, 1919.

WESTERN UNION.

John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Received telephone request for extension  
of time period delivery on Friday interferes with Court proceedings as Court does not sit on Saturday and Sunday period Insist for delivery Berkman and Goldman therefore that I be given at least till Monday/period Wire me Goldman collect if Department agrees also wire me on what boat when and Department intends to what Country Berkman and Goldman are to be deported period  
Rush answer

HARRY WEINBERGER.

546



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, New York [to] John W. Abercrombie, Act[in]g Sec[retary] of Labor [Department of Labor], Wash[ington], D.C. / David Bernstein.—  
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Notes: Dark copy. Upper document only. Enclosed with 830214050. For reply, see 870716000, 870716001 and 850712344. Same text as 850712337, but in different format and signed by different person.

## TELEGRAM

20 Wa Ad 65 1 extra Rush 12:15pm

By New York Herald Dec 2 - 1919

John W. Abercrombie,

Actg. Secy of Labor, Washn Dc

Received telephone refusal for extension of time period delivery on Friday interferes with court proceedings as court does not sit on Saturday and Sunday period. Insist therefore that I be given at least until Monday for delivery Berkman and Goldman period Wire me collect if department agrees also, wire me on what boat when and to what country department intends to deport Rush answer

David Bernstein

*Received at 1:05 pm, Dec. 2, 1919.  
Referred to Mr. Cunniff with request  
for conference at 3:00 pm, today.  
12/2/19*

*Bureau recommends that  
the Department stand by its  
morning's message & on noting David  
Bernstein's. The last question need  
not be answered. The first is  
exercising its right to take aliens  
into custody and does not have  
to give any explanation.*

*Approved 12/2/19  
John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]19 Dec. 2, Washington [D.C. to Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / John W. A[bercrombie] Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].—  
1 p.; 19 × 12 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Abercrombie forwards David Bernstein's telegram to Caminetti for his opinion.

Notes: For enclosure, see 830214049.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

To Bureau of Immigration:

Name *Berthman and Goldman*

File No.

*Telegram from David Bernstein.*

*Mr. Caminetti:*

*This is self-infla-  
tion. Hold for  
conference at 3:00  
today.*

*John W. A.*

Acting Secretary.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to Bureau of Immigration? Department of Labor? Washington, D.C.] / John W. A[bercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Abercrombie refers David Bernstein's request to a conference with Anthony Caminetti.

Notes: Dark copy. Center document only. Response to 830214049. For related documents, see 870716001, 830214050, and 850712344.

## TELEGRAM

20 Wt. 65 1 extra Rush 1231pm

By New York Herald Dec 2 - 1919

John W. Abercrombie,

Actg Secy of Labor, Washn Dc

Received telephone refusal for extension of time period delivery on Friday interferes with court proceedings as court does not sit on Saturday and Sunday period. Insist therefore that I be given at least until Monday for delivery Berkman and Goldman period wire me collect if department agrees also, wire me on what boat when and to what country department intends to deport Rush answer

David Bernstein

*Received at 1:05 pm, Dec 2, 1919.  
Referred to Mr. Caminetti with request  
for conference at 2:00 pm today.  
12/2/19*

*Bureau recommending about  
the Department stand by after David  
morning's message & to notify need  
permission. The last question need  
not be answered. The first is  
essential in order to take them  
into custody and does not have  
to give any explanation.  
Dec 2/19*

*Approved, 12/2/19  
John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]19 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to Bureau of Immigration? Department of Labor? Washington, D.C.] / [Anthony] C[aminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Caminetti notes that the government need not give Goldman and Berkman any details regarding their deportation.

Notes: Dark copy. Lower document only. Response to 830214049. For related documents, see 830214050, 850712344, and 870716000.

## TELEGRAM

20 Wt. 05 1 extra Rush 1231pm

By New York Herald Dec 2 - 1919

John W. Abernethy

Actg Sec. of Labor, Wash DC

Received telephone refusal for extension of time period delivery on Friday interferes with court proceedings as court does not sit on Saturday and Sunday period. Insist therefore that I be given at least until Monday for delivery Berkman and Goldman period wire me collect if department agrees also, wire me on what boat when and to what country department intends to deport Rush answer

David Bernstein

*Received at 1:05 pm, Dec. 2, 1919.  
Referred to Mr. Caminetti with request  
for confirmation at 8:00 pm, today.  
12/2/19*

*Bureau recommending that  
the Department stand by its David  
Bernstein's message & on notice need  
not be answered. The last question need  
not be answered. The first is  
necessary to right to take about  
into custody and does not have  
to give any explanation.  
Dec 2/19*

*Approved  
John W. Abernethy,  
Acting Secretary*



# The Emma Goldman Papers

850712344

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Washington, D.C. [to] David Bernstein, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie [Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor]. — 1 p.; 17 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Abercrombie wires Bernstein that the Department of Labor expects Goldman and Berkman to appear at Ellis Island on December 5, 1919, as ordered.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 830214049 and 850712337. Follow-up to 850712345.

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

## WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT

R134 CPD6A 55 COLLECT

BR WASHINGTONDDC 547P DEC 2 1919

DAVID BERNSTEIN

388

C/O S AMERICAN LEGAL DEFENSE LEAGUE

261 BROADWAY NEWYORKCITY

DEPARTMENT HAS TWICE WIRED ATTORNEY WEINBERGER DEMANDING PRODUCTION

SURRENDER AND DELIVER EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN AT ELLIS ISLAND

AT OR BEFORE NOON FIFTH INSTANT IT EXPECTS THIS DEMAND TO BE COMPLIED WITH

ABERCROMBIE

850P

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

551

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram, 1919 Dec. 2, Washington, D.C. to] David Bernstein, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].—  
1 p.; 15 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Notes: Bleedthrough; barely legible. Same text as 850712344, but in different format.

COMMERCIAL RATES  
COLLECT

David Bernstein,  
New York, N. Y.

(Answering to W.O., 12/2)

Department has twice wired Attorney Weisberger demanding production  
surrender and deliver Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman at Ellis Island at  
or before noon ~~on~~ fifth instant. It expects this demand to be  
complied with.

ABERCROMBIE.

Attest:

Acting Secretary.

David Bernstein

Dec. 2, 1919

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to Byrne H. Uhl] Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].—  
1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Caminetti warns Uhl to expect Goldman and Berkman at Ellis Island on December 5.

Notes: Bleedthrough. For enclosure, see 830214080.

David Bernstein,

(Answering D. V. U., 12-50)

New York, N. Y.

December 2, 1919.

62410/43-4  
Department has twice urged Attorney Weinberger demanding production  
surrender and deliver Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman at Ellis Island  
or before noon (Thursday) fifth instant. It expects this demand to be  
complied with.

Attended

Acting Commissioner of Immigration,  
Ellis Island, N. Y. E.

The Bureau transmits, herewith, warrants of  
deportation for Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman Kersner,  
or Emma Goldman. In this connection you are advised that  
Harry Weinberger, attorney for the aliens, has been this  
day notified that he must produce, surrender and deliver  
Berkman and Goldman at Ellis Island on or before noon of  
December 5th, this in answer to [redacted] some  
date requesting an extension of time for their delivery  
until Friday, December 10th.

EXACT COPY AS SIGNED BY A CAMINETTI

PAID BY [redacted]

Commissioner General.

HMC-REM

Incl. 4712.

9

*Handwritten notes:*  
139  
The Department has twice urged Attorney Weinberger demanding production  
surrender and deliver Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman at Ellis Island  
or before noon (Thursday) fifth instant. It expects this demand to be  
complied with.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.*

**Summary:** Campbell sends a newspaper report of Goldman's Chicago banquet to the director of Military Intelligence. 3

**Notes:** For letter mentioned, see 810331073.

10110-154  
35  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
60-102X

CAPTAIN SNOW  
M. I. 4.

11-1-1950

- John B. Campbell  
John B. Campbell,  
Captain, Infantry.

DESPATCHED  
19 DEC 4 AM 11 22  
MAIL ROOM  
PRODM



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman] Meeting, Nov. 29th—Street Car Men's Hall, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 / Patriotic American League.— 2 p. ; 34 x 21 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165. Summary: Patriotic American League agent 308 describes a meeting in Chicago at which Berkman and Goldman spoke of their prison experiences. Notes: Enclosed with 810331077.

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
REPORT

FOR STATE  
10/10-154 1919  
38  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
1027

PERSON		REPORTED BY	Patriotic American League.
SUBJECT	Meeting, Nov. 29th - Emma Goldman Alex. Berkman - Street Car Men's Hall.	PLACE	Chicago, Ill.
OFFENSE CHARGED		DATE	Dec. 2, 1919.

Copy --- Department Intelligence Office, Chicago.

#1107

The following report made by #308:

The following speakers presided: Chairman Simmons, a young man of about 27 or 30 years old, also one of the leaders of the Workman's Institute, 1002 Ashland Blvd., was presiding officer. He made a very radical and anarchistic speech. After the conclusion of his speech he introduced Alexander Berkman who gave his experiences of his prison life. He pointed out to the crowd how the political prisoners were put in dungeons and locked up for days and months and also for the slightest offense such as asking for a glass of water, would put on a blind door which was four inches of solid oak to shut him out of light and air for the period that he was in the dungeon. He also stated that no human being could stay in one of these dungeons over six hours and they kept him in there as high as 30 hours where it was necessary for him to lay flat down on the floor and breathe what little foul air that he could from the crack under the door.

After the conclusion of Berkman another radical speaker, whose name I did not get, made a fire-eating speech. After this speaker was through they made up a collection which the large crowd responded to readily. Thousands of dollars were collected. Very few large donations were made with the exception of one or two fifty dollar donations. The speaker then announced that they had just received a telegram from Washington that Emma Goldman and Berkman were to be deported. The Chairman announced at the beginning of the meeting that Emma Goldman was not to speak but after they got this report from Washington, he said she would speak and that this was amoro of a Memorial meeting as she might not speak here again.

She spoke on her experience in prison. She said in her remarks that the women were compelled to work nine hours straight a day and if they did not complete their work in nine hours they were put in the dungeon all the way from five to thirty days and that some poor women who worked in the prison were dying of consumption and that the men who worked on that line of work first were consumptives and the women were compelled to work under these conditions. She said that these conditions were worse than any Siberian prison in Russia. Even the darkest days of Russia and the most severe punishment in Siberia is not as bad as here in the free American country. If this is what they call Freedom and the great fight for Democracy and so-called Democracy she is willing to be deported, but she is not deported yet and she will make her fight to the highest court of the land for her rights.

After Goldman got through speaking the meeting was adjourned with great applause. I noticed in the crowd the "Bum-Squad" of the Police Department, various secret service men from the Department of Justice and also two men from Washington connected with the Department of Justice. I noticed some very peculiar characters at this meeting. By sizing them up and studying them

COPY TO

D. I. O. FILE NO.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman] Meeting, Nov. 29th—Street Car Men's Hall, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 / Patriotic American League.— 2 p. ; 34 × 21 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

**Summary:** Patriotic American League agent 308 describes a meeting in Chicago at which Berkman and Goldman spoke of their prison experiences.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 810331077.

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

### REPORT

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PERSON

REPORTED BY

SUBJECT

PLACE

OFFENSE CHARGED

DATE

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-2-

very carefully the majority of them looked like anarchists and men that would be fit subjects for Insane Asylums. That is the way they appeared to me.

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COPY TO

D. I. O. FILE No.

5508/60

FORM D. I. O. 17

556

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Emma Goldman] Meeting, Nov. 30, 1919, West Side Auditorium, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 / Patriotic American League. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Patriotic American League agents 308 and 1456 describe a meeting in Chicago at which Goldman and Berkman spoke on deportation.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810331076.

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

## REPORT

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
10110-154  
37  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
1027

PERSON	REPORTED BY	Patriotic American League.
SUBJECT Meeting West Side Auditorium Nov. 30, 1919.	PLACE	Chicago, Ill.
OFFENSE CHARGED	DATE	Dec. 2, 1919.

In Reporting  
Please Refer to Case

#1123  
IHL, Chicago.

Report made by #308.

Report on meeting held at the West Side Auditorium by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and Chairman whose name was not made public, but Chairman in his announcements said that he is held under bond for the past ten months and does not know when he will be called to trial, the bond being \$40,000.00.

Meeting opened at 2:50 P.M. by the Chairman, who spoke in regard to the literature published by Robert Minor which he thought would be of great value to everyone who was present to know more clearly the conditions that exist at the present time, and also the treatment that is given to the so-called political prisoners. (The literature is attached to this report.)

The speaker, Alexander Berkman, was greeted with enormous applause. His subject was "Deportation and Capitalist Control of Labor."

He said that the White terror, that is in this country at the present time, is worse than the terror that was in Russia for the past 40 years; under the laws of the Czar. The cause of this terror is the hatred that was caused during and after the World War, on account of all the promises that were made by President Wilson and other radicals (as he has called other Government officials) in regard to giving independence to Ireland, Russia and giving Palestine to the Jews, which they have never fulfilled. In regard to capitalists, he said that he is not surprised that they were looking out for themselves; he did blame the man who did not look out for his own interests.

As to his deportation, he was not worried, but before he would go he would let the people know the facts as to what deportation really meant. He said that it would not only be aliens that would be deported, but the native-born, in the near future, that would not voice in with the government ruling, they would be deported to the Phillipine Islands. His closing appeal was made to furnish money to fight the deportation.

The people contributed about \$2000.00. He said - I was born an Anarchist, I am an Anarchist, I shall die an Anarchist.

The next speaker was Emma Goldman:-

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D. I. O. FILE No.

5508/60

FORM D. I. O. 17

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557

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Patriotic American League agents 308 and 1456 describe a meeting in Chicago at which Goldman and Berkman spoke on deportation.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810331076.

## DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

### REPORT

PERSON	REPORTED BY	Patriotic American League.
SUBJECT Meeting West Side Auditorium Nov. 30, 1919.	PLACE	Chicago, Ill.
OFFENSE CHARGED	DATE	Dec. 2, 1919.

- 2 -

J1123  
PAL Chicago

She began with her your life and finally began to speak of the government. At the present time we see that the American Federation of Labor has stood up and begun to fight the capitalist for higher wages and better conditions.

Further:- What kind of citizenship is that, when I am a citizen and they are to deport me on account of political affairs? Why in due time if you people don't agree with the capitalist they will tear your citizenship papers and deport you like the alien, because they did it to me. But I shall fight the government to the last -- give them a run (a terrible applause) Tell me how many American citizens are here, when you don't voice with the laws. America has a large statue of liberty, but the light is growing smaller and smaller, but in Soviet Russia it is growing larger and in years to come America will come to Soviet Russia to ask for establishment of liberty. Why if the Russian government sent boats to take us Russians the United States would not have to deport us, we would all go, and if some are too poor, we would collect from the others to go back to Russia. (Direct quotation) How many of you would go? (Another terrible applause)

The citizenship paper is a scrape of paper, and when they are ready to deport some of you, they will just destroy the paper, and back to Russia you go.

Further: She said that when asking U. S. Attorney General Palmer by what law is she kept a prisoner, the Attorney answered, - "By law, there is no law for you." Then she said, if that is correct, open the prison and let Dobs go free, and a few more she mentioned. (Applause)

She said - "Hatred is killed or destroyed only by hatred, and that the revolutionist shall destroy this hatred."

They are deporting the people of this country who have toiled with their sweat to build this country to places where they shall line them to the wall and be shot. Why if this country is founded upon principles of liberty not give the citizens liberty; they are taking liberty from the citizens.

At the end of her speech she stated: "When I am deported I shall live with my spirit with you and some day I shall meet you all in Russia; at the present time the government will not allow you because they would lose labor, but it shall come."

COPY TO

D. I. O. FILE No.

5500/30

FORM D. I. O. 17

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558



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Emma Goldman] Meeting, Nov. 30, 1919, West Side Auditorium, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 / Patriotic American League. — 3 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Patriotic American League agents 308 and 1456 describe a meeting in Chicago at which Goldman and Berkman spoke on deportation.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810331076.

## DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

### REPORT

PERSON	REPORTED BY	Patriotic American League.
SUBJECT Meeting West Side Auditorium Nov. 30, 1919.	PLACE	Chicago, Ill.
OFFENSE CHARGED	DATE	Dec. 2, 1919.

71123

PAL Chicago

- 3 -

No. 1456 Reports on this same meeting as follows:-

Report of meeting held at West Side Auditorium on Sunday, Nov. 30, at two o'clock. Speakers Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman:

Meeting was opened and called to order at 2:30. First speaker - Mr. Alexander Berkman, spoke on deportation from this country, and said he would leave this country within 48 hours if he could leave on his own free will and pay his own expenses and not have a government that he has been fighting for thirty years pay it for him, and stated that this government has not changed him by putting him in prison, but that he is still and always will be an Anarchist the rest of his living days; stated that this government is trying to send him back to Russia to be placed before the firing line to be shot; called President Wilson the college boy and a tool of England and he closed his talk by asking all to contribute toward keeping Emma Goldman in the United States to fight their battle. He asked first for those who would give \$25.00, but none came forward; then he asked for ten dollars and received fifty dollars; then for five dollars and received eighty-five dollars; then for two and one and received contributions too numerous to count, some declaring they were Anarchists and others IWW and Socialists. After the collection, meeting was announced for Wicker Park Hall, December 2d. - Jacob Margolis, attorney for the IWW to be the speaker for the evening. Also Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman meetings at West Side Auditorium - Taylor and Racine Sts. for Wednesday, Dec. 3d and Friday, Dec. 5 at eight o'clock.

Emma Goldman spoke about deportation and said she would fight to the finish, said she was a citizen and said citizen paper was not worth the paper it was written on and only fit for the waste-basket; said the Statue of Liberty belongs over in Russia and that Russia will show what free country means; said she is ready to go back the same as Berkman, if she could send ships over and take all Russians back and those who could not pay their transportation, she would make collections to pay it; she said she demanded of the government to throw open the prison doors and let all political prisoners free and stated Eugene Debs, Rooney, etc. ought to be freed.

Emma Goldman made a statement that her comrade's citizen papers were not worth the paper they were written on.

I tried to follow the man that made a donation of \$10 and declared he was an Anarchist, to get his home address and name, as he looked very radical to me, but lost him in the crowd.

Meeting was announced and tickets sold for Monday night at Morrison Hotel at \$2.00 & plate - December 1st.

COPY TO

D. I. O. FILE No.

5508/60

FORM D. I. O. 17

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559

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on International Workers Defense League Banquet] Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 /  
Patriotic Am[erican] League.— 2 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.  
Summary: Two Patriotic American League agents describe a banquet in Goldman and Berkman's honor in Chicago at which they spoke about their deportation.  
Notes: Enclosed with 810331106.

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED  
10110-803  
844  
WAR DEPARTMENT

COPY		REPORT		SMM	
PERSON		REPORTED BY	Patriotic Am. League		
SUBJECT	BANQUET INTERNATIONAL Workers Defense League - Dec. 1.1919.		PLACE	Chicago	
OFFENSE CHARGED		DATE	Dec. 2 1919.		

#1420 and #1416 attended the banquet of the International Workers Defense League held December first at the Morrison Hotel, paying \$2 each for tickets.

The Toastmaster was H. Austin Simons who opened address by saying: "Fellow Jail Birds and Comrads, we meet here tonight to probably greet for the last time our Fellow Jail Birds and Comrads - Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman."

He spoke of Berkman and Goldman calling attention to what he called their good work which would always live and even though they were deported, their teachings would still be here to take their place.

He then introduced Attorney Van Devere, who spoke on the deportation of Berkman and Goldman, wishing them success and prosperity in their deportation to any country to which they might be sent.

The next speaker was Ben Reitman, who spoke of his long acquaintance with Berkman and Goldman and their success in the undertaking which they started thirty years ago, and for which they are to be deported.

He further stated that Emma Goldman had been the greatest feminine force in America for one quarter of a century. He stated that she had been the most popular woman speaker in America, and it is too bad that she should be deported. He further stated you cannot stop ideas with deportation, and it is strange that the government does not find it out, and instead of deporting Berkman and Goldman, they should be pensioned.

Alexander Berkman was the next speaker. He referred to his and Emma Goldman's deportation, of which he was very proud. He stated that as a rule it took from three to four months for deportation charges to be acted upon at Washington but in his case it only took one week, hence he felt that he was a very important person. He also stated that Emma Goldman, whose deportation was decided upon in two weeks time must be fully important. He stated that he expected to be called back any moment and that he would not be subject to bail. He called attention to alien prisoners in Great Britain being sent direct to Army or Concentration Camps where they were being held subject to the orders of Great Britain.

He further stated that he expected to be deported to Russia and probably to Siberia where he would be placed in a concentration camp subject to United States dictation.

Emma Goldman was the next speaker. She rather prided herself on the fact that she had been deported for things she had done and said. She referred to the anarchist trial in 1887, and stated that anarchy was not strangled at that time, but was alive today and would continue to live, and that she hoped to see the Red Flag of Russia waving over the United States as a signal of Comradship.

COPY TO D. I. O. FILE No.

5508/66

FORM D. I. O. 17

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560

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on International Workers Defense League Banquet] Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 /  
Patriotic Am[erican] League.— 2 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Two Patriotic American League agents describe a banquet in Goldman and Berkman's honor in Chicago at which they spoke about their deportation.

Notes: Enclosed with 810331106.

## DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

### REPORT

PERSON

REPORTED BY

SUBJECT BANQUET INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DEFENSE  
LEAGUE Dec. 1919.

PLACE

OFFENSE CHARGED

Page 2.

DATE

She stated she would fight deportation not for herself alone but for the thousands of foreign born citizens whose liberty is at stake like her own.

H. Austin Simons called attention to books written by Berkman and Goldman which he stated were autographed and were being sold at \$2 each. He made the statement that there were a few of the books that had not been confiscated by the government.

There will be a meeting held Wednesday<sup>day</sup> evening at the West Side Auditorium at Racine and Taylor Streets, at which Berkman and Goldman will speak on the Soviet of Russia.

Sunday there will be a meeting at Carmen's Hall on Ashland Avenue.

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D. I. O. FILE No.  
5508/66

FORM D. I. O. 17

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561

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alex[ander] Berkman, Indianapolis, Ind. [1919] Dec. 2 / T.F. Mullen [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Mullen listens to Goldman and Berkman's telephone conversations from their hotel in Chicago.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>T. F. Mullen</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Indianapolis, Ind. Dec. 2, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION. <b>In re: EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEX. BERKMAN.</b>	
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.: <b>At Chicago, Ills</b>	
<p>Agent spent the entire day at the New Southern Hotel located at 13th and Michigan Ave. shadowing above subjects.</p> <p>All telephone conversations had between the above named subjects and outside parties, with few exceptions, were listened to by Agent, reports of which will be included in summary report of Special Agent Loula of this Bureau.</p>	
<p>COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Washington-2; Chicago. -1- Ills.-1</b></p>	

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562



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [Washington, D.C. to Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke instructs Brennan to have Goldman and Berkman followed from Chicago to New York and to prevent them from going to Canada.

Notes: Barely legible. Reply to 880606274. For reply, see 880606285.

15446

JMS-CFO

COM

December 2, 1919.

Brennan,

Federal Building.

Chicago, Ill.

Referring conversation between you and Mr. Hoover re Goldman and Berkman. Following arrangements have now been made with Labor Department. Attorney for Goldman-Berkman ordered to produce subjects at Ellis Island Friday December fifth twelve o'clock. Warrant will at that time be served upon them. Subjects should therefore leave Chicago some time Thursday in order to be in New York on time. Desire that you keep subjects fully covered during remainder of stay in Chicago and if any move is made by either of them to proceed to Canada or to return to New York by way of Canada same should be prevented. When subjects leave Chicago for New York desire that special agents accompany them to New York and that New York office be advised in order that chosen work may be taken up by New York office. Keep this office informed daily by wire as to movements of subjects. Five. Stop.

Yours, Chief.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Rochester, N.Y. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [M.F.] Blackmon [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Blackmon promises to forward Joseph Kersner's affidavit at once.

Notes: Broken type; dark copy; barely legible. Reply to 880606277. For affidavit, see 810113093.

13446

71 W de 8257 20 Collect C. R.

Rochester N. Y. Dec. 2, 1919.

Burke,

Dept Justice, Washington, D. C.

Step Five secured sworn affidavit from Joseph Berther of Jacob Kersner  
will forward same.

Blackmon.

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564

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Affidavit] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Joseph Kersner. — 1 p. ; 36 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Joseph Kersner swears that Jacob Lewis, who died in Chicago on January 18, 1919, was his brother, Jacob Kersner.

Notes: Enclosed with 850205058 and 810113083.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

SS

State of New York  
County of Monroe  
City of Rochester

I, Joseph Kersner being duly sworn deposes and says that from information due to correspondence with Mr H M Golderg of 3602 Douglas Boulevard Chicago, Ill. believe that the said Jacob Lewis was my brother whose real name was Jacob Kersner and that the said Jacob Kersner died in the city of Chicago on or about January 18, 1919 and buried under the name Jacob Lewis.

Sworn before me and subscribed in my presence this 2<sup>nd</sup> day of December in the year 1919.

Witness Vincent P. Broughton

Joseph Kersner  
Thos E Moran  
Com's of Deeds.  
J C Blackford  
Notary Public.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Barney H. Joseph.—  
5 p.; 35 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Joseph swears that he knew Jacob Kersner in Rochester and in Chicago, under the name Jacob Lewis. Joseph explains what he knows of Kersner's marriage to Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 880606283 and 810113083.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JA

## STATEMENT BEFORE COMMISSIONER FOOTE.

DECEMBER 2, 1919.

WITNESS:

(Examined by Special Agt. Hibbard.)

BARNEY H. JOSEPH (Sworn)

- Q What is your name? A Barney H. Joseph.
- Q Where do you live? A 1209 South St. Louis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Q Where are you employed? A In the Election Commissioners' Office, of the City of Chicago.
- Q You were acquainted with this Mr. Jacob Kersner? A I was.
- Q And you also knew him under the name of Jacob Lewis? A I did.
- Q When did you first meet Mr. Kersner, under what circumstances? A Over thirty years ago, I worked with him.
- Q Where was that? A In Rochester, N. Y.
- Q Did you know whether or not he was a married man at the time you worked with him in Rochester? A I understood that he was married.
- Q To whom? A Emma Goldman.
- Q Did Emma Goldman live in Rochester? A Yes, she did.
- Q With her parents? A I surmise she did live with her parents, I don't know.
- Q Can you give the addresses of the different persons in the Goldman family?
- A Not their numbers, no.
- Q Can you tell about where they lived? A At St. Joseph Avenue and some little street, I can't think of the name of the street, I went to school there but I can't remember the street.
- Q Can you designate about where it was? A I have got a younger brother, maybe he can tell the name of the street.
- Q We will find that out later. Where ~~was~~ <sup>did</sup> Kersner live? A His folks lived on Joiner Street when I was there,— I don't know, that is a good many years ago; I lived on the same street with them.
- Q Near what other street? A Near Central Ave.
- Q Did you know Kersner before he was married? A Oh, yes.
- Q Was he married in Rochester? A That I couldn't answer; I don't remember.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Barney H. Joseph.—  
5 p.; 35 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Joseph swears that he knew Jacob Kersner in Rochester and in Chicago, under the name Jacob Lewis. Joseph explains what he knows of Kersner's marriage to Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 880606283 and 810113083.

C O P Y

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Barney Joseph #

JA

Q You knew him in Rochester before he was married? A Before and after he was married.

Q It was generally known that he was married to Emma Goldman? A It was generally known that he was married to Emma Goldman.

Q Did they live together any length of time? A I couldn't say if they lived a minute.

Q Have you reason to believe that they were married in Rochester?

A I couldn't answer that.

Q Can you give me any information as to any person in Rochester, N. Y. that would know the circumstances of the marriage? A His or her family,-- I don't know.

Q Any other persons there, old residents of Rochester that knew them?

A I am trying to think-- He worked for a man at that time by the name of Willie Cohen on Herman Street, in the clothing business.

Q Do you know whether or not Mr. Cohen is still there? A I imagine he would be there; they were pretty thick.

Q Is there anybody else that you know that was acquainted with Kersner or Emma Goldman? A There is an old pal of his, Harry Jacobs, but he is still in San Francisco, California.

Q Do you know his address, or what line of business he is in? A The same business, the clothing business.

Q Anybody else? Is Kersner of the Hebrew faith? A Yes.

Q Would he have been married in a Synagogue? A Not necessarily; he could go to some Rabbi without going to a Synagogue.

Q He probably would have been married by a Rabbi? A No question to it, I suppose. He and she believing, I guess, partly what they did, might not have done that either,-- they might have gone to anybody, because at one time he didn't believe much himself, at first, but after years, after he saw her life, from what he gave me to understand, he hated her very name.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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COPY

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JA

Barney H. Joseph '43

Q Tell me about the year, and even the month, if you can, that you heard they were married? A I couldn't do that.

Q As near as you can,-- about when do you think it was,-- you must have some idea. A I don't think I could, within five or ten years I couldn't do it.

Q Is there anything connected with the circumstances that would help you to remember? A I surely would like to help the government if I could.

Q He was a man of about 48 when he died? A He was older than that; I know he was older. I am 48 and he was older than I.

(The Goldbergs who were present, here explained in answer to questions that Kersner had been buried as of the age of 48, which was based on what he had told them, or on statement of his brother, and that they bought a stone for Kersner's grave and put that age, 48 years, on the stone.)

Q (to witness Joseph): How long do you suppose he had been married?

A I worked with him in Chicago 14 years ago, all through these years up until 5 years ago when I quit the trade. I am trying to think,-- I cannot think.

Q Did you ever hear whether he had any children? No. He told me-- I was wont, when I came up to work with him, I would say, "Hello, Jake" and he said, "My name is Jake Lewis". I said, "Is that so? All right, I won't forget", and I knew from what he had told me that he didn't want anybody to connect him in any way with his former wife. That is what he told me. That is when I met him in Chicago.

Q When did you leave Rochester? A Fourteen or fifteen years ago.

Q Did you leave before or after he did? A He left before I did.

Q How long ago did he leave Rochester? A He went to Baltimore, it must have been 17 or 18 years ago.

Q From Rochester? A I think that is where he went.

Q Had he been married very long before he left Rochester? A I can't remember. I think he was married before I was married. I was 24. It was just passed around the town-- a small town-- telling that he was married to Emma Goldman, that's all. There was no public wedding, or anything that

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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5 p.; 35 × 21 cm.

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COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Barney H. Joseph #4

JA

I can remember.

Q Were both parties known under the names mentioned while in Rochester, as Kersner and Goldman? A Kersner was known by the name of Kersner, and Emma Goldman by the name of Goldman, yes.

Q What about this brother of Kersner's? Did he have a brother?

A Yes, he had a brother, lived here in Chicago.

Q What did you know about him, his name? A He is dead and buried.

Q Is there any other member of the Kersner family in Rochester?

A Yes, he has a sister that is a nurse there. I don't know her first name.

Q Do you know whether she is married? A She wasn't married the last time I heard of him.

Q Did you ever know if Emma Goldman had any relatives in Chicago?

A I don't know of any in Chicago.

Q But they have still in Rochester? A The last I knew she had a couple of sisters there and one brother named Herman Goldman.

Q Do you know of any of their immediate family in any other place besides Rochester? A No, I didn't know them well enough to know that; I knew her brother, and those are the only ones I really knew.

Q What do you know regarding the reported divorce of Kersner and Emma Goldman? A I don't know anything about it.

Q You heard something of that kind, didn't you? A Their being divorced? I heard— yes— just heard that they were divorced.

Q When did you hear that they were divorced? A He gave me to understand when I first met him here in Chicago that they were divorced; he didn't bring it out in words, but said he was through with her, wanted nobody to mention her name to him.

Q Had he told you that he had left her in Rochester? A No, he didn't say where he had left her; didn't want anybody to mention her name.

Q Do you know whether or not they left Rochester together, went to Baltimore together? A I couldn't say; the only way you could find that out is through

Mr. Liebovitz; he was his boss in Baltimore. In fact, I think he brought

to Chicago to work for him.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

810113090

[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Barney H. Joseph.—  
5 p.; 35 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Joseph swears that he knew Jacob Kersner in Rochester and in Chicago, under the name Jacob Lewis. Joseph explains what he knows of Kersner's marriage to Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 880606283 and 810113083.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JA

Q Is Liebovitz employed down town? A Yes, at the Majestic Tailors.

His name is B. Liebovitz, Majestic Tailors, Congress St. near Franklin.

Q What I want particularly is information as to the marriage and possible or probable divorce of these people. Can you think of anything further in that connection that would assist the government?

A I wish I could; I would like to assist them very much.

Q You feel that you have told me all that you know? A I am trying to think if I could connect it in some way.

Q Suppose you think it over and see if you can recall anything further.

Barney H. Joseph

STATE OF ILLINOIS )  
COUNTY OF COOK ) ss.

BARNEY H. JOSEPH, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that the statements in the foregoing testimony are true to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Barney H. Joseph

Subscribed and sworn to before me  
this 3<sup>d</sup> day of December, A. D. 1919.

Mark A. Fote,  
Notary Public.

My commission will expire Dec. 10, 1919.

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570



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Isadore Joseph. — 2 p. ; 35 × 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Isadore Joseph names people who might have personal knowledge of Jacob Kersner's marriage to Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 880606283 and 810113083.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JA

## STATEMENT BEFORE COMMISSIONER FOOTE

WITNESS: ISADORE JOSEPH:

December 2, 1919.

(Examination by Special Agent Hibbard)

Q What is your name? A Isadore Joseph.

Q Where do you live? A 828 S. Paulina Street, Chicago, Ill.

Q Were you acquainted with Mr. Kersner, alias Jacob Lewis? A I was.

Q Where did you first know him? A In Rochester, N. Y., just a little bit there.

Q When? A About 20 years ago.

Q Did you afterwards meet him in Chicago? A Yes, I have.

Q In your meeting with him, did he ever say anything to you about having been married? A No

Q Did you know from what you have been told by anybody else, that he was married? A Just through hearsay.

Q To whom? A In Rochester, N. Y.

Q Whom did you hear he was married to? A Emma Goldman.

Q Did you ever hear that he was divorced from Emma Goldman? A No, I don't think I ever did.

Q Can you tell me about when you heard he was married? A I possibly heard it-- it might have been 17 or 18 years ago, the first time I ever heard it.

Q Do you know anybody in Rochester that is well acquainted with either one of these people? With either Mr. Kersner or Emma Goldman, people that might be able to give us some information? A There is an attorney that lived across the street from the Goldman family on Joseph Avenue.--

*m* Norman Rosenberg and *m* Harry Rosenberg, both attorneys; their father had a store across from the Goldman store. They are both there now, I have a clipping-- just came back from France.

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571

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Isadore Joseph. — 2 p. ; 35 × 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: Isadore Joseph names people who might have personal knowledge of Jacob Kersner's marriage to Goldman.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 880606283 and 810113083.

C O P Y

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Isadore Joseph #2

JA

Q Anybody else that you think of? A A good many old-time people know the family very well.

Q Any people that you think might know about this marriage that would assist us in getting information? A Mr. Dave Levin (Lavin) ~~is~~ of the Seventh Ward Hotel, Chatham and Kelly Street, old friends of his. Hyman Cohen, in the <sup>Real Estate</sup> ~~clothing~~ business.

Q Anybody here in Chicago? A No, not that I can think of.

Q Can you think of anything that would assist us any further?

A I could tell you about where they used to live,-- the Goldman family,-- it was on Joseph Ave. between Stephany Park and Baden St., right next door to Public School No. 9.

Q Do you also know the address of Kersner when he lived there? A He lived between Central Ave. and the New York Central R. R. on Joiner Street.

*Isadore Joseph*

STATE OF ILLINOIS )  
 ) ss.  
 COUNTY OF COOK )

ISADORE JOSEPH, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says that the matters and things contained in the foregoing statement are true, to the best of his knowledge and belief, and that he made the same voluntarily.

*Isadore Joseph*

Subscribed and sworn to before me

this 3 day of December, A. D. 1919.

*May F. Burger*  
 Notary Public.

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572

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Rosa Goldberg. — 2 p. ; 35 × 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: Rosa Goldberg swears that she knew Jacob Kersner as Jacob Lewis in Chicago, but knew little of his antecedents.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 880606283 and 810113083.

COPY

from  
 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

## STATEMENT BEFORE COMMISSIONER FOOTE

DECEMBER 2, 1919.

WITNESS: ROSA GOLDBERG (Sworn) (Examined by Special Agent Hibbard)

Q What is your full name? A Rosa Goldberg.

Q Where do you live? A 3602 Douglas Boulevard, Chicago.

Q Did you know a man named Jacob Kersner? A I knew him as "Lewis" and then found his name was Kersner when he died.

Q When did you first become acquainted with him? A About 10 years ago.

Q Under what circumstances? A Just brought to the house by Mr. Barney Joseph, to my house about ten years ago.

Q When did he die? A About ten months ago. I don't know exactly.

Q How often did you see Mr. Kersner? A He used to come to my house almost every Saturday and Sunday all that time.

Q Eight or nine or ten years? A Yes.

Q Do you know whether or not he was married? A I didn't know until about— a long time--

Q Did he ever tell you? A Never.

Q Didn't Mr. Kersner ever tell you he had been married? A Never.

Q Before he died? A Never.

Q Didn't he tell you? A Never even spoke about it. We wanted to marry him off, and he didn't want to, see?

Q Did he give any reason? A Yes, he gave me a reason, said he wasn't well and didn't want to get married while he was sick,— he was a sickly man; that is the only reason he gave me; never said anything else.

Q Did he ever tell you where he came from, or where he lived before coming to Chicago? A He came from Rochester, N. Y.

Q That is what he told you? A Yes.

Q Did he ever tell you where he came from, or where he lived before coming to Chicago? A He came from Rochester, N. Y.

Q That is what he told you? A Yes.

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573

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Rosa Goldberg. — 2 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: Rosa Goldberg swears that she knew Jacob Kersner as Jacob Lewis in Chicago, but knew little of his antecedents.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 880606283 and 810113083.

COPY

from

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JA

Q He didn't tell you that he had been married in Rochester? A He never talked about marriage any.

Q Where did he die,— was it in your house? A No, he didn't live with us; he lived with — I think it was Annie Simons. He died in St. Mary's Hospital.

Q Did he tell anybody before he died about his marriage, or anything about his life? A I don't know,— you could find out by the party where he was before he went to the hospital.

Q Where did he live? A With Annie Simons, a widow, corner of Pierce Ave. and Hoyne Ave., a big apartment building near the corner.

Q He lived with her? A Yes, until he went to the hospital.

Q In all these nine or ten years that you knew Mr. Kersner, he told you something about his former life? A Never, never. Never said anything about it until when he took sick and we wanted to see, in case he died, if we should keep him here or send him away, and he said we should bury him here, he didn't want to go home. We asked him if there was anything particular, and he says in case he dies we will find a letter by his chief where he used to work, Mr.

*m* Benjamin Leibovitz, who lives at 64th and Hamlin St., Chicago Lawn.

Q What about this letter that he left, where is that? A After he died we called them up and asked if there was a letter. Leibovitz said nothing was left, and that's how he did, we never found the letter.

Q Who said that? A Mr. ~~Leib~~ Leibovitz. Nothing was left, and we couldn't find nothing out, and that is the way we buried him.

Q Did you ever hear he had been married to Emma Goldman? A I heard it. Mr. Barney Joseph told me he had been married to Emma Goldman.

Q Did anybody tell you that he had been divorced from Emma Goldman?

A I didn't know it; I really didn't believe he was married.

Q Nobody ever told you? A No, I never heard it.

STATE OF ILLINOIS )  
 COUNTY OF COOK )ss.

ROSA GOLDBERG, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that the matters and things in the foregoing statement are true to the best of her knowledge and belief, and that she made the same voluntarily.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

3rd day of December, A.D. 1919

*Rosa Goldberg*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 3 [in re Jacob Kersner] / Clara Ackerman.—  
 1 p.; 35 × 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: Ackerman swears that she knows little of Jacob Kersner's antecedents, except that he came from Rochester.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 880606283 and 810113083. For related documents, see 810113089 through 810113091.

**COPY**  
 from  
**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE**  
 Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JA

## STATEMENT BEFORE COMMISSIONER FOOTE

DECEMBER 2, 1919.

WITNESS: CLARA ACKERMAN (Sworn) Examined by Special Agt. H.F.Hibbard

- Q What is your full name? A Clara Ackerman.
- Q Where do you live? A 3602 Douglas Boulevard.
- Q You knew this Mr. Kersner, alias Jacob Lewis? A Yes.
- Q Did you know anything about his former life? A No.
- Q Did he ever tell you anything? A No, he never told me anything.
- Q You heard the testimony of your mother? A Yes.
- Q Have you anything more to say-- can you say anything more than she has said? A That's about all I know about him.
- Q About how old a man was this Kersner? A He was 48 when he died, that is what I was told. That is what they said.
- Q In your conversation with him, he never told you whether or not he had been married? A No, sir; the only thing, when we used to ask him if he was a bachelor, he never denied he was a bachelor or admitted that he was a bachelor, that's all,-- he never came right out.
- Q Did he ever tell you where he had lived before coming to Chicago? A He always spoke of living in Rochester, and his folks living in Rochester.

STATE OF ILLINOIS )  
 COUNTY OF COOK ) ss.

CLARA ACKERMAN, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that the matters and things contained in the foregoing statement are true to the best of her knowledge and belief, and that she made the same voluntarily.

Clara Ackerman

Subscribed and sworn to before me  
 this 3rd day of December. A. D. 1919.

May F. Bringer  
 Notary Public.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 3, Chicago [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief,  
Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan,  
Division Superintendent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan sends Burke four affidavits regarding the death of Jacob Kersner.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810113089 through 810113092. Reply to 880606278.

P.O. BOX 458,  
Chicago, Illinois.

December 3, 1919.

FRANK BURKE, ESQ.,  
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: In re: EMMA GOLDMAN

and  
An enclosing herewith for your information  
affidavits made by HARVEY H. JOSEPH, ISADORE JOSEPH,  
ROSE GOLDBERG and CLARA ACKERMAN, with reference to  
the death of JACOB KERSNER alias JACOB LEVIN, alleged  
husband of EMMA GOLDMAN.

Yours very truly,

Edward J. Brennan  
Division Superintendent.

JPB-MS  
Encl.

Copy to Buffalo, N.Y.

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576

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]19 Dec. 3 / Vincent P. Creighton, Special Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 31 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Creighton reports that he obtained an affidavit from Joseph Kersner, stating that his brother, Jacob, died in Chicago under the name of Jacob Lewis.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810113093. Enclosed with 810113083.

No. 1		-1-		10110-118	
REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:		
V.P. Creighton	Buffalo, N.Y.	December 3, 19	Dec. 2, 19		
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:					
In Ye - Emma Goldman - Anarchist					
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESS OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:					
At Rochester, New York.					
CAPTAIN SNOW M. I. 4.					
The following telegram was received, in code:					
"Am in receipt from Chicago office of death certificate of <u>Jacob Lewis</u> said to be husband <u>Emma Goldman</u> . Desire that you obtain affidavits subjects family Rochester to effect that said <u>Jacob Lewis</u> was <u>Jacob Kersner</u> and that he died at hospital, Chicago, January 18th, 1919. Wire results of effort to obtain such affidavits. Five. Burke"					
On instructions from Agent in Charge <u>Blackmon</u> , I proceeded to Rochester, New York and there located <u>Joseph Kersner</u> , brother of Jacob, at the <u>Eastman Kodak Company</u> . Mr. Joseph Kersner requested that he be not interviewed at the Eastman Kodak Company as he stated he did not want to have any reason for them to think that he was anything other than a real American citizen. I therefore made an appointment with him at 6 P.M. at the United States Marshal's office. At 6 P.M. I talked with Mr. Joseph Kersner, and read to him extracts of a letter from Division Superintendent Brennan, Chicago, Illinois, mentioning facts collected by Agent Sturgess in the above letter. Enclosed, you will find sworn affidavit made by Joseph Kersner as requested in the telegram. He also stated to me that <u>Hyman Goldberg</u> of Chicago could make a similar affidavit, and that perhaps <u>Dr. Pfoifer</u> of Chicago, address unknown, who attended Jacob Kersner at the time of his death, might also be able to make a similar affidavit. The father is unable to make an affidavit similar to this, due no doubt to his old age, and his lack of memory.					
The following telegram was sent to the Chief of the Bureau:					
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:					
Buffalo and Chicago					
-1-					

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577

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman — Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]19 Dec. 3 / Vincent P. Creighton, Special Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p.; 31 × 21 cm.

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**Notes:** For enclosure, see 810113093. Enclosed with 810113083.

to. 2

-2-

In re - Emma Goldman - Anarchist

"Stop five Secured sworn affidavit from Joseph  
brother of Jacob Kersner Will forward same"

The reason for the three signatures attached to this affidavit is due to the fact that I could not get a Notary to take this affidavit, and as Deputy Marshal, Thomas E. Moran, is a Commissioner of Deeds in and for the city of Rochester, I had him take the statement. About the time this statement was taken I secured the services of a Notary Public and attached his signature thereto.

Respectfully submitted,

*Vincent P. Creighton*  
Special Agent

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578



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending December 3, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief [Military Intelligence 4, War Department].—  
5 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** Military Intelligence's weekly situation report notes that Goldman and Berkman will be deported to Soviet Russia shortly.

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•Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and  
the Chief Special Agent  
File No. 504-69

C O N F I D E N T I A L

WEEKLY SITUATION SURVEY FOR WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 3, 1919.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, GENERAL STAFF,

SECTION M. I. 4.

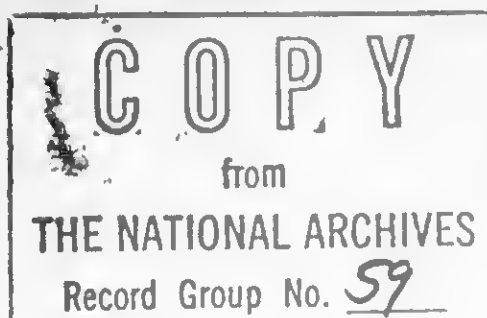
579

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File No. 504-69

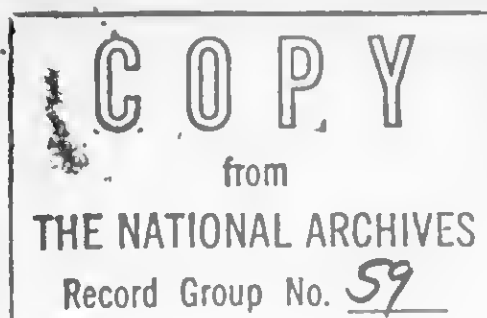
RESUME	Page 1
RADICAL ACTIVITIES	2
Proceedings of Lusk Committee	2
Hearings of Immigration Committee	2
Goldman and Berkman to be Deported	3
Prosecution of Radicals	3
Rand School Case Closed	4
Anti-Rad Activities in the Northwest	5
Radical Meetings Prevented	6
Counter-Radical Measures in Massachusetts	6
Counter-Radical Measures in Colorado	7
The Coming I. W. W. Appeal	7
I. W. W. Cooperation with the Communists	10
"Bridging" and "Boring"	12
LABOR UNREST	13
The Coal Strike	13
The Steel Strike	16
Strikes Ended	17
Strikes Continuing	17
New Strikes	19
Strikes Threatened	19
NEGRO SUBVERSION	20
Agitation at Chicago and Gary	20
I. W. W. Agitation among the Negroes at Bisbee	21
CONDITIONS IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT	22
Attitude of Troops Relative to Strike Duty	22
Radical Propaganda among the Troops	23
Morale; The First Division	23
FOREIGN COUNTRIES	24
France	24
Great Britain	24
Soviet Russia	26
Japan	27

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Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and  
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File No. 504-69

### RESUME.

Ludwig Martens continues to give more general testimony before the Lusk Committee, and has so far evaded various Court orders requiring him to produce his correspondence with the Soviet Government.

The Immigration Committee of the House continued to take testimony on Ellis Island, the bearing of which showed a decided tendency towards revising and speeding up the present system of handling radical aliens.

A final decision in the case of Emma Goldman has been announced, and she will be deported shortly to European Russia, presumably with Alexander Berkman who is under a similar sentence. Several more indictments were secured against New York Communists, and numerous I. W. W.'s have been put under arrest.

Supreme Court Justice Gavegan, in New York, refused to reopen the case against the Rand School, and pending further action by the State, the case is therefore closed.

The trial of the ten suspects in the Centralia murders has commenced. In Seattle feeling is still bitter, and inflammatory appeals from both sides have been held up by Federal authorities. Counter measures against radicalism have been taken in Boston, Denver and by the Colorado State Government.

The I. W. W. is working up a big campaign for members and prestige on the basis of the Chicago appeal, which comes up for hearing January 6th. All the thirty men released on bail are actually fomenting trouble, - most of them in the executive jobs they held when arrested. Meanwhile, the I. W. W. has taken a spurt of increased energy and influence, and is linking up with Communists and other political movements, though its success in boring in the American Federation of Labor has received a set-back.

The coal strike increased in seriousness, and the miners if anything have increased their forces during the week. Coal production has revived, but the shortage is severe in the middle west. The Government plans to present elaborate evidence of an industrial conspiracy on December 9th.

Four strikes were ended during the week, involving about 52,000 men. One hundred forty-eight strikes were reported as continuing, involving about 600,000 men.

Twelve new strikes were reported, involving about 5,000 men.

Fifty-seven strikes are threatened, involving about 550,000 men.

I. W. W. propaganda among the negroes is noted at Gary and at Bisbee, Arizona.

A canvass has been taken among Federal troops, on the question of strike duty, and it is believed that with a few exceptions they can be implicitly relied upon. The morale of troops in the strike zone continues to be high.

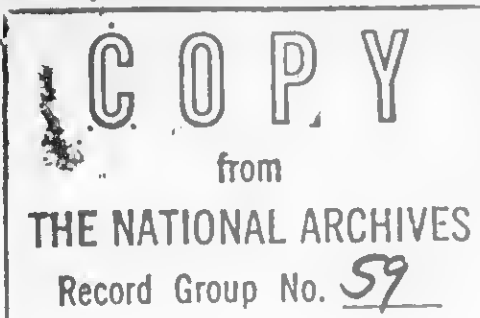
Captain Sadoul, member of the French military mission to Russia, who deserted to the Bolsheviks, has been sentenced to death by court martial although he is still in Russia. The agitation for the nationalization of the mines still continues vigorously in England; profiteering and the housing question are important secondary causes of unrest, and and ominous arrangements of the cooperative societies to put their resources at the disposal of the labor movement are being opposed by conservative members. There is no improvement in the radical attitude of British ex-service men. Soviet Russia is pushing propaganda in India, Afghanistan, and China. There are signs that Japanese Imperialism is regarding Bolshevism as a convenience for its larger purposes.

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the Chief Special Agent  
File No. 504-69

The Committee has issued a statement in the press, promising a speedy movement of "Reds" back to Europe, also strongly favoring the removal of the final disposition of deportation cases from Washington, under the Department of Labor, and transferring them either to the Department of Justice, or to a special Assistant Secretary of Labor at Ellis Island.

### GOLDMAN AND BERKMAN TO BE DEPORTED:

A final decision on the case of Emma Goldman was taken on November 29th, when it was announced that the Department of Labor had at last passed favorably on her deportation. She will probably be sent to Russia by way of the Baltic Sea, into the territory controlled by the Soviet Government. Her actual deportation is expected to take place within a few days, and Alexander Berkman, whose case was disposed of a short time previous to that of Miss Goldman, will probably accompany her.

### PROSECUTION OF RADICALS:

The indictment of James Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow for criminal anarchy on November 26th has been followed by several other indictments by the Grand Jury, including two anarchists now held at Ellis Island who distributed copies of the notorious "Anarchist Commune Soviet Bulletin". The Bronx County Grand Jury has also indicted two Communists prominent in the local party.

Among the important I. W. W.'s and radicals arrested throughout the country are Stephen Smith and L. C. Hall, local I. W. W. leaders in Minneapolis, Andrew Nazaruk, leader in Northern New Jersey of the Union of Russian Workers, and 15 radical propagandists in Akron, Ohio, accused of planning disruptive measures among the rubber workers.

In West Virginia seven radical leaders were arrested at Clarksburg, seven more at Wendel, and the general prosecution against radicals in this inflammatory area was vigorously pushed. A raid was also made on the I. W. W. headquarters at Portsmouth, Virginia, the seat of the recently threatened trouble between union and non-union miners on the

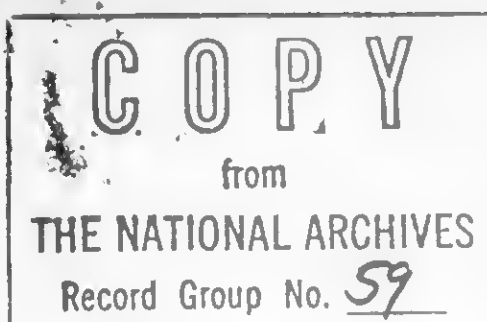


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File No. 504-69

- 28 -

"Industrial Worker" of Seattle, November 15th, calling for a Japanese member of the I. W. W. to read proof on Japanese pamphlet work.

Wrisley Brown,  
Lieut. Colonel, U. S. Army,  
Chief, Foreign Influence Section.

las.

31

583

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919] Dec. [3] Washington [D.C. to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and Chief] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / L. Lanier Winslow, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Winslow sends Burke a letter for his interest.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December



15446

Frank Burke, Esquire,

Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice.

FILE  
T.F.B.

Dear Mr. Burke:

I enclose a letter with enclosure, addressed to the Secretary, which is rather a remarkable document. This for your information and for such action as you may deem worth while in the premises.

Very truly yours,

L. Lanier Winslow.

B

C-1

Enc.

NOT  
P

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Meeting West Side Auditorium [Chicago] 1919 Dec. 3 /  
Patriotic American League. — 1 p. ; 31 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Patriotic American League agent 308 briefly describes the December 3 meeting at the West Side Auditorium in Chicago at which Goldman spoke on deportation.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810331077.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

## Patriotic American League

REPORT MADE BY: American Pro. League	PLACE WHERE MADE: Chicago, Ill.	DATE WHEN MADE: 12-3, 19	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 12-3-19
---	------------------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------------

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION

In Re: Meeting West Side Auditorium, Dec. 3rd. 1919

STATEMENT OF OPERATION EVIDENCE COLLECTED NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED. PLACES VISITED, ETC.

At Chicago

IN REPORTING  
PLEASE REFER TO CASE

#1151

A.P.L. CHICAGO

The following report made by #508:

Meeting opened at 8:15 P.M. by Chairman who's name was not mentioned. Chairman mostly spoke in regards to some of the valuable books etc. that they still had on hand, which he thought would be of great value to every one in the audience and the proceeds that were collected for these books were to be used for the purpose of fighting the deportation case that was facing Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and the rest of the Aliens that were also facing this deportation law.

The next speaker of the evening was Emma Goldman who talked in Alexander Berkman's behalf also explaining the reason why Berkman was present at the meeting. She said that both of them were served with the notice stating that they were to be at Ellis Island in New York by Friday noon and in order to make arrangements with their lawyers and to see some of their other Co-workers and friends one of them was obliged to leave earlier so Berkman left Tuesday night. The farewell message that he wished Emma Goldman to deliver for him at this meeting was that no matter in what Country he may land into he would say here I am and my ideals will never change. She also stated that he or any body else does not know how long he will have to stay in prison or when he will be deported, but he hopes to address them all personally in Soviet Russia where the people will not have to be afraid of any police or Government man watching them ( This was all that she had to say in Berkman's behalf and in regards to herself she would speak later)

Next Speaker was L. Nathanson, who's main subjects were the departing of their two greatest Educators Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman who have to report to Ellis Island Friday and await their deportation.

Further; he said, that by removing these two great educators from this Country this would not deaden the spirit and work of the people that believed in them. They will have circulars printed and distributed all over the country and get over One Million new members for their organization in the City of Chicago alone to keep up the work that has been successfully begun by these two great Educators.

By deporting Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman it would not stop them but would encourage them that more and the Washington Officials would then take notice.

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO

67-577

Chicago Office

Copy I.O.

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586



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 3 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Spolensky reports on Berkman and Goldman's plans for leaving Chicago.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>J. Spolansky</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Chicago, Ill.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Dec. 3, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Dec. 2, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In re: Alexander Berkman Anarchist Matter.</b>			
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:  <p><b>AT CHICAGO:</b></p> <p>Pursuant to instructions of Division Superintendent Edw. J. Brennan, Employee kept subject under surveillance all day. About six o'clock in the evening, Employee learned that subject will leave Chicago on the Michigan Central Railroad, Train No. 40, at 8:00 P.M. Arrangements were made with Agents Loebl and Loula, and they were placed on the same train with subject.</p> <p>In view of the secrecy which surrounded his departure, it is possible that he will try to cross the Canadian border. <u>Ben Beitman</u> purchased the tickets.</p> <p>Emma Goldman will leave on the 4th of December at 12:40 P.M. on the Twentieth Century Limited, car number 143, lower berth 13, and 14. She will be accompanied by a girl named Hilda.</p> <p>The room at the New Southern Hotel previously occupied by Alexander Berkman, is now occupied by Jake Margolis, the Pittsburg anarchist.</p>			
COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Washington 2 Chicago 2 JS:JKB P.L.</b>			

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587

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 3, Chicago [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan explains how his agents are following Berkman and Goldman separately on their return to New York.

Notes: Broken type; dark copy; barely legible. For telegram mentioned, see 880606282. For coded version, see 880606286.

15446

16 U.C. 97 C.R.

Chicago, Ill. December 3, 1919.

Part 6,

Department Justice, Washington, D. C.

Five stop. Your telegram re Berkman and Goldman not delivered until nine this A. M. was not transmitted from Washington until six fifty last night period have wired New York office as follows quote Alexander Berkman left Chicago last night eight via Michigan Central train west forty car five ten lower berth eight baggage check seven eight six naught seven naught came agents Louis and Lechl on same train period due seven thirty this Wednesday evening New York City and quote period information is that Emma Goldman is to leave here Thursday twentieth century for New York/

Brennan.

11:50 P. M.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 3, Chicago [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Dark copy. Coded version of 880606285.

105.C. 970.B.

Chicago, Ill., December 3, 1919.

Burke,

Department Justice,

Washington, D.C.

Five stop your telegram re Bouxstep and Livmtep not delivered until  
nine this A.M. was not transmitted from Washington until six fifty  
last night period have wired New York office as follows quote remo-  
netize bouxstep left squirmate last night eight via Michigan Cen-  
tral train over Tons car outflanked hellenic lower berth eight bag-  
gage check seven eight six naught seven naught comma regressively  
viave and vionhv on fecund hybridize period due seven thirty this  
Wednesday evening giliate end quote period information is that  
outte sivmtep is to leave here honeymoon twentieth century for oil-  
late.

Brennan.

12:50 p.m.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

830214048

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 3, New York [to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.—  
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Weinberger asks Abercrombie why he is sending mail about Goldman and Berkman to David Bernstein.

Notes: Handwritten margin notes by Abercrombie and W.J. Peters in response. For related documents, see 850712337, 830214049, and 850712344.

HARRY WEINBERGER  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
261 BROADWAY, NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

524  
43

December 3rd, 1919.

Hon. John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I received the following telegram from

Dec. 2, 1919.

David Bernstein,  
c/o American Legal Defense League,  
261 Broadway, New York City.

Department has twice wired Attorney  
Weinberger demanding production surrender and  
deliver Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman at  
Ellis Island at or before noon fifth instant.  
It expects this demand to be complied with

Abercrombie."

Will you please inform me by return mail where  
you get the name of David Bernstein also c/o American Legal  
Defense League, as no telegrams, letters or anything have  
ever been sent you in the name of David Bernstein or the  
American Legal Defense League, and neither of them have any  
connection with any cases handled by me in either the Labor  
Department or the Immigration Department. I cannot under-  
stand why a telegram was sent in this way.

Very truly yours,

Harry Weinberger

HW/LCW

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590



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 3, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[ntony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caminetti refuses to allow Goldman and Berkman to select their place of deportation or pay for their own deportation. He assures Weinberger that the government is sending them to Soviet Russia.

Notes: Reply to 830214054.

### U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION

WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,  
AND REFER TO

No.

December 3, 1919.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

1. Your letter of the 1st instant, in re case of Emma Goldman, is hereby acknowledged. In reply thereto the Bureau begs to state that it sees no necessity for a consultation on the method of putting decision in her case into execution.

2. As to your request for written assurance of the Department that neither Mr. Berkman nor Miss Goldman will be deported to any port of the world where their lives will actually be in danger, the Bureau would state that you already have the assurance that they will be deported in the usual way attending deportations by the Department of Labor to Soviet Russia. In relation to your request for a written answer to allow Mr. Berkman and Miss Goldman to select their own port and pay their own expenses of deportation, the Bureau states that the Government will select the port of embarkation, and deportation will be at its expense.

3. As to the remaining request for at least three months in order to be ready for deportation, the Bureau has to state that this request is not accompanied with the showing required in such applications, and in the form in which it is presented, the Bureau declines to consider the same.

Very truly yours,

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General.

AC-DH

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591

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 3 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].

- 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger arranges to provide bail for Goldman and Berkman soon after they arrive at Ellis  
Island for their deportation.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. For reply, see 850712355.

December 3, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

I expect to surrender Miss Emma Goldman  
and Mr. Alexander Berkman to Ellis Island on Friday before  
noon. It will be necessary on habeas corpus proceedings  
for the purpose of obtaining their release, to deposit bail,  
and the bonds now in your possession are the ones I desire  
to use for that purpose.

Will you wire me collect whether I may expect  
you to send bonds by express immediately upon notification by  
Ellis Island that Mr. Berkman and Miss Goldman have been sur-  
rendered to them. I desire, if possible, to have these bonds  
in New York by express early Saturday morning.

Thanking you, I am

Respectfully yours,

AW/ICW

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor]. — 1 p.; 19 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Abercrombie promises to return Goldman and Berkman's bail bonds as soon as he is notified that they arrived at Ellis Island.

Notes: Reply to 850712349. For follow-up, see 850712360. For transcription, see 850712356.

## POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES

RECEIVED AT  
20 BROAD STREET  
ALWAYS OPEN  
NEW YORK CITY  
PHONE: 1278, 1279 RECTOR

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT

# TELEGRAM

DELIVERY NO.

227

The Postal Telegraph Cable Company (Incorporated) transmits and delivers this message subject to the terms and conditions printed on the back of this blank

This is a fast Day Telegram unless otherwise indicated by signal after the number of words: "N. L." (Night Lettergram) or "Nite" (Night Telegram). 18-28436

320 CZ 54 COLLECT 155PM

RR WASHINGTON DC DEC 4 1919

HARRY WEINBERG ESG

261 BROADWAY NEWYORK NY

TEL. BARCLAY 5100

DEC 4 2 20 PM '19

ANSWERING YOUR LETTER THIRD YOU ARE INFORMED THAT WHEN DEPARTMENT  
IS OFFICIALLY ADVISED BY ELLIS ISLAND AUTHORITIES BERKMAN AND GOLDMAN  
HAVE BEEN SURENDERED INTO CUSTODY THERE IN ACCORDANCE WITH TELEGRAPHIC  
DEMAND FIRST INSTANT DEPOSIT IN EACH CASE WILL BE RETURNED TO  
DEPOSITER AT WASHINGTON DC OR EXPRESSED TO NEWYORK AT RISK  
AND COST DEPOSITER

ABERCROMBI

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

593

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W.] Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor. - 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
Notes: Transcript of 850712355.

Form 11

CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM  
COMMERCIAL RATE: COLLECT

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

52410/43

December 4, 1919.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

Answering your letter third you are informed that when Department is officially advised by Ellis Island authorities Berkman and Goldman have been surrendered into custody there in accordance with telegraphic demand first instant, deposit in each case will be returned to depositor at Washington, D. C., or expressed to New York at risk and cost depositor.

ABERCROMBIE  
-----  
Attest:

WJP:REN

Acting Secretary.

\* \* \* \* \*

The above is an official copy of telegram sent this day.

*A. M. Smith*  
Commissioner General.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p.; 19 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caminetti reprimands Weinberger for telling the press that the government would allow Russian deportees to take their families with them, since he only promised to consider a request.

Notes: For reply, see 850712365. For related document, see 850712342. For transcription, see 850712354.

## POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT.

RECEIVED AT  
COTTON EXCHANGE  
NEW YORK CITY  
PHONE 516 HANOVER

# TELEGRAM

DELIVERY NO.

351

The Postal Telegraph-Cable Company (Incorporated) transmits and delivers this message subject to the terms and conditions printed on the back of this blank.

This is a fast Day Telegram unless otherwise indicated by signal after the number of words:—"N. L." (Night Lettergram) or "Nite" (Night Telegram). 18-29250

89W TX 425P 84 GOVT.

BS. WASHINGTON DC DEC 4TH 1919

HARRY WEINBERGER ESQ

261 BROADWAY NEWYORKCITY

IN ANSWER <sup>TO</sup> YOUR QUESTION BUREAU STATED THAT AS YOU HAD  
A CLIENT ORDERED DEPORTED TO RUSSIA WHO HAD A FAMILY  
SUGGESTION OF PERMITTING FAMILY TO ACCOMPANY HIM WOULD BE CONSIDERED  
IF PRESENTED BUT BUREAU DID NOT DECIDE THE QUESTION IN  
ADVANCE AND DOES NOT NOW SAY IT WILL PERMIT FAMILY  
TO ACCOMPANY <sup>DEPORTED</sup> ALIEN I HAVE GIVEN THIS MESSAGE TO THE  
PRESS SINCE YOU SEEM TO HAVE GIVEN OUT FOR PUBLICATION  
AN ERRONOUS STATEMENT

CAMINETTI

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# 595

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: Transcript of 850712353.

Form 11

## CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1919.

52410/43

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

In answer to your question Bureau stated that if you had a client ordered deported to Russia who had a family suggestion of permitting family to accompany him would be considered if presented, but Bureau did not decide the question in advance and does not now say it will permit family to accompany deported alien. I have given this message to the press since you seem to have given out for publication an erroneous statement.

CAMINETTI

-----  
Attest:

WJP\*REM

Commissioner General.

\* \* \* \* \*

The above is an official copy of telegram sent this day.

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General

14-468

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.  
— 1 p. ; 19 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger needs to know when the Department of Labor plans to deport Goldman and  
Berkman in order to file his habeas corpus petition.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. For reply, see 850712359.

### POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT.

## TELEGRAM

#### CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

FAST DAY TELEGRAM

NIGHT TELEGRAM

NIGHT LETTERGRAM

THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.

RECEIVER'S NUMBER

CHECK

TIME FILED

THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY (INCORPORATED)  
TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE  
TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.

Form 1

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the  
terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

December 4, 1919.

WESTERN UNION.

Rush important.

A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Kindly wire me by rush wire collect if  
the department knows how soon after surrender they can  
deport Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and other Russians  
to Soviet Russia or is the time indefinite pending recognition  
of present government of Soviet Russia by the State Department  
Important for Court proceedings that I have this information  
at once

HARRY WEINBERGER.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

850712359

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p.; 17 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caminetti assures Weinberger that the Department of Labor will deport Goldman and Berkman as soon as practicable.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 850712351. For transcription, see 850712357.

Form 1201

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Red
Night Letter	RL

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

WESTERN UNION  
TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Red
Night Letter	RL

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT

138. U 46 COLLECT 4 EXTRA TIS ANSWER

BR, WASHINGTON DC 1242PM DEC 4 1919

HARRY WEINBERGER

261 BROADWAY NEWYORKCITY

YOUR MESSAGE DECEMBER FOUR EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN WILL

BE REPORTED TO RUSSIA AT THE EARLIEST PRACTICABLE DATE AND

ARRANGEMENTS TO THAT END ARE BEING MADE THE BALANCE OF

YOUR MESSAGE INVOLVING MATTERS NOT PERTINENT TO PENDING PROCEEDINGS NOT CONSIDERED

A CAMINETTI

COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION

1246PM

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598



# The Emma Goldman Papers

850712357

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Transcript of 850712359.

XXXXXXXXXX

Form II

CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

COMMERCIAL COLLECT:

Dec. 4, 1919.

Harry Weinberger,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N.Y.

Your message December four. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman will be deported to Russia at the earliest practicable date and arrangements to that end are being made. The balance of your message, involving matters not pertinent to pending proceedings, not considered.

AC/m

Commissioner-General of Immigration.

XX

\* \* \* \* \*

The above is an official copy of telegram sent this day.

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General.

14-468

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599

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 4 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks Caminetti to allow Berkman's common-law wife to accompany him to Russia.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For reply, see 850712363, 850712364, and 850712368.

December 4, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:—

I herewith file application that you  
allow the common law wife of Alexander Berkman, to  
be deported with him.

Kindly wire me collect, if this application  
will be granted.

Very truly yours,

HW/CW

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

600

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 4, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Weinberger asks Caminetti if Goldman and Berkman may pay extra to get first-class accommodations for their deportation.

Notes: Broken type. For reply, see 870716002.

201 BROADWAY, NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

December 4, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

Will you kindly inform me if Mr. Alexander Berkman and Miss Emma Goldman are actually deported, whether the government will allow them to pay the difference between third-class accommodations and first-class accommodations, so that they may go as first-class passengers. The precedent for the granting of this request is the case of John Turner, who I believe was deported in 1903.

Kindly wire me.

Very truly yours,

*Harry Weinberger*

HW/ICW

*File Div.*

*All deportees in 1st class consent to pay difference for deportation under the provisions of the immigration laws will be made special privileges will be permitted. Request is therefore denied Dec 6/19*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

601

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram, 1919 Dec. 4, New York to] Louis F. Post [Assistant Secretary of Labor]  
Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 12 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger fears that the government plans to deport Berkman and Goldman before he has time to file their habeas corpus petition. He asks for reassurance.

**Notes:** Broken type; barely legible. For reply, see 850712362.

WESTERN UNION --- Rush Message

LOUIS F. POST  
Department of Labor  
Washington, D. C.

Wiro me rush tologram how soon government able  
to deport Berkman and Goldman. Is it the department's  
intention to allow me sufficient time to obtain habeas  
corpus and stays from United States Court? When is  
Alexander Berkman to be deported.

Harry Weinberger

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602



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram, 1919 Dec. 4] Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor]. — 1 p.; 17 x 22 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
 Summary: Abercrombie refuses to give Weinberger any more information about the timing of Goldman and Berkman's deportation.  
 Notes: Broken type. Reply to 850712361.

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	GL
Night Message	ML
Night Letter	NL

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

## WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	GL
Night Message	ML
Night Letter	NL

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT

73 GOVT

D276

WA WASHINGTON DC 659 P 4

HARRY WEINBERGER

ATTORNEY AT LAW NEWYORK NY

YOUR TELEGRAM THIS DATE TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY POST RECEIVED IN HIS ABSENCE COMMISSIONER GENERAL INFORMS ME HE HAS WIRED YOU FULLY CONCERNING DEPORTATION OF EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN THERE IS NOTHING TO ADD IN THAT PARTICULAR TO WHAT HE HAS STATED IT IS NOT THE POLICY OF THE DEPARTMENT TO AID OR HINDER ALIENS IN SECURING WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS

JOHN W AMBERCROMBIE ACTING SECRETARY.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

603

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 4 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / Frank K. Nebeker, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Nebeker gives Caffey detailed instructions on how to respond to the legal points raised in Goldman and Berkman's habeas corpus petitions.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

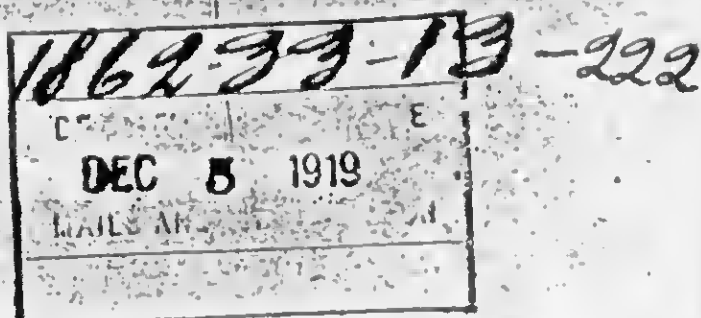
Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JEH-GPO

186233-13

December 4, 1919.

Francis G. Caffey, Esq.,  
United States Attorney,  
New York City.



Sir:

This Department is in receipt of information to the effect that Mr. Harry Weinberger, attorney for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, will institute habeas corpus proceedings in each of these cases the latter part of this week or the first part of next week. Both of these subjects have been ordered to be deported by the Secretary of Labor to Russia and arrangements are being effected whereby deportation will be shortly carried out.

From information received, it appears that the points Mr. Weinberger will raise in the Berkman case are as follows:

1. No prospect of early deportation;
2. Subject should be released upon bond pending actual deportation.

The first point may be answered by the reply that the Commissioner-General of Immigration is making the necessary arrangements for a speedy deportation of this subject, which will probably be effected within a very short while. The second point, of course, is a point of law, upon which you will no doubt be able to obtain the necessary information from the officials at Ellis Island. I am advised that both of the subjects -- Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman -- are to surrender themselves to the officials at Ellis Island on Friday December fifth at 12 noon and at that time bond will be cancelled. I understand the point that will be raised by Emma Goldman is that she is an American citizen through the naturalization of her husband. The record in the Emma Goldman deportation case contains all of the pertinent facts upon this matter. While it has never been fully established that Jacob Kersner was lawfully married to Emma Goldman, yet the government has assumed that such marriage has taken place, if not by ceremony, at least by common law. The husband of Emma Goldman, Jacob A. Kersner, received a certificate of naturalization in the County Court of Monroe County, New York, on October 18, 1884. He is purported to have married Emma Goldman in 1887. He is also reported to have been

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 4 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / Frank K. Nebeker, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Nebeker gives Caffey detailed instructions on how to respond to the legal points raised in Goldman and Berkman's habeas corpus petitions.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Francis G. Caffey, Esq., -2- JHM-GPO 12/4/19

diverged in the latter part of 1888 or the early part of 1889. As a result of an investigation made by the naturalization authorities, suit was instituted against Jacob A. Kersner on April 8, 1909 to have his certificate of naturalization cancelled for the reason that Kersner was not at the time he was naturalized and procured such certificate of naturalization entitled thereto and was not entitled to admission as a citizen of the United States of America and for that reason was not a duly naturalized citizen of the United States of America. I understand that it is the contention of Mr. Weinberger that Emma Goldman should have been joined as a party to the de-naturalization proceedings. However, as you no doubt are cognizant that the authorities hold to the contrary, I have been further informed that it may be contended by Mr. Weinberger at the time of the denaturalization of Kersner he was dead. Confidential investigations have been conducted by the Bureau of Investigation of this Department with the result that it has been definitely ascertained that Kersner died on January 18, 1919, at Chicago, thus defeating any such contention which might be advanced by the attorney for Emma Goldman.

It is desired that your personal attention be given to the handling of the habeas corpus proceedings in each of these cases, in view of the importance of the same. The utmost expedition should be adopted in having the court reach a final decision, as it is desired that both of these subjects be included in the first lot of persons deported to Russia, which will be within the course of a few weeks. This latter information is of course to be treated strictly confidential.

The Department further desires that you keep it fully advised as to progress made in these cases and if any additional information is needed, you should communicate with Ellis Island and with this Department, as much time has been spent in the preparation of the cases involved.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

(Signed) Frank K. Nebeker

Assistant Attorney General.

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605

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 4, Washington [D.C. to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General  
[Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] B. Wilson, Secretary [of Labor]  
Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Wilson assures Palmer that the Department of Labor will deport Berkman and Goldman to Russia as soon as possible.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

## DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON

52410/43

December 4, 1919.

The Honorable

The Attorney General:

S i r:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ultimo, in which you express the wish that the deportation from the United States of the alien Alexander Berkman may be accomplished without undue delay, and that he be returned to Russia, the country whence he came to the United States, and not permitted to choose the country to which he is to be deported, or depart for some country of his own choosing and at his own expense.

You have doubtless been advised before this time that the deportation of Berkman to Russia has been directed in formal warrant of this Department, and that demand has been made, under the terms of the bond which has been submitted on his behalf, that he be delivered at Ellis Island at or before noon on the fifth instant. The Department has today received advices from Berkman's attorney (Mr. Harry Weinberger) to the effect that both he and Emma Goldman will be delivered at or before the time stated, and that it is his intention to immediately sue out a writ of habeas corpus for the purpose of testing the authority of the Department to hold these aliens. Of course, the Department has no idea of deporting Berkman to any country other than Russia, and can not favorably consider his application that he be permitted to depart from the United States, as a voluntary passenger for some country or place to be chosen by him. It is the intention of the Department to accomplish the deportation of both Berkman and Goldman at the earliest possible moment.

Very truly yours,

W. B. Wilson

Secretary.

WJP:REM

JAN 3 1920

186233-13-221

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606



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 4, Chicago [to] Maclay Hoyne [United] States Attorney [Department of Justice], Chicago / John B. Campbell, Acting Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].— 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Campbell sends reports on two of Goldman's Chicago meetings in November 1919 to Hoyne in Chicago.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810331075 and 880429008.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF

DEC 6 10110-154  
39  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
1024

DIO-II 5508/60 December 4, 1919.

CAPTAIN SNOW  
M. I. 4.

From: The Acting Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.

To: Hon. Maclay Hoyne, States Atty.,  
W. Austin Ave. & N. Dearborn St.,  
Chicago, Ill.

ATTENTION: MR. GEORGE KENNEY

SUBJECT: EMMA GOLDMAN-ALEXANDER BERKMAN MEETINGS.

(DMI No. 10668-426 M. I. 4)

1. Enclosed, herewith, copies of reports concerning  
EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN meetings in Chicago,  
November 29th and 30th.

2. Enclosures are self-explanatory.

DVB-

JOHN B. CAMPBELL,  
CAPTAIN, U. S. A.

Encl. 2 copies report concerning meeting 11-29-19; (2 pgs.)  
" " " " " " 11-30-19; (3 pgs.)  
" " " " " " 11-29-19; (5 pgs.)

(Copy to DMI, with encls.  
" " Major Strauss, with encls.)

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607

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 4, Chicago [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / John B. Campbell, Acting Department Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department.—  
1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Campbell sends a report on Goldman's Chicago banquet to the director of Military Intelligence.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810331107.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT  
CHICAGO

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
10110-803  
840-  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
1024

DIO-II  
5508/66

December 4, 1919. CAPTAIN SNOW  
M. I. 4.

From: The Acting Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.  
To: The Director of Military Intelligence - Washington, D.C.  
Subject: BANQUET INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE - DEC. 1, 1919

1. Inclosed for your information is a copy of a Patriotic American League report dated Dec. 2n, 1919 concerning a banquet given by the International Workers Defense League at the Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Dec. 2, 1919 in honor of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

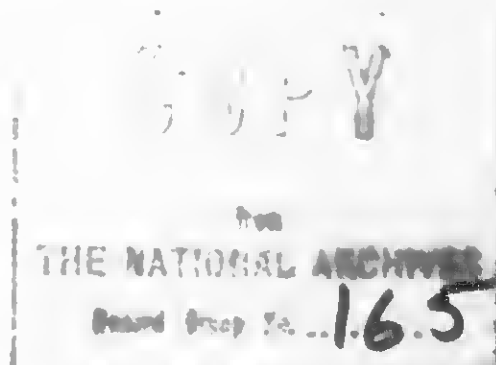
John B. Campbell  
John B. Campbell,  
Captain, U.S.A.

CMB  
SMM

1 Incl. (Report Dec. 2 1919.)

CC to Major Strauss with incl  
CC to State's Atty's office with incl.  
Attention Mr. Geo. Kenney.

DEPARTED  
1919 DEC 6 PM 3 05  
M.I.



Chief of Staff  
Mil. Intell.  
Dir. 10110-853  
845

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on William D. Haywood] Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 / Castle M. Brown [Agent? Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.  
Summary: Brown summarizes the Chicago office's information on William Haywood's activities, including a report that he planned a race riot with Goldman in 1914.  
Notes: Broken type; portions illegible.

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
REPORT

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
1922  
10110-235  
8/15  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
3282

PERSON	REPORTED BY
SUBJECT	PLACE
OFFENSE CHARGED	DATE
WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD	Chicago
	Dec. 4, 1919.

The following is a summary, in index form of all information in the files of the Department Intelligence Office, concerning the personal activities of the subject:

DATE	U.S.C. NO.	NATURE OF ACTIVITY	REFERENCE
April, 1914	7316	Haywood in conjunction with Emma Goldman, planned uprising of 1919.	Emma Goldman.
April, 1917	7316	Haywood's agents help to foment the East St. Louis race riot.	
Apr. 12, '19	6008	Haywood admitted to bail - bond signed by M.M. McIntosh of Georgia, Ills.	M.M. McIntosh of Georgia, Ills.
Aug. 1919	8808/27	Circular addressed to "Colored Workmen and Women" signed Wm. D. Haywood, distributed in Chicago.	
Aug. 17, 1919	8808/27	The I.W.O. called a meeting of the waiters in the "Cochran, Thompson and Messerer" restaurants, which Haywood attended. The meeting was followed by a riot.	James McHugh - Jack Miller John Siskier.
Nov. 2, '19	7316	Haywood reported to be conversing with the I.W.O. then a Finnish woman, a relative of Leo Leitch, convicted I.W.O. leader.	Leitch Martens Finnish woman (name illegible)
Nov. 2, '19	7316	Attended Communist Convention in Chicago.	
Nov. 1, '19	7316	Call sent out by subject to all I.W.O. delegates at Communist Convention, to have all I.W.O. members naturalized.	
		Haywood stated to a person in attendance at the Communist Convention, that he had swapped the coal districts with expert organizers and that there would be "something done" in the West Va. district very soon, as some of the men there assigned were ex-soldiers who knew how to shoot.	

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner, Emma Goldman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 / P[eter] P. Mindak [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p.; 26 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Mindak reports that he looked unsuccessfully for Jacob Kersner's death certificate on November 18, 1919.

Notes:

15446 R

REPORT MADE BY: <b>P. P. MINDAK.</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>CHICAGO ILL.</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>DEC 4, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In re: Jacob Kersner, Emma Goldman</b>		DATE WHEN MADE: <b>NOV. 18 '19</b>
<b>ANARCHIST MATTER</b>		
<p>CONTENTS OF REPORTS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.</p> <p>Referring to telegram of the Chief in which request was made to secure certified copy of death record of <u>Jacob Kersner</u>, alleged husband of <u>Emma Goldman</u>. Beg to report employee spent entire day checking over records of deaths in office of County Clerk of Cook County, as well as office of Registrar of Vital Statistics, Department of Health, City Hall. Records of deaths were checked back as far as 1870 but no record could be found of the death of any such party as Jacob Kersner. If Kersner had died in this County, he must have used an assumed name, or there would have been some record of same.</p>		
<p>COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: 2 Washington- 1 Chicago.</p>		

Noted  
P.D.G.

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610



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 26 × 19 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Agent Spolansky reports on his surveillance of Goldman.

REPORT MADE BY: J. Spolansky	PLACE WHERE MADE: Chicago, Ill.	DATE WHEN MADE: Dec. 4, 1919.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 12-3-4/19
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NAME OF PARTY CODED INVESTIGATION In re: <u>Emma Goldman</u> <u>Anarchist Matter.</u>			
CONTENTS OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.			
<p>AT CHICAGO:</p> <p>Pursuant to instructions of Division Superintendent Edward J. Brennan, Employee kept subject under surveillance from 7:00 P.M. Dec. 3, until 2:00 A.M. Dec. 4, and from 11:00 A.M. Dec. 4, until 12:40 P.M. Dec. 4, 1919.</p> <p>Last night (Dec. 3) subject attended a meeting at the West Side Auditorium, from which place she proceeded to the house of <u>Ben Reitman</u>, who resides at 53 East Walton St. Subject remained in this house until about 1:30. On Dec. 4 subject left the New Southern Hotel at 12:00 o'clock, accompanied by <u>Ben Reitman</u>, <u>Dr. Nathanson</u>, <u>Leon Green</u>, and an unknown woman.</p> <p>At the station <u>Jake Margolis</u> joined them. Subject entered the train at 12:30 with <u>Katherine Erwing</u>, who is to accompany her to New York. Agent <u>Wolff</u>, of this office, occupies a berth next to subject.</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 2 Chicago 2 JS:JEB P.L.			

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611

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 / Jas. O. Peyronnin [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Peyronnin reports on Goldman's speech at the West Side Auditorium in Chicago, paraphrasing some of her remarks and describing the crowd and atmosphere.

REPORT MADE BY: <b>Jas O. Peyronnin</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Chicago, Ill.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Dec. 4, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Dec. 3, 1919</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE OR NAME OF BATTERED ORDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In re: EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago.</b>			
NATURE OF OFFENSES, OFFENSES COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC. <b>AT CHICAGO</b>			
<p>As directed, Employee attended the above mentioned meeting this night at the West Side Auditorium, 8 P.M., where the above mentioned subjects, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were advertised by small "card" notices to speak on the subject "WHY AMERICA'S OPPOSITION TO SOVIET RUSSIA?". Almost an hour before the opening of the meeting, the auditorium was filled to capacity, approximately 1500 persons or more were present. It was ascertained from a confidential informant that \$590.50 was taken in at the door, the price of admission being 50 cents. The collection from the assemblage during the meeting on appeals by the chairman of the meeting amounted to \$204.64.</p> <p>The gathering responded with deafening applause on the appearance of Emma Goldman on the speakers platform.</p> <p>Jake Margolis, an Attorney of Pittsburg and classed as an anarchist acted as chairman of the meeting, and at the inception of his short speech to the assemblage remarked that he was aware of the large number of plain clothes men/<sup>present</sup> from police headquarters, as well as representatives of the press, agents of the capitalists, and of the Government. He made no remarks (of any nature) that would be of interest to the Department.</p> <p>Emma Goldman was then introduced by the chairman as the first speaker of the evening, and following are some of the remarks which she made and which the Department may be interested to know.</p> <p>"Berkman was not called from Chicago, the demand for both of us arrived yesterday, or rather Monday. We have to be on Ellis Island Friday noon, and it was absolutely necessary that one of us should go to New York as quickly as possible in order to arrange our affairs and see our attorney, and to see a few of our more intimate workers and friends. So Alexander Berkman will not</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FORWARDED TO: <b>Washington 3 ✓ Chicago 1</b>		Page 1	

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612

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 / Jas. O. Peyronnin [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Peyronnin reports on Goldman's speech at the West Side Auditorium in Chicago, paraphrasing some of her remarks and describing the crowd and atmosphere.

Report Form No. 1

Jas O. Peyronnin

December

In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

be with you tonight. I have arranged to leave the city tomorrow morning and be in time to surrender at Ellis Island on Friday noon. Berkman dedicated his life to the emancipation of the working class, and when Berkman dies, he will have something more powerful, more tremendous, more far-reaching than "Frick" could take with him, he will have the love of the world. Frick you will remember died on the night of the banquet where men and women of Chicago had gathered at the Morrison Hotel at this banquet in ~~xxxx~~ respect to Alexander Berkman and myself, and that same night Mr. Frick, who accumulated millions at the expense of sweat and blood of steel workers of Pennsylvania should have died, how peculiar.

It is certain that the powers in Washington will leave nothing undone to keep Berkman on Ellis Island until he is deported, of course, if they do not deport him right away we are going to make a desperate effort to get him out on bail, but we know it will be a desperate fight.

Berkman wants you to know that his last words will be, if anything happens to him, "Long Live Soviet Russia."

I tell you from my knowledge of the American people, and from what I know of the American people, that once they wake up they will fight more heroically than a great many give them credit at the present time. I know that the future of America will be to a large extent the future of Soviet Russia."

A Miss Nell or Ida Garthorpe, who claims to be a member of the British Labor Party, delivered a short talk on conditions in England and regarding her imprisonment in that country. She stated that at all times her heart was with the working classes, but that she was a physical opponent to physical violence, that she never used violence, never intended to, but that she was a mental fighter. None of her remarks dwelt on questions pertaining to this country.

Page -2-

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613



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Chicago [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan notifies Burke of the arrangements to follow Goldman from Chicago to New York.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For coded version, see 880606292.

15446

38 W.O. 58 G. N.

Chicago, Ill., December 4, 1919.

For to,

Department Justice,

Washington, D. C.

Five stop have sent the following telegram to Lamb New York quote  
Emma Goldman accompanied by Catherine Irving left Chicago twelve  
forty P. M. today via New York Central train number twenty six  
Twentieth Century car four three one lower berth thirteen and  
fourteen due to arrive in New York nine forty A. M. tomorrow under  
surveillance agent Wolf.

Brennan.

3:45 P. M.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 4, Chicago [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Edward J.] Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Coded version of 880606291.

387.O. 58G.R.

Chicago, Ill., December 4, 1919.

Burke,

Department Justice,

Washington.

Five stop have sent the following telegram to Lamb New York  
quote outte rivatop accompanied by kelrouxupon uxqaps left  
Chicago twelve forty P.M. today via Ciliate spongier train  
number inadaptable impulsion sported car four three one lower  
berth thirteen and fourteen due to arrive in ciliate nine forty  
A.M. tomorrow under gyved regressive cild.

Brennan.

3:55 p.m.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 4, Chicago [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Brennan summarizes the results of Agent Sturgis's investigations into Jacob Kersner's life in Chicago.

Notes: Broken type. For affidavit mentioned, see 810113090.

## Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.

FIS:LMC

P. O. BOX 455

Chicago, Illinois  
December 4, 1919



ATTENTION J. E. HOOVER.

Frank Burke, Esq.,  
Assistant Director and Chief,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
U. S. Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

In re: Emma Goldman.

Special Agent Sturgis of this office interviewed one Benjamin Leibovitz, 509 So. Franklin St., care Majestic Tailors, who stated that he first met Jacob Kersner at Baltimore, Md. in 1907 or '08 and that he employed Kersner to work for him at this time. Leibovitz was then connected with Schloss Bros. Clothing Co. of Baltimore.

Kersner came to Chicago in 1909 or '10 and Leibovitz states he again employed him at that time, this being at the Majestic Tailors above-mentioned; Leibovitz having changed his connections in Baltimore to Chicago. He states he met Kersner through one Bloom, since deceased. Bloom introduced Kersner to him as Jacob Lewis. Leibovitz states he always understood that was his name until one Barney Joseph told him confidentially that Lewis' correct name was Kersner; that he was the husband of Emma Goldman. Affidavit of Barney Joseph has been taken and forwarded you.

Leibovitz further stated that Lewis had told him he was never married. He gave no more important facts.

Agent Sturgis also interviewed one Mrs. Tannenbaum of 1458 No. Washtenaw Ave. She stated that Kersner roomed at her house for a period of ten years, but that she always knew him under the name of Jacob Lewis until one time, about four years ago, when one Mrs. "Marie" met her and Kersner in a grocery store and said "Hello, Mr. Kersner." Kersner denied that that was his name and said he was Mr. Lewis. Mrs. Marie stated to Mrs. Tannenbaum that she knew he was Kersner, as she knew him when he lived at Rochester, N. Y.

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616

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 4, Chicago [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** Brennan summarizes the results of Agent Sturgis's investigations into Jacob Kersner's life in Chicago.  
**Notes:** Broken type. For affidavit mentioned, see 810113090.

PLS:RMC

#2

Chicago, Ill. Dec. 4, 1919

Frank Burke, Esq.

In re: Emma Goldman

Mrs. Tannenbaum further stated that the only reference Kersner ever made to her as to his nuptial relationship is the following statement: "I was disappointed in love once. Don't ask me any more."

Mrs. Tannenbaum states that at one time he told her that he was a citizen of the United States, having come to this country when he was 13 years of age. A number of times he told Mrs. Tannenbaum that he was going out to vote, on various election days.

Agent Sturgis will endeavor to locate Mrs. Marie; though Mrs. Tannenbaum did not know the correct spelling of her name, nor where she lived in Chicago.

Yours very truly,

Edward J. Brennan  
 Division Superintendent.

Noted  
 F.D.W.

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617

## The Emma Goldman Papers

Statement [on Political Deportations, 1919 Dec. 5] / Harry Weinberger.—  
4 p.; 34 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger argues that the deportation of Goldman and Berkman for their political opinions  
violates the rights of free expression for which America was established. He wonders if the government's  
reign of terror against radicals is intended to distract people from their economic problems.  
Notes: Broken type.

### STATEMENT OF HARRY WEINBERGER.

The Goldman-Berkman Habeas Corpus is now before the Court and whether their attempted deportation is a violation of the laws and Constitution of the United States, will be decided by the Court. To Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and their friends the case may be important, but to the People of the United States the principle involved is the greatest since the decision was made of whether we were to be a colony of England or a free republic.

The first word of sanity from any public Official was the statement by Senator William E. Borah in the United States Senate, as reported in the Tribune of December 4th, in which he said:

"Perhaps it will cause something of a shock but I may as well say that I am opposed to all deportations. If we once admit people here, we should take the consequences and look after them ourselves."

The despotisms of old used banishment of individuals as the worst form of punishment. To-day, here in America, we call it "deportations". Deportations here in America for holding economic, political or social views different from the administration or only some non-elected petty public official! Shades of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson!

As to where the Government intends to send Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman and the other Russians, assuming the Government has the power to send them, without recognizing the Bolshevik republic or according to the laws and Constitution of the United States, the letter of A. Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, to me disposes of the question.

"Harry Weinberger, Esq., December 3, 1919.  
261 Broadway,  
New York City.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Statement [on Political Deportations, 1919 Dec. 5] / Harry Weinberger.--  
4 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger argues that the deportation of Goldman and Berkman for their political opinions violates the rights of free expression for which America was established. He wonders if the government's reign of terror against radicals is intended to distract people from their economic problems.  
Notes: Broken type.

-2-

As to your request for written assurance of the Department that neither Mr. Berkman nor Miss Goldman will be deported to any port of the World where their lives will actually be in danger, the Bureau would state that you already have the assurance that they will be deported in the usual way attending deportations by the Department of Labor to Soviet Russia. In relation to your request for a written answer to allow Mr. Berkman and Miss Goldman to select their own port and pay their own expenses of deportation, the Bureau states that the Government will select the port of embarkation, and deportation will be at its expense.

Very truly yours,

A. Caminetti,

Commissioner General."

Is holding of economic and social opinions a crime?  
Can we advocate changes by legal and constitutional means?  
Is it a crime to hold opinions different from that of elected or non-elected public officials?

Protestants of America: Many of your ancestors were driven to America, and many were killed, by religious persecutions, for holding opinions different from the Catholic church.

Catholics of America: The history of your people shows persecutions of Catholics by Protestants in many of the countries of Europe for the opinions they held.

Jews of America: Every country of Europe has been covered with the blood of Jews who believed that they had the right to hold opinions of their relation to God different from the Christians of Europe. Your race has been jailed and beaten, deported and killed for holding that opinion.

America was established for the freedom of expression of all opinions.

Lawyers and Judges of America: Everyone is entitled to hold any opinion on any subject, religious, political, economic or social. It is not a crime, yet men are being

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Notes: Broken type.

-3-

beaten and jailed and deported for merely holding opinions and the bench and bar of America remains silent.

The right of men and women charged with "radicalism" to have their day in court represented by counsel, to have a fair trial, is almost gone. The lawyers of America have been intimidated by officials clothed with brief authority from taking so-called "radical cases" and the leaders of the bar and the judges on the bench have not raised their voices in protest.

Congress of America: The holding of meetings to express opinions on political, social and economic questions, including peace and the League of Nations, are ceasing in America. A super-government known as the American Legion is taking so-called law and order into its own hands and destroying every right guaranteed by the Constitution, with the consent and connivance of public officials and yet the tremendous word "impeachment" is not heard from you.

Public meetings are being broken up, agents of the government make raids, accompanied by beatings and destruction of property, all without warrant and in law, and no word of protest comes from anyone in authority.

Is the sole purpose of the new Reign of Terror to keep the minds of the people off the failure of this administration to put down the high cost of living?

Is the cry of Reds, Revolution and Bolshevism raised at the same time to cause people to fear to object to the pulling down of every vestige of liberty? Discontent based on economic necessity will not be stifled by jailing, bullying and beating of so-called Bolsheviks.

As far as the Russians are concerned, this government need not spend millions to deport them and trying to prove that they have opinions on questions of the day. All

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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**Summary:** Weinberger argues that the deportation of Goldman and Berkman for their political opinions violates the rights of free expression for which America was established. He wonders if the government's reign of terror against radicals is intended to distract people from their economic problems.

**Notes:** Broken type.

-4-

the government has to do is to raise the inhuman blockade  
against Russia, and to let her people go home in peace, and  
the will flock out by the thousands of their own accord.

EXPLANATORY NOTE  
J.EDGAR HOOVER MEMORABILIA COLLECTION,  
DEC. 5, 1919

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After the death of J. Edgar Hoover, his personal scrapbooks were transferred to the National Archives. These scrapbooks contain newspaper clippings tracing Hoover's career with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Volume one of this collection contains the clippings which mention Goldman. The complete citation to the collection is: National Archives Record Group 65, Records of FBI, J.E. Hoover Memorabilia, Scrapbook of Newspaper Articles 1913-1924.

The Government Documents collection contains thirty-eight clippings from volume one, which reflect the prominent part Goldman played in Hoover's early career. The scrapbook begins with three clippings describing Hoover as captain of his high school cadets in May 1913. The next clippings refer to Goldman's deportation. Approximately twenty percent of the clippings describing Hoover's appointment as director of the FBI mention his role in Goldman and Berkman's deportation.

Most of the clippings from this collection cluster around both the time of Goldman's deportation on December 22, 1919 and the date when Hoover took over as the Director of the FBI, in December 1924.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photograph] Berkman and Emma Goldman When They Reported at Ellis Island — 28 cm. In [unknown periodical (Dec. 5? 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

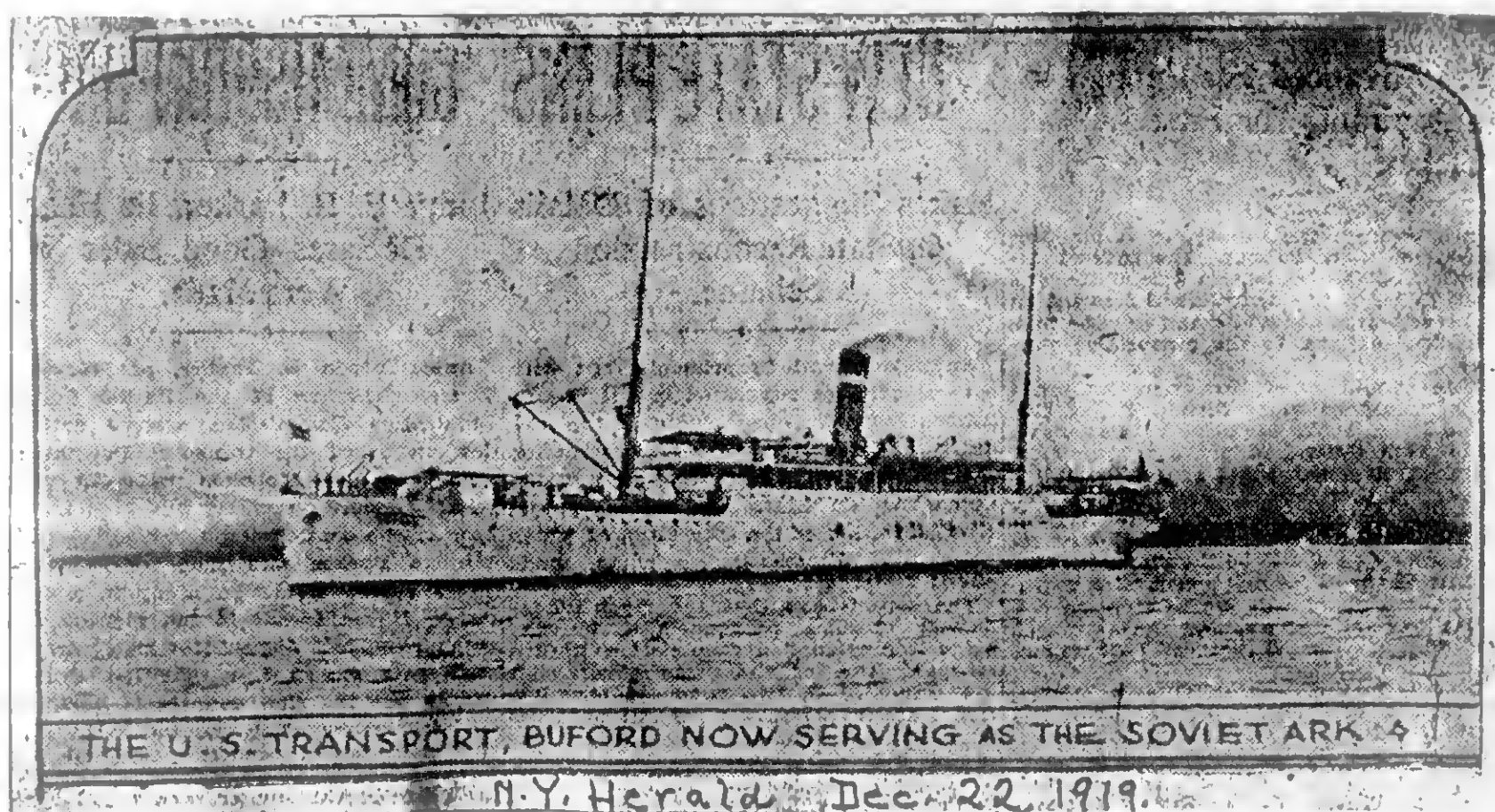
Summary: The New York Herald prints photographs of the Buford and of Goldman and Berkman reporting to Ellis Island.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

BERKMAN AND EMMA GOLDMAN WHEN THEY  
REPORTED AT ELLIS ISLAND



Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, anarchists, photographed when they reported to the immigration officials at Ellis Island. Both had supplied themselves with complete wardrobes.



THE U.S. TRANSPORT, BUFORD NOW SERVING AS THE SOVIET ARK

N.Y. Herald, Dec. 22, 1919.

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623

## The Emma Goldman Papers

Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman on the way to Ellis Island... — 18 cm. *In*  
[unknown periodical (Dec. 5? 1919)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** An unidentified newspaper criticizes Goldman and Berkman's expensive clothing.

**Notes:** From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Paper unknown  
December, 1919 [approx.]

Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman on the way to Ellis Island attracted attention by the expensive elegance of their attire. There are profiteers in anarchism as well as in other lines.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photograph of] Emma Goldman [Ellis Island, N.Y.] 1919 Dec. 5 / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration took Goldman's photograph when she appeared for deportation.

Notes: For copies of same photograph, see 870717024 and 870824000.

*Emma Goldman*  
*Dec. 5-1919.*

Albany, N.Y., December 6th, 1919.



133

tal City Post No. 225 of the American  
attention the case of Alexander T.  
are being held at Ellis Island  
influences are now at work to defeat  
ph-anarchists to remain in this

ome of Americans and must always

peration is invited to the extent  
the deportation of Berkman and Goldman.

ered the privations and hardships  
well what this country means and  
heart.

portation not only Berkman and Goldman  
whose policies and tendencies are

these people reach a point of  
badtaas be employed, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
stituted, so actual deportation

ve receives your immediate attention  
ain,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Henry Kies Jr.,  
Secretary.

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625

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photograph of Emma Goldman, Ellis Island, N.Y., 1919 Dec. 5] / [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** In December 1921, the Bureau of Immigration sends this photograph of Goldman, taken at Ellis Island, to immigration and State Department officials throughout the country.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 810617050. For other copies of same photograph, see 870721001 and 870824000.



Form 551	
INCLOSURE 26,30	
FROM	
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR	
IMMIGRATION SERVICE	
Port of	14-756

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626



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photograph of Emma Goldman, Ellis Island, N.Y., 1919 Dec. 5] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** In December 1921, the State Department sends three copies of Goldman's photograph, taken at Ellis Island, to embassy officials to help them keep track of Goldman's movements.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 810617080 through 810617088. For other copies of same photograph, see 870721001 and 870717024.



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627

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of] Russian Radicals Held at Ellis Island [N.Y., 1919 between Dec. 5 and 21] /  
 [Byrne H. Uhl?] Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor. —  
 8 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.*  
**Summary:** The commissioner of immigration compiles a list of radicals held at Ellis Island.  
**Notes:** Eight shots of thirteen pages.

COPY

from  
 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
 Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
 Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932  
 File Number 54235/36

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
 IMMIGRATION SERVICE

OFFICE OF  
 COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION  
 ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (1)

Belusoff, Basil, alias Bibusoff, Basil  
 Berov, Jacob, alias Byra, Jacob, alias Demannov, alias Karneschk  
 Chigrasoff, Andy  
 Chrikaluk, Leon, alias Chikaliuk, Leo  
 Colbue, Sam, alias Kolbun, Sam, alias Colbae, Sam, alias Colbun, Sam  
 Diettkirow, Michael, alias Diettkirow, John, alias Diaktarow, John  
 alias Dechterof, Mike  
 Elko, Ivan  
 Garoshkow, George, alias Balui, Ivan  
 Geray, Andrew  
 Koslov, Vasil, or Koslow  
 Kraasoff, Tshon, alias Raasoff, T.  
 Kriahop, Theodore  
 Libed, Arhip, or Lebed  
 Lopitsky, Andrew  
 Losloff, Prokopy  
 Lovonetsky, Anthony  
 Maundelos, James  
 Nikolaseff, Frank, or Mikalaseff  
 Novik, Yakim, alias Noik, Yakim  
 Novokoff, Peter (or Pete)  
 Orloff, Mike (or Michael)

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 ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (2)

Orloff, Sam  
 Pauluk, Artemy, alias Pavluk, Artemy  
 Franka, Andy  
 Sahtabnog, Orisof, alias Sahtabneg, Orisof  
 Shell, Mike, alias Shinkorenko, Matwei Gavrilow, alias  
 Shinkorenko, Matwej  
 Skorokod, Konstantin (or Konstantia)  
 Tabenko, Parfen, alias Silenko, Porify  
 Tsubrick, Orisub  
 Vinik, Alex  
 Voleshyanyuk, Maysey  
 Voloh, George, alias or Voloch  
 Yanish, Mike  
 Yankun, William, or Yankun  
 Zayate, Thomas  
 Zboronirsky, Jacob, alias Vboronirsky, alias Vboronirsky

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628

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (3)

Anisientia, Anthony, alias Anisient, Anton  
Archuk, Wladimir  
Balach, Andrei, alias Baluch, Andrew  
Baliok, Vasily, alias Billocki  
Barkowsky, Samion or Samuel  
Bogen, Zenow (Zinov), alias Bogen, F.  
Borieluk, Valdimir, alias Borisuk, Walter  
Butkevich, Michael Demianovich, alias Bokarich, Mike  
Draco, Konstantin Demianovich, alias Draco Costatin  
Danilovich, Ivan, alias Danilovich, John  
Denosyk, John, alias Denosuk, Ivan  
Feskov, Egor Matveevich, alias Fiesko, Harry, alias Fiesko  
Fedyk, Kirio  
Fengol, Kiril, or Pinhol, Kirin  
Gushchin, John (or Grieschany)  
Kowalewicz, Jacob, alias Kowalevich, John  
Kurson, Tony, alias Kirsion  
Katchanow, Luka, alias Kachanow, Luka  
Kotiak, Anton  
Kovalsky, Ilya, alias Kuenets, alias Kowalsky, Louis, alias  
Kuznets, Louis  
Kulich, Mark or Kulish, M.  
Kochovets, Efim, alias Baricoff, M.

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ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (4)

Leonof, Terentias, alias Leonoff, Thomas  
Legese, Mike, alias Legsa, Mike  
Michniewits, Gavilo, alias Michniewich, Hawril  
Mironovich, Peter, alias Mironovich, Peter Ivanovich  
Martinowski, John  
Klaveransky, Nicholas (or Nickolas)  
Nabages, Ivan, alias Nabagis, John, alias Nabajie, John  
Nasaresuk, Anani, alias Nasarchuk, Anni  
Nesteruk, Paul, alias Nestrus, Prole  
Petrashka, Konstantin, alias Petroshak, Kostatiw  
Prekopovich, Steve, alias Praksopoduch, Steve  
Philosoph, John, alias Philosoph, Ivan  
Romanchuk, Konstantin, alias Romanchuk, Kostanti  
Shaleg, Nestor Michaelovich, alias Shaleg, Wasto  
Shohlits, Lukas, alias Sediko, Louis  
Sulawka, Tetasy, alias Dstafy, K.  
Serevatnik, Alexander  
Subov, David, or Suhev  
Soloniki, Fred, alias Solonika, Fedor Fedorovich  
Shweisik, Mike, alias Schwejkus  
Tarasiuk, Vasily Ivanovich, alias Tarasiuk, Vassily  
Vaike, Mike, alias Vaseiko, Michael

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629



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Byrne H. Uhl?] Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor. —  
8 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The commissioner of immigration compiles a list of radicals held at Ellis Island.

Notes: Eight shots of thirteen pages.

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RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (5)

Vaseyko, Zachary, alias Vaseiki, Zaak  
Volkoff, George  
Vorobien, Ignas  
Vorobey, Maxim  
Vasilenko, Joe, alias Vasilenko, Joseph  
Yasinsky, Dmitry  
Zdanovich, Mike, alias Sdanovich, Mike  
Zubko, Nestor or Walter

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RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (6)

Bendiok, William  
Borsuk, Boroes, (or Borores)  
Bischofski, Frank (Fedor)  
Dolgay, Peter, alias Domhay, Peter  
Dedushka, Andrew alias Giguaka, Andy  
Gaseyog, Fred, or Gaseyek, Fred  
Gowook, Yakow, alias Tsivuh, Yakow, alias Gowook  
Herasovich, Peter  
Jaskotonsky, Jacob or Jasknowsky  
Jarosevich, Andrew, alias Jarosevics, Andrew, alias Jarosevich, Andrew  
Kaleanoff, John  
Kaltajka, George alias Kaltina, Gregorie  
Kumar, Jim  
Konik, John  
Koniakin, Vasil, or Koniahin, Vasil Mitin, alias Mitin, Vasil  
Kovalawich, Frank (Fedor)  
Kulish, Sison or Sam  
Krupka, Paul or Krupko, Paul  
Lukow, William or Vasil, or Lukos, or Lukashuk, Wasyi  
Magyar (or Mager), Piotr or Peter  
Malievsky, Wasily  
Mozotuk, Trofim, alias Mornoshuk, alias Maunat, Theodore

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630



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Russian Radicals Held at Ellis Island (7)

Rossmak, Dennis, alias Roslook, Demetri  
Sanko, Ivan (or Ivan), or Sinko  
Sereak, Amy, alias Sirik, alias Savick  
Sheika, Gordai  
Smal, Andy  
Starkevich, Eugni (or Evgeni), or Starkevits  
Stelatchuk, Gordie  
Tsatitski  
Svenko, Tsvitko  
Telatitski, Nik  
Trapiot, Anton  
Yarosvich, Mihal, alias Yarosvich, Michael

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ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

Russian Radicals Held at Ellis Island (8)

Denisuk, Yakim, alias Denichuk, Jaakon  
Ekinashko, Nikita, alias Iknaeko, Nikita  
Ivanuk, Dimitri, alias Rouvak, James, or Roubak, alias  
Vonouch, alias Ivanenok, Dimitri, alias Doe, John, alias Trusk  
Koxy, John  
Lestchuk, Michael, alias Litetchuk, Mike  
Mosichuk, Roman, alias Mousushok, alias Mosichok  
Urkevitch, Peter, alias Yurkevich, alias Jorkevits, John  
Waschuk, Wasuly, (or Waschuh)  
Jakimov, Paul  
Yarovoy, Fred, alias Yarovoi

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631

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (9)

Androusek, Anton  
Chifefsky, Leo  
Chifefsky, Stanislaus  
Janson, (or Johnson), John, alias Jensen, Johan, alias  
Laukivore, Earnest  
Kirson, Earnest, alias Kirson, Feril, alias Kirson, Boris,  
alias Kirson, Barnett, alias Kirson, Boris  
Koroviancky, Gregory  
Levosuk, Daniel or Levchuk, or Levchuk, D.  
Onishchenko, Porfiery, alias Onishchenko, Porfiery  
Stepanoff, Anton, alias Porfenchuk, Alex  
Stepanoff, Osip or Osep, or Joe, or Joseph

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ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (10)

Abrossimoff, Michel (or Miesel)  
Afanasievitch, Benjamin, alias Pfashetchnik  
Andriuk, or Andriuk, Roman  
Antonchik, Fredor or Fred  
Antanoff, Alex (or Alexander)  
Becker, Morris  
Belasta, Michael, or Belaska, H.  
Berger, Frederick Harold or Berger, F. H.  
Berkman, Alexander  
Bianky, Peter alias Bianka, Pieter  
Baiser, Jankel (or Jacob), alias Besser, Jangel  
Brasalia, Max  
Brodia, Frank  
Brook, Abe or Brook or Bruke  
Buhkanov, Thomas F.  
Cantor Sebastian (or Kantser)  
Chernoff, Alexander  
Chinsjko, Maxim  
Cysyk, George alias Sigalko, Paul  
Derkach, Alexander alias Derkash, Alexander  
Duboff, John, or Duboff, E., or Duboff, Ivan  
Ernola, John alias Yarnola, John  
Federaco, Tony

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632

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (11)

Fedosky, Iwan (John), or Fedosky, Iwan  
Kolak, David, alias Flak, David  
Furs, Thomas  
Gernst, Michail, or Gernst, Michael  
Hajduk, Alfons alias Hieduk, Alfonse  
Haskewich, Leo  
Hostilla, Andrew, alias Hastialla, Andre  
Kaminsky, Steve  
Kanowich, Samuel  
Ketsus, Arthur  
Kolesnikoff, Efim, alias Kolesnikoff, John, alias Kolesnikoff, Joachim  
Konon, Alexander, alias Kornen, Alex  
Korscheikoff, Tony, or Korschikoff  
Kosa, Jos  
Kudreyko, Mikal, or Kravohuk, Michail  
Keretchuk, Boris  
Kovalenko, Efgram or Kovaleko  
Kozlik, Ivan, or Kozlik, Iwan alias Corlich, John  
Kurinski, Osipoff, alias Kuosynski, alias Kerensky, Osipoff  
Kuropato, Nikolai alias Koropotho, Nicholl  
Kushnarev, Feoder, alias Dalney, Alexander  
Lawrimuk, Michael  
Lawna, William, or Launa, alias Schmidt, August

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ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (12)

Lazarewich, Andrew, alias Lazarovits  
Lemberg, Samuel (or Sam), or Lemberg  
Lesiga, Arthur  
Lipsky, Anton  
Liskov (or Liskow), Dionisy  
Maskalunas, Kasia, alias Maskaljunas, Kasimir, alias Maskilunas, Insis  
Melnikoff, Gregory, alias Kushneroff  
Melnicoff, Pavel (or Pavel or Paul), alias Melnik, Pavel  
Meshkov, Sam, alias Meshoff<sup>Sam</sup>, or Meshoff  
Molkowsky, Istia Fedrovich alias Marten, L.C., or Martin, Leo  
Martzin, Vincent  
Mihaeloff, Nicholas  
Mucha, Joseph, alias Vasa, Joe, alias Micha, Jos, alias KSH Yocha, Joe  
Nazaruk, Andrew  
Newar, John  
Nishanoff, Alexay  
Novikoff, Iwan  
Nowick, P., or Nowick, Peter or Piotr  
Ochrimuk, Nikolai, or Ochrimuk, Nick  
Oradovsky, Marous, or Orasosky, or Orasosky  
Panko, Dimitri, or Panko, D.  
Perkus, Hyman  
Pofulsok, Joseph, alias Balluch, alias Bolluch

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633



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of] Russian Radicals Held at Ellis Island [N.Y., 1919 between Dec. 5 and 21] /  
[Byrne H. Uhl?] Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor. -  
8 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The commissioner of immigration compiles a list of radicals held at Ellis Island.

Notes: Eight shots of thirteen pages.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932  
File Number 54235/36

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
IMMIGRATION SERVICE  
OFFICE OF  
COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION  
ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (13)

Proshkovich, Theodor, alias Proshkovich, Theodora  
Prosk, Thomas, alias Droak  
Pawlas, Pete, or Pawlas, Peter Apul  
Podlipaky, Mathew  
Rios, Daniel or Reisch  
Ristlok, Louis (or Luis)  
Sawicki, Michail, alias Sawitsky, Mick  
Seclor, Grant  
Schats, Boris  
Schats, Harry alias Schats, Alexander, alias Schats, Alex  
Stepamk, Naum  
Shtilnik, Alexander, alias Shtilnik, Alexander  
Szagan, Mike alias Simon  
Schubel-Delass, Adolph, or Szabel, Adolph  
Skochuk, Harry or Skochuk, Grigori  
Tagieff, Hussein (or Hussein), alias Caucasian, Hussein, alias  
Carson, Alexander, alias Tagiev, Cussia  
Tarasyk, John, alias Tarasjuk, Ivan, alias Rasky, John T., alias  
Dimitrius, alias Taraszy, John, alias Dimitrius, alias Tarasuk,  
John or Tarasyk.  
Tom Turka  
Peter Urgal  
Ivan Veremik  
Nicholas Vasilieff

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
IMMIGRATION SERVICE  
OFFICE OF  
COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION  
ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

RUSSIAN RADICALS HELD AT ELLIS ISLAND (14)

Nicolaj Volosuk  
Harry Wodner  
Kronagi Warkolf  
Weilza Zafronia  
Emma Goldman  
Ethel Bernstein  
Dora Lipkin

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634



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of] Russian Radicals Held at Ellis Island [N.Y., 1919 between Dec. 5 and 21] /  
[Byrne H. Uhl?] Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor. —  
8 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

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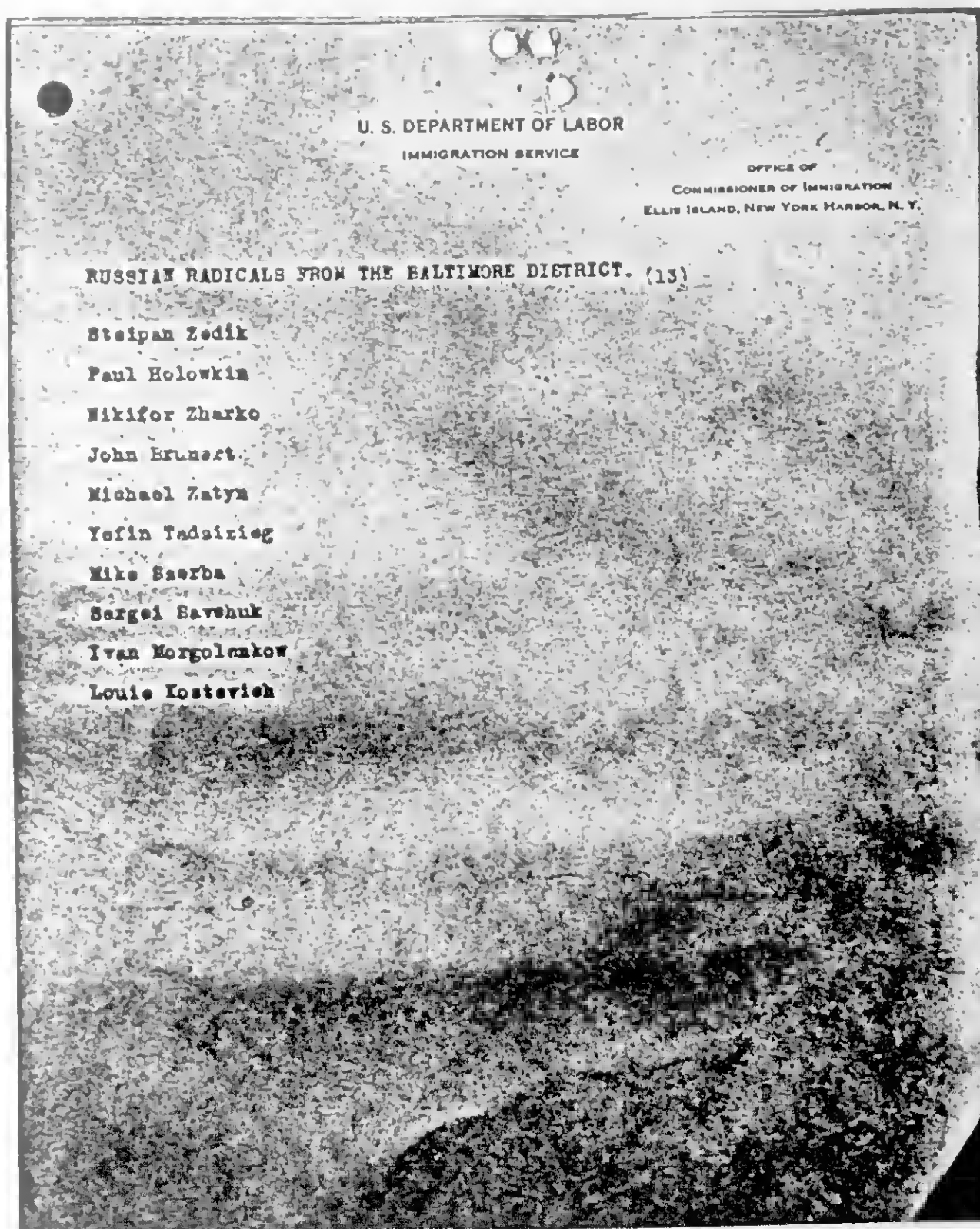
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635

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 5, New York [to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 3 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey asks for documents to help him oppose Goldman's habeas corpus petition. He discusses his legal strategy.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"UNITED STATES ATTORNEY"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

Department of Justice

RA

DVC

United States Attorney's Office

22179

New York

MAY 20 20

97

The Attorney General,  
Washington, D. C.

Dec'r 5 1918

186233-13-223  
[Signature]

Sir:-

I have your letter of December 4, 1919, (FKN-JEH) concerning contemplated habeas corpus proceedings in the cases of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

U.S.R.

I am very much obliged for the suggestions upon the questions of law and fact which will probably arise. In accordance with your instructions I shall give the matter my personal attention. One of my Assistants has been in close touch with the proceedings. We are accordingly already partially prepared.

Mr. Uhl, the Commissioner of Immigration, informs me that both Goldman and Berkman are now in his custody. No application for writs of habeas corpus has yet been made; but Mr. Uhl understands that the application will be made today or tomorrow and will be returnable on Tuesday, December 9, 1919.

I have arranged with Mr. Uhl to furnish me all the records in his possession. He thinks he has here everything that will be needed in the Goldman case, but he has no papers in the Berkman case. I have asked him to telegraph to Washington for the papers in the Berkman case. I shall be obliged if you will request the Commissioner General of Immigration to expedite the transmission of the documents in the Berkman case, and any additional information he may have in the Goldman case, sending them either directly to me or through Mr. Uhl.

I note your statement that Kersner died on January 18, 1919 at Chicago. I shall appreciate it if you will forward me immediately the reports or other

636

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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DVC-22179-RA

-2

The Attorney General.

specific information you may have on this point. If you have any specific reports or information as to the alleged divorce of Goldman in 1888 or 1889 I shall like to have that in my hands as soon as possible.

I understand that Mr. Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, has given a good deal of study to the citizenship questions involved and has kept in close touch with the proceedings of the Department of Labor. If he has any memoranda of law or citations of authorities, it will be very helpful to me to have them.

In this district I have pending before one of the District Judges the question whether it is not his duty to deny an application for a writ of habeas corpus where the petition is on its face insufficient in substance or in form. It is a common practice to draft petitions for habeas corpus very loosely and to include in them allegations of conclusions of law. I am hopeful that prior to the decision in the Goldman and Berkman cases, I shall be able to get a decision here in conformity with the contention of this office that the application for the writ should be denied in the first instance where the petition is insufficient as a matter of law. If so, that may be helpful in the Goldman and Berkman cases, because the Judge before whom the question is now pending will also sit in the Goldman and Berkman cases.

This office has heretofore strenuously contended that bail should not be allowed pending an appeal from the dismissal by the District Court of the writ. By reason of the wording of the deportation statute, I am convinced that this position is sound. Nevertheless, quite recently Judge Learned Hand has ruled adversely to this office on the point. If the question arises again in the Goldman and Berkman cases I shall urge upon the Court as strongly as I can the contention which we have heretofore made. If you can make me any suggestions or furnish me any citations on the point, I shall appreciate it.

Respectfully,

*Francis G. Caffey*  
United States Attorney.

637

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 5, New York [to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 3 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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DVC-22179

-3

The Attorney General.

P.S. Since the above was dictated I have talked with Mr. Hoover on the telephone. I understand that the Berkman papers will reach me tomorrow morning. Applications for the writs were made today and have been granted returnable at 2 P. M. next Monday, the 8th instant. Previous to that time, according to my understanding, there will be a decision by the District Court here to the effect that an applicant is not entitled to a writ when the petition is defective in form or substance. The petitions in the Berkman and Goldman cases are defective. I concluded, however, that it was best not to rest our case on those defects, but to take advantage of them at the hearing next Monday and at the same time to put in a complete return that would make a good record in the event of a decision in our favor and an appeal being taken.

F.G.C.

638



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 5 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover sends Caffey documents to help him prepare to fight Goldman and Berkman's habeas corpus petitions. He instructs Caffey not to disclose the destination or exact date of the deportation if possible.

Notes: Dark copy. For enclosures, see 830214183, 830214027, 850205058, 810113080, and 810113089 through 810113093. Reply to 810113076.

COPY

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Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JH-GPO

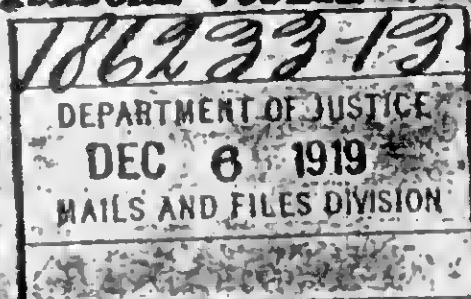
December 5, 1919.

186233-13

Francis G. Caffey, Esq.,  
United States Attorney,  
New York City.

Dear Mr. Caffey:

I am inclosing herewith a copy of the GOLDMAN brief which I used in the deportation proceedings against this subject. You will note that I take up in detail in addition to the anarchistic activities the citizenship status of the subject. I am attaching hereto a photostat set of the exhibits in the Goldman case which contain the documents to which the brief refers. I am also sending, under separate cover by special delivery, the record in the Goldman-Berkman cases which was prepared by the immigration authorities and there are one or two elements in the same in addition to those mentioned in my brief, as I obtained some additional evidence before going into the hearing which I introduced without incorporating the same in my brief. You will find this in the first part of the Goldman hearing. I am inclosing herewith a certified copy of the death certificate of JACOB KERSENER, together with a letter of explanation from the Chicago office. I also inclose affidavits of ROSA GOLDBERG, BARNETT H. JOSEPH, ISADORE JOSEPH



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639

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 5 [Washington, D.C. 10] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

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Francis G. Caffey, -2- JKH-GPO 12/5/19

and CLARA ACKERMAN. With reference to the death of JACOB KERSNER, alias JACOB LEWIS, I also inclose the affidavit of JOSEPH KERSNER, brother of JACOB KERSNER, to the effect that JACOB LEWIS was in fact JACOB KERSNER, the husband of EMMA GOLDMAN. I believe that the above will be sufficient to refute any allegation which may be made by Weinberger to the effect that Emma Goldman's husband died prior to 1909. I am inclosing herewith a memorandum which I have had prepared in the office by one of the attorneys, dealing with the question as to whether or not Emma Goldman should have been joined in the de-naturalization proceedings against her husband. This memorandum was not mentioned in my brief for the reason that I did not have the same at the particular time. I covered the point of citizenship from the ground that a naturalization proceeding was a proceeding in rem and consequently it would follow that a de-naturalization was a proceeding in rem, binding all parties and rights involved. The inclosed memorandum throws additional light upon this point and I believe the two taken together will be sufficient to enable you to successfully answer any contention which may be raised upon this point.

In regard to the case of ALEXANDER BERYMAN the record is being forwarded to you under separate cover by special delivery and there are no intricate points involved. I might state that if the point is raised that there is no prospect of an early deportation for these subjects that the Commissioner-General of

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640



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Francis G. Caffey, Esq., -3- JHH-GPO 12/5/19

Immigration has publicly stated that there will shortly be a sailing to Russia. I do not deem it compatible or to public interest to state the point in Russia to which these subjects will be shipped or the exact date of deportation. I believe Judge Meyer will accept the statement of speedy deportation as sufficient. Weinberger will no doubt do his utmost to try to obtain definite information as to this particular phase, but of course he should not be given any information whatsoever on this point.

It is highly desirable that both of these cases be expedited at the earliest possible moment, in order that these subjects may be included in the first shipment of deportees. I will be very glad to be of any assistance to you in either of these cases and you should not hesitate to call upon me. If I can make the necessary arrangements, I will be in New York on Monday, so that if the hearing in the Berkman and Goldman cases go over, I will be able to be on hand and assist you in a small measure.

With best regards, I remain,

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Incl. 4616

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641

The Emma Goldman Papers

United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: [Docket Sheet] 1919 Dec. 5 to 1920 Jan. 9 / United States District Court [Southern District of New York]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.  
Summary: The clerk of the United States District Court keeps a log of the proceedings and fees paid in Goldman's habeas corpus case.

92

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.      DOCKET No. 5

TITLE OF CASE.

ATTORNEYS.

ABSTRACT OF COSTS.

United States, et al.

Emma Goldman  
vs

A. Caminetti, Commissioner  
General of Immigration et al

Harry Weinberger  
261 Broadway

Habeas Corpus

DATE.	CASH ACCOUNT—PLAINTIFF.	RECEIVED.	DISBURSED.	DATE.	CASH ACCOUNT—DEFENDANT.	RECEIVED.	DISBURSED.
DEC 5 1919	Deposit	5-					
DEC 31 1919	Writ returned.		3 20				
DEC 3 - 1920	To H. Weinberger		1 80				
		5-	5-				

DATE.	FILINGS, PROCEEDINGS, ETC.	No. of Words.	CLERK'S FEES.	AMOUNTS REPORTED IN EMOLUMENT RETURNS.
Month. Day. Year.			PLAINTIFF. DEFENDANT.	
Dec 5 1919	Filed Petition for writ of Habeas Corpus.		10	
" 5 "	Issued writ, Returnable 7/8/19		1.00	
" 8 "	" Writ, Endorsed Mayer v. Writ dismissed		10	
" 8 "	" Return on writ			10
" 8 "	" (3) Exhibits paper Memo for acting Commissioner of Ellis Isl. = 52410-43			
	Decree cancelling certificate of naturalization as binding in envelope with other exhibits			30
" 8 "	" Goldman Exhibits 14 paper 2 Books.			1.60
" 9 "	" Order dismissing writ, and relator remanded, denying application for bail, & staying execution of warrant of deportation etc.			
Jan 9 1920	" Order to return exhibits name in order to U.S. City.	1012	2.00 70	3.70
				10



## The Emma Goldman Papers

United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 5 / Harry Weinberger. — 7 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.

Summary: Weinberger petitions for a writ of habeas corpus to release Goldman from Ellis Island, explaining why her deportation is illegal.

Notes: Light copy. For related documents, see 870701002 through 870701006.

TO THE HONORABLE \_\_\_\_\_, JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

The petition of HARRY WEINBERGER, respectfully shows to this Court:

FIRST: That the petitioner is an attorney and counselor at law, duly admitted to practice in the Courts of Record in the State of New York, and having an office for the practice of his profession at No. 261 Broadway, in the Borough of Manhattan, City and County of New York; that petitioner has been retained by Emma Goldman, hereinafter mentioned, as her attorney for the purpose of this proceeding, and petitioner applies for a Writ of Habeas Corpus in behalf and at the request of the said Emma Goldman.

SECOND: That the said Emma Goldman, the person in whose behalf the said Writ is hereby applied for, is imprisoned and restrained in her liberty; that the place where she is so imprisoned is the Ellis Island Immigration Station, Ellis Island, City of New York, and that the officers and persons by whom she is so imprisoned and restrained in her liberty, are A. Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration and Byron H. Uhl, Assistant and Acting Commissioner of Immigration, Ellis Island, New York, and John Doe and Richard Roe.

THIRD: That the said Emma Goldman is not committed by virtue of any process or mandate issued by any Court of the United States or of any Judge thereof; nor is she committed or detained by virtue of a final judgment or decree of any competent tribunal of Civil or Criminal Jurisdiction, or the final order of such a tribunal made in a special proceeding instituted for any cause or by virtue of any execution or other process issued upon such a judgment, decree or final order; and said Emma Goldman is held in violation of the

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laws and Constitution of the United States.

FOURTH: That the cause or pretense of the imprisonment and restraint of the said Emma Goldman, according to the best knowledge and belief of your petitioner, is a warrant of deportation issued by the Commissioner General of Immigration or the Secretary of Labor or an assistant Secretary of Labor, for the purpose of deporting the said Emma Goldman, to Russia, on the ground that she is an alien anarchist and other similar reasons. That said Emma Goldman is a citizen by virtue of her marriage to Jacob A. Kersner, in February, 1887, at the City of Rochester, New York. That the said Jacob A. Kersner was a citizen at the time of his marriage having become said citizen by virtue of an order of the County Court for Monroe County, City of Rochester, on the 18th day of October, 1884, said order being signed by the Hon. Jno S. Morgan, and that the said court was a Court of Record and duly authorized to confer the citizenship on said Jacob A. Kersner. That on April 9th, 1909, the United States District Court for the Western District of New York, entered an order purporting to cancel and set aside the certificate of citizenship of the said Jacob A. Kersner. That the said <sup>Cancellation</sup> court was without jurisdiction, not having granted the citizenship, and not having obtained personal service of the said Jacob A. Kersner and the said Jacob A. Kersner not being a resident of the said Western District of New York, the said cancellation was void and of no avail as against the said Emma Goldman Kersner, in that said Emma Goldman Kersner was not a party to the said suit nor served with any notice of the said suit, and the said Jacob A. Kersner at no time appeared in said suit, and there was no proof in said suit that the said Jacob A. Kersner was alive at the time of the commencement of the said suit or an entry of an order therein; and the said United States

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was without power to cancel the certificate of citizenship of said Jacob A. Kersner; the said United States District Court for the Western District of New York had insufficient and unsatisfactory evidence upon which it based its findings to cancel the citizenship of the said Jacob A. Kersner, it being attempted to be proved upon the said hearing for cancellation that Jacob A. Kersner was not 21 years of age, when he became a citizen, though he was over 21 years of age at the time of the proceedings, the findings being based upon the memory of the father of the said Jacob A. Kersner, a man now advanced in years, and in the said proceedings the United States Government did not prove that the said Jacob A. Kersner was alive at the commencement of the proceedings or the trial of the action.

FIVE: That the warrant of deportation is improper and in violation of the laws and Constitution of the United States; that the United States Government has not the right to deport for an "attitude of mind" or the holding of political, social or economic views, or the expression thereof, together with the holding of said opinions and the expression are protected under the laws and Constitution of the United States, and the deportation proceedings based upon the mere holding of opinions, whether of anarchism or any other beliefs, religious, political, economic, or social, cannot be made the basis of deportation.

SIX: That said Emma Goldman was properly and lawfully admitted into the United States in the year 1885, at the age of 17 years and was not an anarchist at the time of her entry into this country, and that the United States Government has not the legal right to deport an alien when said alien was properly and lawfully admitted more than 15 years ago, and any laws pretending to grant the right of Immigration officials to deport alleged aliens who have been in this

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country more than 5 years, is *expost facto* and unconstitutional.

SEVENTH: That said Emma Goldman was born in Kovno, then a province of Russia, and it is your petitioner's belief that said city is in the control of a government not recognized by this government. That the deportation of the said Emma Goldman would be in violation to the laws, rules and regulations of the United States in reference to deportation, and in violation to International Law, where said deportation is attempted to a country where the government in control is not recognized by the Government of the United States.

EIGHTH: That if it is the intention of the United States to deport the said Emma Goldman to any other part of the world other than Kovno where said Emma Goldman was born, where said other part is in control of the so-called "White Guard", otherwise known as the governments of Kolchak, Denikine, or Yudenitch, that the ordering of deportation is equivalent to the sentencing of the said Emma Goldman to death, and the said deportation would be in violation of the laws of the United States, the Constitution of the United States and International Law, and in violation of the traditional policy of the Government of the United States.

NINTH: That the United States Government cannot, at this time or at any definite time in the future, deport said Emma Goldman and that the result of holding said Emma Goldman under said warrant of deportation at Ellis Island, would be to deprive her of her liberty and keep her in custody without warrant or law, for an indefinite time, and that the said deprivation of her liberty is not caused by a conviction after trial by jury or her peers or because of violation of any statute of the United States; that there is no warrant or law for said deprivation of her liberty for an indefinite



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period and perhaps the deprivation of her liberty for the natural time of her life, all in violation of the laws of the United States and the Constitution of the United States.

TENTH: That the holding of said Emma Goldman without bail, until the recognition of the Soviet Government before she can be deported under the warrant of deportation is in violation of the laws and Constitution of the United States.

ELEVENTH: That the hearing before the Immigration Department was improper, hurried, with no objections of counsel being noted nor exceptions, nor did the said Immigration officials allow sufficient time for counsel to prepare proof as to the citizenship of the said Emma Goldman, all in violation of her rights as citizen of the United States.

TWELFTH: That the warrant of deportation was based on insufficient, incompetent evidence and unwarranted by the record in the proceedings, and said warrant is not sufficient in law and said Secretary of Labor exceeded his discretion, jurisdiction and power in issuing the aforesaid warrant of deportation upon the record before him, and said proceedings were not in accordance with the Immigration laws, rules and regulations of the Department of Immigration. That the said proceedings were in violation of Amendment I of the Constitution of the United States, and the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. That said Emma Goldman was deprived of her liberty without due process of law and that the law and amendments under which the said Secretary of Labor and Commissioner General of Immigration have proceeded and under which the warrant of deportation was issued, was an ex post facto law.

THIRTEENTH: That the petitioner hereby applies for a writ of habeas corpus and avers that no previous application for such a writ in behalf of said Emma Goldman, has been made to any Court or Judge.

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United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 5 / Harry Weinberger. — 7 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

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Notes: Light copy. For related documents, see 870701002 through 870701006.

Dated, New York, December 5th, 1919.

*Harry Weinberger*  
Petitioner.

STATE OF NEW YORK, )  
COUNTY OF NEW YORK, : ss:  
CITY OF NEW YORK. )

HARRY WEINBERGER, being duly sworn, deposes and says; that he is the petitioner in the within action; that he has read the foregoing petition and knows the contents thereof; that the same is true to his own knowledge except as to the matters therein stated to be alleged on information and belief, and that as to those matters he believes them to be true.

Sworn to before me this  
5th day of December, 1919.

*James J. [illegible]*

*James J. [illegible]*

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648

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Sir:—

## NOTICE OF ENTRY

Please take notice that the within is a true copy of a ..... this day duly filed and entered in the office of the Clerk of the .....

Dated, N. Y., ..... 191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To ..... Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR

## NOTICE OF SETTLEMENT.

Sir:—

Please take notice that an order of which the within is a true copy, will be presented for settlement and entry herein to Mr. Justice .....

at ..... of this Court at .....

..... in the Borough of ..... in the City of New York, on the ..... day of ..... 191

at ..... o'clock, in the forenoon or as soon thereafter as Counsel can be heard.

Dated, N. Y., ..... 191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To ..... Esq.

CLERK'S INDEX No.

YEAR

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

UNITED STATES ex rel  
EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator,  
Plaintiff

against

A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER  
GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION, et al.,

Defendant

ORIGINAL

PETITION FOR WRIT OF

HABEAS CORPUS.

*Retd. 12/8/19*  
**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR Relator.

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

TO ..... Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR

Due and timely service of a copy of the

within

is, hereby admitted

Dated, N. Y., ..... 191

Attorney for

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus]  
 1919 Dec. 5 / Harry Weinberger. — 6 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
 Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
 Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Copy of 870701001. Enclosed with 871111002 and 850812019.

TO THE HONORABLE \_\_\_\_\_, JUDGE OF THE UNITED  
 STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW  
 YORK.

The petition of HARRY WEINBERGER, respectfully  
 shows to this Court:

FIRST: That the petitioner is an attorney and  
 counselor at law, duly admitted to practice in the Courts of  
 Record in the State of New York, and having an office for  
 the practice of his profession at No. 261 Broadway, in the  
 Borough of Manhattan, City and County of New York; that  
 petitioner has been retained by Emma Goldman, hereinafter  
 mentioned, as her attorney for the purpose of this proceed-  
 ing, and petitioner applies for a Writ of Habeas Corpus in  
 behalf and at the request of the said Emma Goldman.

SECOND: That the said Emma Goldman, the person  
 in whose behalf the said Writ is hereby applied for, is  
 imprisoned and restrained in her liberty; that the place  
 where she is so imprisoned is the Ellis Island Immigration  
 Station, Ellis Island, City of New York, and that the  
 officers and persons by whom she is so imprisoned and restrain-  
 ed in her liberty, are A. Caminetti, Commissioner General of  
 Immigration and Byron H. Uhl, Assistant and Acting Commis-  
 sioner of Immigration, Ellis Island, New York, and John Doe and  
 Richard Roe.

THIRD: That the said Emma Goldman is not committed  
 by virtue of any process or mandate issued by any Court of  
 the United States or by any Judge thereof; nor is she com-  
 mitted or detained by virtue of a final judgment or decree of  
 any competent tribunal of Civil or Criminal jurisdiction, or  
 the final order of such a tribunal made in a special proceed-  
 ing instituted for any cause or by virtue of any execution  
 or other process issued upon such a judgment, decree or final  
 order; and said Emma Goldman is held in violation of the



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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laws and Constitution of the United States.

FOURTH: That the cause or pretense of the imprisonment and restraint of the said Emma Goldman, according to the best knowledge and belief of your petitioner, is a warrant of deportation issued by the Commissioner General of Immigration or the Secretary of Labor or an assistant Secretary of Labor, for the purpose of deporting the said Emma Goldman, to Russia, on the ground that she is an alien anarchist and other similar reasons. That said Emma Goldman is a citizen by virtue of her marriage to Jacob A. Kersner, in February, 1887, at the City of Rochester, New York. That the said Jacob A. Kersner was a citizen at the time of his marriage having become said citizen by virtue of an order of the County Court for Monroe County, City of Rochester, on the 18th day of October, 1884, said order being signed by the Hon. Jno S. Morgan, and that the said court was a Court of Record and duly authorized to confer the citizenship on said Jacob A. Kersner. That on April 9th, 1909, the United States District Court for the Western District of New York, entered an order purporting to cancel and set aside the certificate of citizenship of the said Jacob A. Kersner. That the said <sup>United States</sup> court was without jurisdiction, not having granted the citizenship, and not having obtained personal service of the said Jacob A. Kersner and the said Jacob A. Kersner not being a resident of the said Western District of New York, the said cancellation was void and of no avail as against the said Emma Goldman Kersner, in that said Emma Goldman Kersner was not a party to the said suit nor served with any notice of the said suit, and the said Jacob A. Kersner at no time appeared in said suit, and there was no proof in said suit that the said Jacob A. Kersner was alive at the time of the commencement of the said suit or an entry of an order therein; and the said United States

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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 1919 Dec. 5 / Harry Weinberger. — 6 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.  
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 Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Copy of 870701001. Enclosed with 871111002 and 850812019.

was without power to cancel the certificate of citizenship of said Jacob A. Kerener; The said United States District Court for the Western District of New York had insufficient and unsatisfactory evidence upon which it based its findings to cancel the citizenship of the said Jacob A. Kerener, it being attempted to be proved upon the said hearing for cancellation that Jacob A. Kerener was not 21 years of age, when he became a citizen, though he was over 21 years of age at the time of the proceedings, the findings being based upon the memory of the father of the said Jacob A. Kerener, a man much advanced in years, and in the said proceedings the United States Government did not prove that the said Jacob A. Kerener was alive at the commencement of the proceedings or the trial of the action.

FIFTH: That the warrant of deportation is improper and in violation of the laws and Constitution of the United States; that the United States Government has not the right to deport for an "attitude of mind" or the holding of political, social or economic views, or the expression thereof, together with the holding of said opinions and the expression are protected under the laws and Constitution of the United States, and the deportation proceedings based upon the mere holding of opinions, whether of anarchism or any other beliefs, religious, political, economic, or social, cannot be made the basis of deportation.

SIXTH: That said Emma Goldman was properly and legally admitted into the United States in the year 1885, at the age of 17 years and was not an anarchist at the time of her entry into this country, and that the United States government has not the legal right to deport an alien when said alien was properly and legally admitted more than 35 years ago, and any laws pretending to grant the right of Immigration Officials to deport alleged aliens who have been in this

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus]  
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 Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Copy of 870701001. Enclosed with 871111002 and 850812019.

country more than 5 years, is *ex post facto* and unconstitutional.

SEVENTH: That said Emma Goldman was born in Kovno, then a province of Russia, and it is your petitioner's belief that said city is in the control of a government not recognized by this government. That the deportation of the said Emma Goldman would be in violation to the laws, rules and regulations of the United States in reference to deportations, and in violation to International Law, where said deportation is attempted to a country where the government in control is not recognized by the Government of the United States.

EIGHTH: That if it is the intention of the United States to deport the said Emma Goldman to any other part of Russia other than Kovno where said Emma Goldman was born, where said other part is in control of the so-called "White Guard", otherwise known as the Governments of Kolchak, Denikine, or Yudenitch, that the ordering of deportation is equivalent to the sentencing of the said Emma Goldman to death, and the said deportation would be in violation of the laws of the United States, the Constitution of the United States and International Law, and in violation of the traditional policy of the Government of the United States.

NINTH: That the United States Government cannot, at this time or at any definite time in the future, deport said Emma Goldman and that the result of holding said Emma Goldman under said warrant of deportation at Ellis Island, would be to deprive her of her liberty and keep her in custody without warrant of law, for an indefinite time, and that the said deprivation of her liberty is not caused by a conviction after trial by jury of her peers or because of violation of any statute of the United States;; that there is no warrant in law for said deprivation of her liberty for an indefinite



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus]  
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 Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Copy of 870701001. Enclosed with 871111002 and 850812019.

period and perhaps the deprivation of her liberty for the natural time of her life, all in violation of the laws of the United States and the Constitution of the United States.

TENTH: That the holding of said Emma Goldman without bail, until the recognition of the Soviet Government before she can be deported under the warrant of deportation is in violation of the laws and Constitution of the United States.

ELEVENTH: That the hearing before the Immigration Department was improper, hurried with no objections of counsel being noted nor exceptions, nor did the said Immigration Officials allow sufficient time for counsel to prepare proof as to the citizenship of the said Emma Goldman, all in violation of her rights as a citizen of the United States.

TWELFTH: That the warrant of deportation was based on insufficient, incompetent evidence and unwarranted by the record in the proceedings, and said warrant is not sufficient in law and said Secretary of Labor exceeded his discretion, jurisdiction and power in issuing the aforesaid warrant of deportation upon the record before him, and said proceedings were not in accordance with the Immigration laws, rules and regulations of the Department of Immigration. That the said proceedings were in violation of Amendment I of the Constitution of the United States, and the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. That said Emma Goldman was deprived of her liberty without due process of law and that the law and amendments under which the said Secretary of Labor and Commissioner General of Immigration claimed to proceed and under which the warrant of deportation was issued, was an ex post facto ex law.

THIRTEENTH: That the petitioner hereby applies for a Writ of Habeas Corpus and swears that no previous application for such a Writ in behalf of said Emma Goldman, has been made to any Court or Judge.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus]  
 1919 Dec. 5 / Harry Weinberger. — 6 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.  
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 Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
 Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Copy of 870701001. Enclosed with 871111002 and 850812019.

Dated, New York, December 5th, 1919.

*Harry Weinberger*  
Petitioner.

STATE OF NEW YORK. )  
 COUNTY OF NEW YORK. : ss:  
 CITY OF NEW YORK. )

HARRY WEINBERGER, being duly sworn, deposes  
 and says: that he is the petitioner in the within action;  
 that he has read the foregoing petition and knows the con-  
 tents thereof; that the same is true to his own knowledge ex-  
 cept as to the matters therein stated to be alleged on infor-  
 mation and belief, and that as to those matters he believes  
 it to be true.

Sworn to before me this  
 5th day of December, 1919.

*Harry Weinberger*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 5 / Julius M. Mayer, Judge, United States District [Court].— 2 p.; 35 × 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.

**Summary:** Judge Mayer signs a writ of habeas corpus ordering the government to explain why he should not release Goldman.

**Notes:** Handwritten corrections by Judge Mayer and note dismissing writ, dated December 8. For related documents, see 870701001 and 870701003 through 870701006.

713/52

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

TO: A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION, BYRON H. UHL, ASSISTANT AND ACTING COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK, JOHN DOE AND RICHARD ROE, AND WHOMSOEVER MAY HAVE THE CUSTODY OF THE BODY OF EMMA GOLDMAN.

C R E E T I N G:

WE COMMAND YOU, that you have the body of EMMA GOLDMAN, by you imprisoned and detained as it is said, together with the cause of such imprisonment and detention, by whatever name the said Emma Goldman may be called and charged before me in the United States District Court, at Room 736, to be held on the <sup>8th</sup> ~~7th~~ day of December, 1919, in the Post-Office Building, in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, at <sup>3</sup> ~~10:30~~ o'clock in the <sup>after</sup> ~~forenoon~~, or as soon thereafter as counsel can be heard to do and receive what shall then and there be considered and adjudged concerning him and have you then and there this Writ.

WITNESS HONORABLE *Learned Hand* United States District Judge, Southern District of New York, the <sup>5th</sup> ~~7th~~ day of December, in the year one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

*Alex. G. ...*  
Clerk.

MARY WEINBERGER,  
Attorney for Petitioner,  
Office & P.O. Address,  
No. 261 Broadway,  
Borough of Manhattan,  
City of New York.

The within writ is hereby allowed.

Dated, New York, the <sup>5th</sup> ~~7th~~ day of December, 1919.

*Julius M. Mayer*  
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

*Writ dismissed*  
*Dec 8 1919*  
*Julius M. Mayer*  
*D.J.*

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656

870701002

# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 5 / Julius M. Mayer, Judge, United States District [Court].— 2 p. ; 35 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.

Summary: Judge Mayer signs a writ of habeas corpus ordering the government to explain why he should not release Goldman.

Notes: Handwritten corrections by Judge Mayer and note dismissing writ, dated December 8. For related documents, see 870701001 and 870701003 through 870701006.

## NOTICE OF ENTRY

Sir:—

Please take notice that the within is a true copy of a..... this day duly filed and entered in the office of the Clerk of the.....

Dated, N. Y.,.....191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR.....

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To..... Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR.....

## NOTICE OF SETTLEMENT.

Sir:—

Please take notice that an order of which the within is a true copy, will be presented for settlement and entry herein to Mr. Justice.....

at..... of this Court at.....

.....in the Borough of.....in the City of New York, on the.....day of.....191 at.....o'clock, in the forenoon or as soon thereafter as Counsel can be heard.

Dated, N. Y.,.....191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR.....

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To..... Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR.....

CLERK'S INDEX NO.

YEAR

*Mo-94*  
UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

UNITED STATES ex rel

EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator,

PRISONER

against

A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER  
GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION, et al.,

Defendant

ORIGINAL

WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR.....

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan

New York City

TO.....

Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR.....

Due and timely service of a copy of the within.....

is, hereby admitted.

Dated, N. Y.,.....191

Attorney for.....

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657

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Writ of Habeas Corpus] 1919 Dec. 5 /  
[Julius M. Mayer] Judge, United States District [Court]. — 1 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
Notes: Enclosed with 850812019 and 850812020. Copy of 870701002.

[Dec. 5, 1919]

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

TO: A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION, EMMON H. UHL, ASSISTANT AND ACTING COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK, JOHN DOE AND RICHARD ROE, AND WHOMSOEVER MAY HAVE THE CUSTODY OF THE BODY OF EMMA GOLDMAN.

GREETING:

WE COMMAND YOU, that you have the body of EMMA GOLDMAN, by you imprisoned and detained as it is said, together with the cause of such imprisonment and detention, by whatever name the said Emma Goldman may be called and charged before me in the United States District Court, at Room , to be held on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1919, in the Post-Office Building, in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, at 10:30 o'clock in the forenoon, or as soon thereafter as counsel can be heard to do and receive what shall then and there be considered and adjudged concerning him and have you then and there this Writ.

WITNESS HONORABLE , United States District Judge, Southern District of New York, the 5<sup>th</sup> day of December, in the year one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

Clerk.

HARRY WEINBERGER,  
Attorney for Petitioner,  
Office & P.O. Address,  
No. 261 Broadway,  
Borough of Manhattan,  
City of New York.

The within writ is hereby allowed.

Dated, New York, the 5<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1919.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus and Writ of Habeas Corpus [1919 Dec. 5 (cover page)] / Harry Weinberger.— 1 p. ; 23 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: For enclosures, see 850812020 and 871111002.

## NOTICE OF ENTRY

Sir:—

Please take notice that the within is a true copy of a \_\_\_\_\_ this day duly filed and entered in the office of the Clerk of the \_\_\_\_\_

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_ 191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR \_\_\_\_\_  
Office and Post Office Address  
261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City  
To \_\_\_\_\_ Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR \_\_\_\_\_

## NOTICE OF SETTLEMENT.

Sir:—

Please take notice that an order of which the within is a true copy, will be presented for settlement and entry herein to Mr. Justice \_\_\_\_\_

at \_\_\_\_\_ of this Court at \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ in the Borough of \_\_\_\_\_ in the City of New York, on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ 191 at \_\_\_\_\_ o'clock, in the forenoon or as soon thereafter as Counsel can be heard.

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_ 191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR \_\_\_\_\_  
Office and Post Office Address  
261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City  
To \_\_\_\_\_ Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR \_\_\_\_\_

CLERK'S INDEX No.

YEAR

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

UNITED STATES ex rel  
EMMA GOLDMAN,  
Relator,

~~PRISONER~~

against

A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER  
GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION, et al.,

Defendant

## COPY

PETITION FOR WRIT OF  
HABEAS CORPUS AND WRIT OF  
HABEAS CORPUS.

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR Relator,  
Office and Post Office Address  
261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To \_\_\_\_\_ Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR \_\_\_\_\_

Due and timely service of a copy of the within \_\_\_\_\_

is, hereby admitted.

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_ 191

Attorney for \_\_\_\_\_

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 5, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Anthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p.; 17 x 21 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
 Summary: Caminetti promises to tell Weinberger if Berkman's common-law wife, M.E. Fitzgerald, may accompany him to Russia as soon as he learns whether or not she is also an anarchist.  
 Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. For follow-up letter, see 850712368. For transcription, see 850712364.

Form 1201

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L
If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.	

WESTERN UNION

DEC 5 17

TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L
If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.	

RECEIVED AT

1000 13 GOVT

BR WASHINGTON DC 5P DEC 5TH 1919

HARRY WEINBERGER

1000 13 GOVT

FOR A K L YOUR TELEGRAM OF LAST NIGHT IF COULD SAY WILL  
 ANSWER IN BERKMAN CAN BE REPORTED WITH THE THE POINT OF  
 YOUR REQUEST SUGGESTS THE QUESTION TO BE AN ANSWERED BEFORE  
 A THE REPLY TO THIS MESSAGE WILL REPLY YOUR ANSWER TO  
 THE QUESTION.

CAMINETTI

507PM

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660

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 5, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: Transcript of 850712363.

Form 11

## CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

December 5, 1919.

52410/43

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

You ask in your telegram of last night if common law wife Alexander Berkman can be deported with him. The form of your request suggests the question is she an anarchist. Before making reply to said message will await your answer to this question.

AC\*REM

CAMINETTI

-----  
Attest:

Commissioner General.

\* \* \* \* \*

The above is an official copy of telegram sent this day.

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General.

14-468

850712368

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 6, Washington [D.C. 10] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. -- 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caminetti acknowledges receipt of Weinberger's request to allow Berkman's common-law wife to accompany him to Soviet Russia.

Notes: Reply to 850712358. For telegram mentioned, see 850712363 and 850712364.

### U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION

WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,  
AND REFER TO

No. 52410/43

December 6, 1919.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
Attorney at Law,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, in which you file application for permission of the "common law wife," of Alexander Berkman to be deported with him. This application the Bureau answered in its telegram to you of yesterday. Upon receipt of your response to said telegram, your application in this connection will be given further consideration.

Respectfully,

WJP/FE

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General.

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662



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 6 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].

— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger wants Caminetti to know that he did not give incorrect statements to the press, but  
gave Caminetti's telegram to the reporters.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Reply to 850712353.

December 6, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Caminetti:-

In re your telegram to me of  
December 4th, in which you state that I "seem to  
have given out for publication an erroneous statement".  
I beg to state, so that we will have the report  
straight between ourselves, that I gave out an exact  
copy of the telegram itself, and if there was any erroneous  
statement published by any paper, it was that they may  
have paraphrased the telegram rather than print what I  
gave when they called on me.

I always try to be as exact, as I know  
you try to be.

Very truly yours,

HW/ICW

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663

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]19 Dec. 6 [Washington, D.C. to W.J. Peters?] Law Division,  
Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / [Anthony] C[aminetti],  
Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].—  
1 p.; 25 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Caminetti explains that Goldman and Berkman cannot pay extra for first-class accommodations when deported.

Notes: Lower document only. Response to 830214047. For follow-up, see 850712369.

201 BROADWAY, NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

December 4, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

Will you kindly inform me if Mr.  
Alexander Berkman and Miss Emma Goldman are actually  
deported, whether the government will allow them to  
pay the difference between third-class accommodations  
and first-class accommodations, so that they may go as  
first-class passengers. The precedent for the granting  
of this request is the case of John Turner, who I believe  
was deported in 1903.

Kindly wire me.

Very truly yours,

*Harry J. Campbell*

HW/ICW

*Law Div.*

*All deportees  
in the class consisting  
of aliens held for  
deportation under the  
immigration laws  
will be treated  
alike - they will be  
no special privileges  
permitted. Request is therefore  
denied Dec 6/19*

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664

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 6, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony]  
Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. —  
1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*  
**Summary:** Caminetti denies Weinberger's request to pay for first-class accommodations for Goldman and  
Berkman at their deportation.  
**Notes:** Broken type. Reply to 830214047. For related document, see 870716002.

## U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,  
AND REFER TO

No. 52410/43

December 6, 1919.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
Attorney at Law,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 4th instant, requesting advices as to whether or not Alexander Berkman and Miss Goldman may, in the event of their deportation, proceed as first-class passengers by paying the difference in the cost of first-class over third-class accommodations.

In reply I beg to advise you that, in so far as this Bureau is concerned, all aliens who are to be deported under the deportation clauses of the immigration law will receive like treatment, both in the matter of accommodation while in the custody of this Service, and while on the steamships in process of deportation. It has no desire, and does not propose, to confer special privileges upon any alien, or aliens, individually or collectively, who are deported under the anarchistic provisions of the law. It is accordingly necessary to deny your request.

Respectfully,

WJP/FE

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 6 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks Abercrombie to send him Goldman and Berkman's bail bonds immediately.  
**Notes:** Broken type; light copy. For reply, see 850712366.

WESTERN UNION.

Decomhor 6, 1919.

John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

Send liberty bonds by express immediately  
if not already done period wire me if sent

HARRY WEINBERGER.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

666



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 6, Wash[ingto]n, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti [Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 18 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caminetti arranges to return Goldman and Berkman's bail bonds to Weinberger.

Notes: Reply to 850712370. For reply, see 850712371 and 850712372. For transcription, see 850712367.

## POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES

RECEIVED AT

CLARENCE J. MACKAY, PRESIDENT

# TELEGRAM

DELIVERY NO.

3511

The Postal Telegraph Cable Company (Incorporated) transmits and delivers this message subject to the terms and conditions printed on the back of this blank.

This is a fast Day Telegram unless otherwise indicated by signal after the number of words: "N. L." (Night Lettergram) or "Nite" (Night Telegram). Form 16

496W LI 54COLLECT

BR WASHN DC DEC 6 1919

DEC 6 4 53 PM '19

HARRY WEINBERGER

261 BWAY NEWYORK

THE BUREAU IS READY TO RETURN BY EXPRESS ALL CHARGES  
COLLECT BONDS FILED BY YOU ON BEHALF GOLDMAN AND BERKMAN  
AS SOON AS YOU ASSURE IT YOU ABSOLVE GOVERNMENT FROM  
ALL RISK OF LOSS IN TRANSIT OTHERWISE IT WILL AWAIT  
YOUR CALLING HERE WHEN PERSONAL DELIVERY WILL BE MADE AND  
YOUR RECEIPT SURRENDERED

CAMINETTI

451PM

8/130

# 667

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 6, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York /  
A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of  
Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Transcript of 850712366.

Form 11

CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM

COMMERCIAL RATE: COLLECT

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

December 6, 1919.

52410/43

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

The Bureau is ready to return by express, all charges collect, bonds  
filed by you on behalf Goldman and Berkman as soon as you assure it you  
absolve Government from all risk of loss in transit. Otherwise, it will  
await your calling here when personal delivery will be made and your  
receipt surrendered.

CAMINETTI

Attest:

WIP:RM

Commissioner General.

\* \* \* \* \*

The above is an official copy of telegram sent this day.

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General.

11-468

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668



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 6, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / [Francis G.] Caffey [United States Attorney, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: Caffey explains that he has not yet received the papers for Goldman's habeas corpus petition.  
 Notes: Dark copy. For reply, see 880606297.

COPY

from  
 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Department of Justice

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

34wa 41 govt

New York, December 6, 1919

Attorney General,

Washington D.C.

Berkman Goldman Proceedings set for hearing Monday no papers  
 received from you two o'clock today if practicable request  
 delivery by messenger of duplicates Sunday at my residence  
 Forty four West forty fourth street attention Mr. Hoover

Caffey

3 18 P.M.

186233-13-225

W. G. C.

RECEIVED

DEC 12 19

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669



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 6 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey [United States Attorney, Department of Justice], New York / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hoover sends Caffey documents in Goldman and Berkman's deportation case to replace those lost in the mail. He explains the usefulness of each document.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Reply to 810113096. For related document, see 810113083.

JHE-270

December 6, 1919.

Honorable Francis G. Caffey,  
44 West 44th Street,  
New York City.

Dear Mr. Caffey:

Re GOLDMAN-BERKMAN cases. I have had a very careful search made in the Post Office in this city from which the original packages were sent on Friday December fifth by special delivery to you and find that the same apparently left Washington. I also had the Post Office Department here communicate with the New York Post Office relative to this matter. They were sent by special delivery, in order that you would receive them at once, as I was informed that if sent via mail by registered mail it would take approximately three or four days before same would reach you.

I believe the inclosed copies will enable you to get a general idea of each of the cases. Of course all of the exhibits introduced in the cases are not here. However, the photostatic copies of the exhibits that are attached are the only ones which apply to the citizenship status of Emma Goldman. I have inclosed in the Goldman folder a photostatic copy of the brief which I prepared on Emma Goldman and you will note

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670



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 6 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey [United States Attorney, Department of Justice], New York / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hoover sends Caffey documents in Goldman and Berkman's deportation case to replace those lost in the mail. He explains the usefulness of each document.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Reply to 810113096. For related document, see 810113083.

Memorable P. No. 8. Caffey, -2- JAN 18/6/20  
re Goldman-Berkman

that the first part of it, at least that of her citizenship hearing the argument upon the grounds that as a naturalization proceeding is a proceeding in rem, a denaturalization proceeding is likewise a proceeding in rem. There is also in the Goldman folder a memorandum prepared by one of the attorneys in this office upon the citizenship status of the subject, dealing with the question as to whether or not Emma Goldman should have been joined in the denaturalization proceedings along with her husband. This matter was not mentioned in my brief, for the reason that I did not have the same at the particular time. The inclosed memorandum throws additional light upon this point and I believe the two taken together will be sufficient to enable you to successfully answer any contention which may be raised upon this point.

In regard to the inclosed record of the Berkman case, you will note that it merely covers the deportation hearing. The exhibits inclosed in this case consisted only of the writings of the subject, as there was no citizenship point involved.

I might also state that in the Goldman folder I have inclosed a photostat copy of the death certificate of JACOB LEVIT, alias KRAMER, as well as affidavits of certain persons

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 6 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey [United States Attorney, Department of Justice], New York / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hoover sends Caffey documents in Goldman and Berkman's deportation case to replace those lost in the mail. He explains the usefulness of each document.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Reply to 810113096. For related document, see 810113083.

Respectable Francis G. Caffey, -3- 322-470 12/6/19  
re Goldman-Berkman

the error to the fact that Jacob Lewis was Jacob Kerner,  
husband of Emma Goldman.

I shall be in New York on Monday morning and will confer  
with you at that time and if any points arise after examining  
the inclosed documents I trust I may be able to be of assistance  
to you in answering the same.

With best regards, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Encl.

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672



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 6 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey [United States Attorney, Department of Justice], New York / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hoover sends an assistant to bring Goldman and Berkman's files to Caffey.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

15446  
December 6, 1919.

Honorable Francis G. Caffey,

44 West 44th Street,

New York City.

Dear Mr. Caffey:

This will introduce to you Mr. T. P. Baughman, one of the assistants in my office, in whose care I have entrusted the duplicate copy of the material in the Goldman-Berkman cases.

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

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673

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 6 to A. Mitchell Palmer? Attorney General?] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / J.C. Pinckney. — 1 p. ; 25 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Using anti-Semitic language, Pinckney objects to Harry Weinberger's efforts on behalf of Goldman and Berkman.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Chief of  
Department of Justice -  
Washington D.C.  
Gentlemen -  
186233-13-19  
FILE  
T.F.B.  
JAN 18 20  
186233-13-230  
Why are Jew ~~anti~~christ  
(Harry Weinberger) ~~lawyers~~  
lawyers, who only studied ~~our~~ laws  
to defeat the ends of justice, allowed  
to prevent the deportation of Emma  
Goldman (who murdered McKinley thru  
Cobzgoz) and Bergman who tried to  
murder Frick. Every man woman and  
child in this country demand their  
deportation -  
Yours J.C. Pinckney

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674



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Young Peoples Socialist League, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 6 / D.C. Van Buren  
[Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: An irate neighbor informs the Chicago Military Intelligence office of the Young People's Socialist League meetings, which Goldman has attended in the past.

Notes: Broken type.

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

## REPORT

OFFICE OF THE STAFF  
*Endorse*  
10110-853  
871  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
1027

CAPTAIN SNOW  
M 14

PERSON	REPORTED BY	DC Van Buren
SUBJECT	PLACE	Chicago.
OFFENSE CHARGED	DATE	Dec. 6 1919.

Joseph A. Martin, 3624 Herndon Ave., phone Graeceland 4927, called at this office and made following statement:

A branch of subject organization meets at 3624 Herndon Ave - basement flat. These people are trying to get the young people in that vicinity to join - they will not accept anyone over 20. They approached my brother, Char. D. Martin - who is only 18 years of age and who is in the mail service but after they saw his uniform they had no use for him.

They have a printing press at this location and work between 10 P.M. and 3 A.M. They take out their literature either in the early hours of the morning or the middle of the afternoon. I have never been able to get hold of any of their publications. They take the stuff out thru the alley and away in a car - I think a Chalmers - have not taken the number but will endeavor to get it.

Five or six couples attend their meetings. I am informed that before Emma Goldman was sent East, that she was entertained at one of their meetings.

The owner of the press is one Carl Barrichter who was in service and served at Norfolk, I believe as a fireman. His brother-in-law at times dons uniform of Carl Barrichter.

It is said that it is a common occurrence for his wife to go thru her flat wearing nothing but a smile.

All these occurrences have so incensed the people living in this immediate vicinity - that it is said that if some action is not taken by someone in authority by next Wednesday night - that these people are planning to raid the place - which will undoubtedly result in blood shed. This I am trying to avoid if possible.

I do not know the names of anyone who attends the meetings at this place but have reason to believe they come from the neighborhood between Addison and Diversey.

D. I. O. FILE NO.

Staff  
Military Intelligence Div.  
10110-853  
165  
7988  
835

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675

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman — Anarchists, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1919 Dec. 6 / P.J. Fergus [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Fergus reports on his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman in Chicago.

REPORT MADE BY: <b>P.J. Fergus,</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Grand Rapids, Mich.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>December 6, 1919.</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Nov. 25-30/19.</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Anarchists.</b>			
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.: <b>At Chicago, Ill. Chicago Headquarters.</b>			
<p>Pursuant to instructions from Division Superintendent Brennan, Agent together with Agents J.D. Rooney, A.G. Jamie, kept subjects under surveillance for the above period. Agents were relieved by Agents Wolfé, Spalaneky and McHenry. Agents worked on shifts under instructions.</p> <p>Late in the afternoon of November 29th Agent received instructions from Division Superintendent Brennan, that he had received a wire from Grand Rapids advising him to have Agent together with Agents Rooney and Jamie to report to Frank C. Dailey, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, at Grand Rapids not later than Sunday November 30th at 7:30PM. Agent complied according to instructions.</p>			
COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Chicago and Washington.</b>			

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676

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 6 / F.M. Sturgis [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Sturgis submits a detailed report of his interviews seeking information about Jacob Kersner's citizenship, marriage to Goldman, life as Jacob Lewis, and his death.

Notes: Follow-up to 880606250. For affidavits mentioned, see 810113089 through 810113092.

Summary Form No. 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>P. M. Sturgis</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>Chicago, Ill.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Dec. 6, 1919</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Dec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1919 inclusive.</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In re: Emma Goldman, Deportation Matter.</b>			
SUBJECT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC. <b>At Chicago</b>			
<p>Continuing report and referring to telegrams from the Washington office the before-mentioned <u>Mrs. Hyman M. Goldberg</u> and her daughter <u>Clara</u>, whose married name is <u>Mrs. Clara Ackerman</u>, one <u>Barney Josephs</u> and <u>Isadore Josephs</u> were brought before U. S. Commissioner Foote and their statements taken in affidavit form, copies of which were sent to the Washington and Buffalo offices; therefore the matter contained therein will not be repeated in this report.</p> <p>Agent interviewed one <u>Benjamin Leibovitz</u>, 509 So. Franklin St., care Majestic Tailors, who stated that he first met Jacob Kersner at Baltimore, Md., in 1907 or '08 and that he employed Kersner to work for him at this time. Leibovitz was then connected with Schloss Bros. Clothing Co. of Baltimore.</p> <p>Leibovitz stated that Kersner came to Chicago in 1909 or '10 and that he again employed him at that time, this being at the Majestic Tailors above-mentioned; Leibovitz having changed his connections in Baltimore to Chicago. He stated he met Kersner through one Bloom, since deceased. Bloom introduced Kersner to him as Jacob Lewis. Leibovitz stated he always understood that was his name until one Barney Josephs told him confidentially that Lewis' correct name was Kersner; that he was the husband of Emma Goldman.</p> <p>Leibovitz further stated that Lewis had told him that he was never married. He gave no more important facts.</p> <p>Agent also interviewed one Mrs. Tannenbaum of 1458 So. Washtenaw Ave. She stated that Kersner roomed at her house for a period of ten years, but that she always knew him under the name</p>			
COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>Washington 3 Chicago 1 Buffalo 1</b>			Page 1 (1210)

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677



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 6 / F.M. Sturgis [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Sturgis submits a detailed report of his interviews seeking information about Jacob Kersner's citizenship, marriage to Goldman, life as Jacob Lewis, and his death.

Notes: Follow-up to 880606250. For affidavits mentioned, see 810113089 through 810113092.

F. M. Sturgis for Dec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 Inclusive.

In re: Emma Goldman,  
Deportation Matter.

of Jacob Lewis until one time, about four years ago, when one Mrs. "Marie" met her and Kersner in a grocery store and said "Hello, Mr. Kersner." Kersner denied that that was his name and said he was Mr. Lewis. Mrs. Marie stated to Mrs. Tannenbaum that she knew he was Kersner, as she knew him when he lived at Rochester, N. Y.

Mrs. Tannenbaum further stated that the only reference Kersner ever made to her as to his nuptial relationship in the following statement: "I was disappointed in love once. Don't ask me any more."

Mrs. Tannenbaum stated that at one time he told her that he was a citizen of the United States, having come to this country when he was 13 years of age. A number of times he told Mrs. Tannenbaum that he was going out to vote, on various election days.

Agent interviewed one Mrs. Ray Berg of 4815 No. Albany Ave., (Phone Monticello 9860). This woman was found by Agent to be the before-mentioned Mrs. "Marie." She stated that she knew both Emma Goldman and Kersner when they lived at Rochester, N. Y., as that was previously her home.

She stated that Emma Goldman came to Rochester when she was about 17 or 18 years of age and that she has known her since that time; that when Emma Goldman was a young girl she was well thought of, but evidently brought anarchistic ideas from Russia, she having received a good education in Russia.

She stated that she knew Kersner at the same time; that he came of a very good family, his family being considered one of the best in Rochester.

She further stated that Emma Goldman and Kersner were married about 35 years ago; she figuring this from the fact that she has been married nearly thirty years and that Kersner and Emma Goldman were married a few years before she was. While she had no proof that they were married she said "I always understood

Page 2 (101C)

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678



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 6 / F.M. Sturgis [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Sturgis submits a detailed report of his interviews seeking information about Jacob Kersner's citizenship, marriage to Goldman, life as Jacob Lewis, and his death.

Notes: Follow-up to 880606250. For affidavits mentioned, see 810113089 through 810113092.

F.M. Sturgis for Dec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1919 Inclusive.

In re: Emma Goldman,  
Deportation Matter.

that that was the case." As to their being divorced, she knew nothing but thought it might be possible that they were not divorced for the following reasons: That Emma Goldman believed in "free love" and therefore would not be interested in divorce and believed that Kersner was always deeply infatuated with Emma Goldman, even up to the latter years; that he merely would not live with her on account of her being an Anarchist. She stated that if the divorce did take place she believed that beyond a doubt it would be in Rochester, Buffalo, or possibly Chicago, as these would be about the only places that Kersner would have a residence established.

She further stated that Kersner has a sister who is a nurse in the Rochester City Hospital, Rochester, N. Y. and that she believed that the furniture store previously ran by Emma Goldman's father in Rochester was now run by Emma Goldman's brothers.

She further stated that she met Mr. Kersner in Chicago a few years ago, this being the first time she had seen him since leaving Rochester and that she addressed him as Jacob Kersner and he turned very white and said no he was not Jacob Kersner, but Jacob Lewis. Her daughter was also present at this meeting and verified this fact to Agent. She stated though, that since she had known Kersner for such a length of time in Rochester that, of course, she knew that he was lying when he said he was not Jacob Kersner, but she did not press the matter as it was of no interest to her.

She further stated that one Mrs. Fineberg is a sister of Emma Goldman's mother and lives in Rochester; further address unknown, and likely could give many facts if she cared to. She is willing to make an affidavit to the above facts if necessary.

Agent interviewed one Mrs. Anna Simons of 2056 Pearce Ave. She stated that Kersner roomed at her house the six months prior to his death; that she always knew him under the name

Page 3 (1040)

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679

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman - Deportation Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 6 / F.M. Sturgis [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 5 p.; 26 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Sturgis submits a detailed report of his interviews seeking information about Jacob Kersner's citizenship, marriage to Goldman, life as Jacob Lewis, and his death.

Notes: Follow-up to 880606250. For affidavits mentioned, see 810113089 through 810113092.

2. Sturgis for Dec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1919 Inclusive.

In re: Emma Goldman,  
Deportation Matter.

of Jacob Lewis, she having met him through placing an advertisement in the newspaper to rent one of her rooms. She stated she never knew he was Jacob Kersner until told that fact at the time of his death by the before-mentioned Barney Josephs. The only mention made by him to her of his previous family connections was that "I am a sickly man and don't want to get a wife. It is too late now for me to make a home."

Kersner came to the house of Mrs. Simons from the home of the before-mentioned Mrs. Tannenbaum, where he had lived for a period of about 10 years.

All persons whom Agent has interviewed regarding this matter stated that Kersner was a very fine man; they being emphatic on this point. They were also emphatic in stating that Kersner was of a very secretive nature and never confided in anyone to any extent and more especially never confided regarding his former family relationships.

The before-mentioned Mrs. Tannenbaum, Barney Josephs and Mr. and Mrs. Hyman Goldberg stated that they understood that Kersner was insured, but a search of his effects which were at the home of Mrs. Simons when he died, failed to reveal any insurance papers.

Mrs. Simons stated that she heard - the source she cannot remember - that the insurance papers had been given by Kersner to his sister at the Rochester City Hospital some time before he died.

Mrs. Tannenbaum stated to Agent that the day before Kersner died she asked him what he wanted to do with his effects and he stated "that is all in a letter that I have left." This letter all the before-mentioned parties stated was never located.

Agent interviewed Hyman M. Goldberg and he stated that he met Kersner at Chicago about 1909, being introduced to him

Page 4 (ENC)

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680

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 6 / F.M. Sturgis [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Sturgis submits a detailed report of his interviews seeking information about Jacob Kersner's citizenship, marriage to Goldman, life as Jacob Lewis, and his death.

Notes: Follow-up to 880606250. For affidavits mentioned, see 810113089 through 810113092.

F. M. Sturgis for Dec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 1919 Inclusive.

In re: Emma Goldman,  
Deportation Matter.

by the before-mentioned Barney Josephs and he was introduced to him under the name of Jacob Lewis. He stated he never knew his correct name until told same by Barney Josephs after Kersner's death. He stated that he knows that Kersner did have insurance because he knows of times that Kersner mentioned he had to pay insurance premiums.

As to Kersner being a citizen he stated that he was a strong Republican and that he voted at every election. He further stated that he did not know if Kersner had taken out naturalization papers, but that he came to this country 15 or 20 years before his parents and therefore he could not have become a citizen through the naturalization of his father.

Agent interviewed the before-mentioned Mr. Ackerman and he stated that Kersner told him that he had taken out his papers, but he did not say if they were final papers, or merely declaration.

Ackerman further stated that Kersner told him that he cast his first vote when he was 20 years old. This talk came up at once time that he and Kersner were talking politics.

The before-mentioned Mr. Goldberg stated that he received letters from Joseph Kersner, brother of Jacob Kersner, said letters being written after Jacob's death and were regarding same and also made mention of the correct name and alias of Kersner. Mr. Goldberg stated that he though he had preserved these letters and if so he would deliver them to this office.

Page 5  
(11110)

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681



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 7, New York [to A. Mitchell] Palmer [Attorney General]  
 Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Tho[mas] L. Elder. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: As a third-generation citizen, Elder demands that the Justice Department deport Goldman and Berkman immediately.

**COPY**  
 from  
**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES**  
 Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13  
 N. J.  
 P.D.W.

21 West 35th Street,

New York, December 7, 1919

Mr. Palmer, 929

Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Please allow me to make a demand that those notorious anarchists Goldman and Berkman be sent out of these United States at an early date. I was in Pittsburg when that Berkman treacherously attacked the late H.C. Frick. He served only a fraction of the sentence he received to the Western Penitentiary. One would inquire, how comes it that these con-surreate rascals and arch-enemies of society get far more considera-tion, and better treatment, at the hands of our government and officials than the common run of anarchist, such for instance as those taking a part in the Chicago riots in the '80s., Wolff, Engel, Spies and the others who were summarily executed. When these two were sentenced to the penitentiary the last time we read they were at time of expiration of their terms, "to be fined \$10,000 each and then deported." I have heard this same rascal Berkman right here in Union Square openly denounce our institutions, within five or six years in the midst of red flags. A good many citizens of the United States are ready to believe that at Washington D.C. among our officials are some of Socialistic if not Bolshevik leanings. Be that as it may, there is too much pussyfooting going on to suit the real American, and I, as a descendant of three grandfather ancestors who fought in our Revolution to make the land independent, feel the right to make this request. Why allow these two persons, the very scum of the earth, to openly prete about their privileges, rights, etc, who do not believe in courts, law or order, yet shield themselves behind all of them when their own dirty bodies are in danger.

We read with great disgust that our government is going to be so consid-

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 7, New York [to A. Mitchell] Palmer [Attorney General]  
 Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Tho[mas] L. Elder. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.*  
**Summary:** As a third-generation citizen, Elder demands that the Justice Department deport Goldman and Berkman immediately.

COPY

from  
 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

ereate of their wishes, and of their safety as to be certain that they are  
 landed in Soviet Russia, where they will be safe, and not in a region where  
 they may fall a prey among wolves, the "White Guards". Get them out of  
 the country. We will be glad to hear of their falling into somebody's  
 hands, and we don't care into whose hands they fall. Their presence here,  
 at times banqueting by silly idealists and dreamers, has been a great menace  
 to our country and institutions for many years. How long is it going to con-  
 tinue? How long is the Administration going to tolerate such a condition of  
 affairs?

The newspapers tell that when these two arrived at Ellis Island  
 yesterday or day before, the other Bolsheviks and Anarchists (whom somebody  
 has been releasing en masse recently. to work further harm in our midst)  
 fell down and kissed the hem of Goldman's garments.

These two have a pull somewhere in officialdom and we want to  
 find out who is furnishing the pull. If there are not sufficient laws,  
 who is preventing our having fit laws to cover their cases? Men, senators  
 congressmen, and others may "yammer" by the hour as to social unrest, but  
 so long as such as these are allowed in our midst such "yammering" is non-  
 sense, and as "tinkling cymbals". We are sick and tired of it and need  
 a remedy. Why not make a special effort to rid America of these two  
 disgusting persons? Will you assist in this?

Yours respectfully,

Thomas L. Elder

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683

# The Emma Goldman Papers

891216019

[Letter, 19]19 Dec. 7, Brooklyn, N.Y. [to A. Mitchell] Palmer [Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / Theodore De Munel. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
Summary: De Munel urges Palmer to deport Goldman and Berkman.  
Notes: For reply, see 891216019.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

Brooklyn, N.Y. 12/7/19

Dear Mr Palmer.

For God sake dont  
let Bukman & Goldman & the rest  
of that bunch of defamers of the  
United States get away with it this  
time, but send them bag & baggage out  
of this country at once.

Wherever two or three of their supporters  
congregate together they are making all  
manner of sport at the inability of the  
Law to bust them.

With best wishes and kindest  
regard I am yours Respect  
Theodore De Munel.  
113 Cooper Street.

186233-13-226

DEC 10 1919  
CREIGHTON

FILE  
S.E.H.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Do Beacon Street and Back Bay Boost Bolshevism — 36 cm. In The [Boston] Herald (Dec. 7, 1919) / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: A feature in the Boston Sunday Herald discusses the trend among prominent Bostonians to support radicalism.

Notes: Three shots of one page. Enclosed with 810331121.

THE SUNDAY HERALD

## DO BEACON STREET AND

### Who Are the Men and Women, Prominent and Financial Support to the Radical

Who are the people of means in Boston, men or women — presumably women — who are lending their support to the spread of radicalism in our midst, bolshevism, if you will? Do they really know the ultimate goal of such theories? Are they ready to stand the final consequences when they come?

Announcing names just now is a bit premature. Under the peaceful surface of our Boston world quiet investigation is going on, and it must not be interrupted with. Names on file in the bureau, names of people whose identity, when disclosed, will cause a gasp of amazement, are not yet to be spoken.

The federal authorities are keen on the trail of many an unsuspecting person, watching every move. The eyes of the secret services are not shut. In the mayor's office there is a quiet hum of excitement as detail after detail is added to the records. The immigration officials could several tales unfold if they would. But the public welfare demands yet a little silence, yet a little more evidence before final disclosure.

#### Half-Baked

#### Sympathy Let Loose

The flaming radical, who would go to the stake smiling, for the sake of his principles, is not deterred by publicity. But many a person who has a half-baked idea that he would just love to be radical, is brought up short when the thought occurs to him that he is regarded by the authorities as dangerous.

More than one person has been sucked in to the swirl by the unthinking sympathy that sees wrong in the world and wishes to right it, without having taken the means of progress into consideration. Others, rather desirous of being a bit naughty and wild, have been attracted by the lure of issuing from their brownstone fronts of the Back Bay and appearing as messengers of light from above, with healing for the poor and the oppressed. The stodgy respectability of brownstone, or the glamor of living in the neighborhood where the great of the past have walked, is to the minds of some sufficient protection for any little excursions among the inflammable, any little junkets into the realm of wild ideas. But they are known, and disclosure is sure to come.

A well-known musician of the Back Bay, for example, is of the number. Quiet distribution of pamphlets among pupils is the means. These pamphlets are at first mild, unobjectionable. Then they progress. They begin to roll their eyes at the horror of things as they are, and they arrive at dangerous propositions, such as the things that are, and to change them as the radicals wish.

These things are thus led, with the aid of the original serpent, into taking a position that they would have been in at not long before. This musician is constantly under surveillance. Changing of the name would send a shiver through more than one brain, a shiver down many a back.

Are there any of that salad breed, the "parlor radical," in the Back Bay? Rumors have long said so. The authorities now say so. Residents of the Back Bay declare that there are such people, and that they are holding meetings and openly advocating violence.

#### Parlor Radicals Get Relief in Words

The "parlor radical" is seldom in him-

self, always the relief of words. As a high federal authority in Boston remarked the other day, "Scratch a parlor radical and you loose a whole catarract of words." If they talked only to themselves, they might be indulgently smiled upon. But they often gather round them the people who eschew the indulgence of words and resort to caustic meditation with a hope for violent action.

Often these "parlor radicals" do not mean what they say. With their gifts of oratory they soar out into the ether, real realms of fancy and propose things, make statements at which in private they blush and are horrified. So it is said that Mr. H. W. L. Dana of Cambridge, who has made startling speeches, is in private a docile citizen, content with his lot. So it is said that a young lady on Mt. Vernon street, whose eyes glow with desire for the firebrand when she is speaking or listening in public, is in private and at home a good, staid, sober citizen.

The audience that listens at Peabody House is not so sure of relaxing into slumber after the lecture. Peabody House has had its trouble with inflammatory speakers, especially during last year, but Mrs. Landon Frothingham of 66 Beacon street is authority for the statement that matters there are now much in hand and safe. When Mr. Dana inflamed that audience, and cooled off himself, the audience went out with wild eyes and without the relief of words.

Two other places that are often mentioned as hotbeds of this kind of inflammation are Parson's Hall in Roxbury and Trinity Court in the heart of the city. Some of the residents around Parson's Hall have offered complaints from time to time of the character of the meetings being held there, where, they say, the most outrageous doctrines are being urged.

Mrs. Dana is also authority

for the statement that apparently several people of wealth are promoting the spread of dangerous radical doctrines. By promoting, she says that she means giving encouragement to those who preach these doctrines, encouragement by word and by purse. That there is an organized body in the Back Bay she does not believe, but rather that sporadic efforts are being made, and individual hearts are thrown into the most delightful shivers by skirting the edge of danger.

#### Inflammatory Meetings Held

Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley of 68 Beacon street has attended several meetings of avowedly violent radicals, has taken notes, and has bought the literature. If such it is—which is sold at the door. She has heard things said that support direct violence and overthrow of the government. Not immediately, the speakers have said, for the time is not quite ripe. But as soon as the downtrodden shall have been enlightened with Bolshevist doctrines, then overthrow may come. At one meeting in which fairly mild remarks and suggestions had been made, a woman rose and cried, "Why content ourselves with such namby-pamby ideas? The thing to do is to overturn society, to burn and to kill if necessary, and then to make things as we want them."

At these meetings there were usually present a few people of American birth, but the majority were English speaking people from the countries of Europe. Many were young girls who seemed endowed, Mrs. Bagley says, with limitless credulity, and dumbly, gropingly, wanted

a change of some sort, violence.

It is known that one wealthy woman of the Back Bay, appealing to the quality love, to general sympathy, not perhaps blind, with the was able to obtain much.

The people who attend and who make such so no time for the progress believes that there are wrongs, in the world, should be righted by force and that such processes are too slow. The people who advocate violence are really still for sound foundations, touch a match to the and blow things up.

One prominent woman, dowry Evans, of whom in this connection, is whether she is led to at least, to defend her polls—an empty hope, as proved. Another person the Back Bay, but in violence, though in progress, remains quiet. Mrs. Evans is in the America—she is to do for her absence. So the harmony even in the moment and wealth.

In the violent in these held speakers by a few working class of America, and has turned upon the way amping attitude. In the are sold we find such "Who will bear the too slave's darkness, day. "Indeed, the government of the present has those of us who are a sleeping giant, labor to



ABOVE, LEFT TO RIGHT—MRS. GLENDOWER EVANS, STRONGLY OPPOSED TO RADICALISM; PERSONAL SYMPATHY LEO HER TO AID LAWRENCE STRIKERS; ROSE PASTOR STOKES, RADICAL; JOHN J. BALLOM, A BOSTON RADICAL, ARRESTED LAST WEEK ON A STEAMER HE WAS PREPARING TO SAIL TO MEXICO; THOMAS J. BOYNTON, UNITED STATES DISTRICT ATTORNEY, WHO WILL DIRECT ANY LOCAL PROSECUTIONS; EMMA GOLDMAN, THE MOST FREQUENTLY ARRESTED WOMAN IN THE COUNTRY. BELOW, MRS. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY, OPPOSED TO RADICALISM, WHO HAS TAKEN NOTES AT RADICAL MEETINGS.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Do Beacon Street and Back Bay Boost Bolshevism — 36 cm. In The [Boston] Herald (Dec. 7, 1919) / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: A feature in the Boston Sunday Herald discusses the trend among prominent Bostonians to support radicalism.

Notes: Three shots of one page. Enclosed with 810331121.

HERALD, BOSTON, DECEMBER 7, 1919.

## BACK BAY BOOST BOLSHEVISM

### What Movement That Threatens the Civilized World?



M, BUT WHOSE  
ES, A MILITANT  
MER ON WHICH  
STRICT ATTOR-  
NOTORIOUS AND  
A. MITCHELL  
TO BOLSHEV-

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thoroughness, he  
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to "beat brains"  
a baffling prob-  
le? How can I  
wake rouse the  
working class



—how to fire the toiler's brain with  
thoughts higher than a slave's thoughts;  
how to fill his soul with a holy lust for  
life, for all of life, the big, best things  
of real life?" In an effort to stir the  
reader awake the words flow: "Perhaps  
you are some sort of lumpy, stupid  
man, and you are simply staying around  
here for a few more years trying to 'find  
work' so you can 'get ahead' sufficiently  
to buy a coffin and make a get-away  
just waiting and trying to find an excuse  
for having been born; or, perhaps you  
are muck-like a sheep; or, perhaps you  
are just plain crazy."

#### Property Makes for Stability

"Seize the world, hold the world, enjoy  
the world"—these are some of the teach-  
ings. Titles of the pamphlets are "Re-  
form or Revolution," "The Class Strug-  
gle," "Industrial Unionism," "Think or  
Surrender," "Shop Talks on Economics,"  
"The Bolsheviks and the Soviets." Some

of these are so mild as to be spurned by  
the more radical.

Prominent government officials have  
stated their opinions within the last  
few days that the situation is not so  
dangerous as to be immediately alarm-  
ing. There are, they say, too many  
people of property in the United States  
to admit of a wholesale overthrow  
of the present system of society. When  
every one's toes are going to get pinched  
the weight is not dropped. One woman  
who owns a piece of real estate re-  
marked that she thought there was so  
much injustice that capital will have  
to give up, take a back seat and re-  
linquish whatever it has to the work-  
ers. "But," said the federal authority  
to whom she was speaking, "you prob-  
ably know that such a change would  
involve you, for you are a capitalist  
yourself, owning property and real  
estate." That was a staggering blow  
for the moment, and the woman de-  
clared that she would like a little time  
to think things over, before she con-  
tinued her remarks.

"A large part of the blame for the  
present situation," says T. J. Boynton,

United States district attorney, "is to  
be laid on the shoulders of the so-called  
loyal and good Americans. As a nation  
we have been grossly lax and indif-  
ferent to our duties toward the foreign-  
ers who come to our shores. We admit  
them, set them to work in factories and  
mines and pay no more attention to  
them. Our women do not associate with  
their women, our men do not associate  
with their men.

"Naturally they herd together, just as  
we should do in their countries, where  
they can hear their own speech. Natu-  
rally they look with some suspicion  
upon Americans who openly despise  
them. Naturally they easily become the  
prey of unscrupulous members of their  
own race and nationality, and the re-  
sult is discontent and eagerness to  
snatch at any way of escape, even if  
violent. If they knew English, they  
would be much more intelligent in their  
reaction to our affairs."

Too many people, Mr. Boynton con-  
tinued, do not distinguish between  
decent Socialists and the offensive  
"Reds," so-called.

#### Reactionaries

##### Dangerous, Too

Most of us, he said, are somewhat  
socialistic, in that we desire to have a  
reasonably equitable distribution of  
wealth, and of rights. Most of us are  
in favor of legislation that will bring  
this about, in favor of reforms in laws  
and in courts in so far as they tend  
toward making more people happy. In  
so far as we go hand in hand with the  
reasonable Socialist. But there are also  
those others, to whom the word "So-  
cialist" is an abomination, a word that  
means a spineless creature, a good-for-  
nothing person, timid, contemptible.  
These others are the "Reds," the people  
who wish to shatter to bits and remold  
nearer their hearts' desires. Karl Marx  
probably had, late in life, the theory  
that when the workers should dominate,  
they would already be in a majority,  
and their domination would merely be a  
rule by the majority. But these "Reds"  
wish to have a comparatively small  
class rule the rest; wish to reverse  
conditions, in other words, and make  
those few who have been at the bottom  
rule all, just as those few who have  
been at the top have been ruling all.

There is that other class that is as  
dangerous, the reactionaries, who are

unwilling to allow  
additional power to  
hands into the hands  
workers. These peo-  
ple and cultivated per-  
sons of large prop-  
erty, and their rights  
thought of introduc-  
ing torments and mi-  
series, and a large out-  
lay of time and effort  
horrible to them be-  
cause their financial re-  
turns are small. They  
sneer at the Social-  
ist, they breed dissat-  
isfaction, they breed  
apparently unscat-  
tered workers, at which  
they breed hatred and  
gendered hatred and  
Such a case as the  
death shuttle" in an  
case where holders  
to change, even the  
all decency demands  
compelled them.

#### The "Kiss of Death" Shuttle.

As many do not  
shuttle had a hole  
which, whenever it  
weaving, the weaver  
sucking with his lips  
of the thread and the  
in the cloth. The de-  
vily successful, but in  
As a spreader of  
viciously successful  
among mill work-  
ers among their child-  
hood by the use of  
all attempts to have  
and to have a substi-  
tutes ready—  
after a long and bit-  
ter struggle the Legisla-  
ture the shuttle, and  
was stopped.

Unquestionably in  
some of the blame  
the good citizens of  
allowed such unmiti-  
gated—for worse the  
elves—to exist in the  
city. So in Lowell  
found a huge thing  
like 20 rooms a  
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So also in Lowell,  
dwelling was so bad  
years it paid for  
allowed future rent  
gain—at the expense  
ed like guinea pigs.  
To the ignorant  
tions are infamous  
blame him? Then  
money chances also  
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the blaze is at the  
that a state official  
through Massachusetts  
purpose of bringing  
The money, it is  
Russia and from  
who are willing to  
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ly unlettered for  
speakers can play  
The official sugges-  
tempt at American  
remedy for the situation.

That education  
facilities of commu-  
nity in increased de-  
mand is clear. The  
ward making more  
living conditions  
wealth of the work-  
ing class is also clear. All the  
it that people should  
progress with sci-  
ence, and reactio-  
naries blindly all avenues  
that unthinkingly  
should be giving a  
conflagration which  
be using it toward  
eral public into a  
tudo, an attitude  
instead of remain-  
ing as it now is.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: A feature in the Boston Sunday Herald discusses the trend among prominent Bostonians to support radicalism.

Notes: Three shots of one page. Enclosed with 810331121.

DECEMBER 7, 1919.

## BAY BOOST BOLSHEVISM?

ston Society, Who Are Giving Their Moral  
nt That Threatens the Civilized World?



United States district attorney, "is to be laid on the shoulders of the so-called loyal and good Americans. As a nation we have been grossly lax and indifferent to our duties toward the foreigners who come to our shores. We admit them, set them to work in factories and mines and pay no more attention to them. Our women do not associate with their women, our men do not associate with their men."

"Naturally they herd together, just as we should do in their countries, where they can hear their own speech. Naturally they look with some suspicion upon Americans who openly despise them. Naturally they easily become the prey of unscrupulous members of their own race and nationality, and the result is discontent and eagerness to snatch at any way of escape, even if violent. If they knew English, they would be much more intelligent in their reaction to our affairs."

"Too many people, Mr. Boynton continued, do not distinguish between decent Socialists and the offensive 'Reds,' so-called."

### Reactionaries Dangerous, Too

Most of us, he said, are somewhat socialist, in that we desire to have a reasonably equitable distribution of wealth, and of rights. Most of us are in favor of legislation that will bring this about, in favor of reforms in laws and in courts in so far as they tend toward making more people happy. In so far as we go hand in hand with the reasonable Socialist. But there are also those others, to whom the word "Socialist" is an abomination, a word that means a spineless creature, a good-for-nothing person, timid, contemptible. These others are the "Reds," the people who wish to shatter to bits and remold nearer their hearts' desires. Karl Marx probably had, late in life, the theory that when the workers should dominate, they would already be in a majority, and their domination would merely be a rule by the majority. But these "Reds" wish to have a comparatively small class rule the rest; wish to reverse conditions, in other words, and make those few who have been at the bottom rule all, just as those few who have been at the top have been ruling all.

There is that other class that is as dangerous, the reactionaries who are

unwilling to allow a slightest bit of additional power to seep out of their hands into the hands of the ignorant workers. These people, often charming and cultivated personalities, have now a large property, and intend to defend their rights against all comers. The thought of introducing reforms in factories and mines, reforms that will cost a large outlay of time and money, is abhorrent to them because it will reduce their financial returns. Like the Warnerian Dragon, sleeping, they possess. So they breed dissatisfaction by rearing the apparently unscalable wall before workers, at which there is naturally generated hatred and desire for revenge. Such a case as the famous "kiss death shuttle" in our mills, is in point case where holders of property refused to change, even though change was all decency demanded, until legislation compelled them.

### The "Kiss of Death" Shuttle

As many do not now remember, the shuttle had a hole in the side through which, whenever the thread broke weaving, the weaver could, by violent sucking with his lips, draw out the end of the thread and tie it to the loose end in the cloth. The device was mechanically successful, but hygienically damnable. As a spreader of disease it was marvellously successful. The mortality among mill workers, and especially among their children, was greatly increased by the use of this shuttle. Yet all attempts to have it done away with and to have a substitute—and there were substitutes ready—were futile. Finally, after a long and bitter fight, the Massachusetts Legislature forbade the use of the shuttle, and the disease spreader was stopped.

Unquestionable in the Lawrence strike some of the blame, at least, rested on the good citizens of that city, who had allowed such unutterable living conditions—far worse than a pet collie receives—to exist in the mill streets of the city. So in Lowell, where an investigation found a huge dwelling where something like 30 rooms had no window but a large number of human occupants. So also in Lowell, where another huge dwelling was so built that within five years it paid for itself completely and allowed future rentals to be almost clear gain—at the expense of those who herded like guinea pigs within its walls.

To the ignorant foreigner these conditions are inflammable, and who can blame him? Then when some one with money chances along and offers to support the efforts of the violent radicals, the blaze is at once started. So it is that a state official reports that through Massachusetts have the sole purpose of bringing about a revolution. The money, it is said, comes from Russia and from wealthy Americans who are willing to give it for sympathetic reasons. The members are largely unlettered foreigners upon whom speakers can play as on an instrument. The official suggests that an honest attempt at Americanization is the best remedy for the situation.

That education and general increased facilities of communication have resulted in increased demands for greater privilege is clear. That the movement toward making more people have decent living conditions and a share of the wealth of the world is here to stay is also clear. All the more unfortunate that people should confuse social progress with wild and unsound notions, and reactionaries should oppose blindly all avenues of improvement, and that unthinkingly sympathetic people should be giving of their money to stay conflagrations when they might better be using it toward influencing the general public into a more intelligent attitude, an attitude of doing something instead of remaining frightened and apine as it now seems to be.

the teller's brain with that a slave's thoughts; but with a holy lust for life, the big, best things in an effort to stave the words flow: "Perhaps out of jumpish, stupid joy or perusal fires all playfully staying around you as trying to find a friend sufficiently and make a get-away (the) me over there" trying to find an excuse born; or, perhaps you sheep or perhaps you

yes

hold the world, enjoy are some of the teaching pamphlets are "Reaction," "The Class Struggle," "Think or Talk on Economics," and the Soviets." Some

of these are so mild as to be spurned by the more radical.

Prominent government officials have stated their opinions within the last few days that the situation is not so dangerous as to be immediately alarming. There are, they say, too many people of property in the United States to admit of a wholesale overthrow of the present system of society. When every one's toes are going to get pinched the weight is not dropped. One woman who owns a piece of real estate remarked that she thought there was so much injustice that capital will have to give up, take a back seat and relinquish whatever it has to the workers. "But," said the federal authority to whom she was speaking, "you probably know that such a change would involve you, for you are a capitalist yourself, owning property and real estate." That was a staggering blow for the moment, and the woman declared that she would like a little time to think things over, before she continued her remarks.

"A large part of the blame for the present situation," says T. J. Boynton,

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

**Summary:** Campbell sends Churchill the Patriotic American League's report on Goldman's Chicago speech.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 890322039. For letter mentioned, see 810331076.

10110-15-4  
 41  
 WAR DEPARTMENT  
 1027  
 CAPTAIN SNOW  
 1111

December 8, 1919.

CAPTAIN SNOW  
111.

To: Director of Military Intelligence, Washington, D. C.

Subject: Emma Goldman-Alexander Berkman Meetings.

2. Enclosed, for your information, is copy of report made by the Patriotic American League, dated December 3, 1919, concerning a meeting at the West Side Auditorium in Chicago, which was addressed by Emma Goldman.

John B. Campbell  
John B. Campbell,  
Captain, U. S. A.

CMB.N.  
Encl.  
(Report Dec. 3, 1919)

Copy to Major Strauss  
" " Mr. Kenney

# 688

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, New York, 1919 Dec. 8 / E[dward] Anderson  
 [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 19 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Anderson follows Goldman from Grand Central Station to the Ellis Island boat.

FD-204 (Rev. 10-1-19)

LCL

REPORT MADE BY: <b>E. ANDERSON</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>New York, N.Y.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>Dec. 8, 1919.</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>Dec. 5th, 1919</b>
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15446

IN RE:- **EMMA GOLDMAN**

DEC 12 1919  
F.D.C.

Pursuant to instructions received from Agent Scully, I met Agent Heckley at the Grand Central Station at 9:00 A.M., for the purpose of shadowing Emma Goldman when she arrived from Chicago on the 9:40 A.M. train.

Upon arriving subject was met by Alexander Berkman, Eleanor Fitzgerald and about fifteen others. Agent Wolf of the Chicago office also got off with subject and Agent Heckley and I relieved him.

Subject and her party went out to 42nd Street where Berkman left her, he going towards 5th Avenue and subject and three others getting into taxicab, No. 053624, and Agent Heckley and I getting onto taxicab 051841, giving chauffeur instructions to follow subject's taxi wherever it went. Subject's taxi proceeded from 42nd Street straight to the Barge Office to get the 11:00 A.M. boat for Ellis Island. Boarding 11:00 A.M. boat for Ellis Island, Agents were relieved by Agent Scully who was going to Ellis Island. Agents then proceeded back to Bureau office.

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

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689



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 8 / M. Wolff [Agent? Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 26 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Wolff reports on his surveillance of Goldman from November 28 through December 5, 1919, including her train trip from Chicago to New York.

Notes: Broken type. For Loula report mentioned, see 880606269.

Report Form No. 1

REPORT MADE BY: <b>M. WOLFF.</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE: <b>CHICAGO ILL.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE: <b>DEC. 8, 1919.</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: <b>NOV. 28-29-30- Dec. 1-2-3-4-5</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NAME OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION: <b>In re: EMMA GOLDMAN &amp; ALEXANDER BERKMAN, Anarchist Matter.</b>			
DETAILS OF INVESTIGATION, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.: <b>AT CHICAGO:</b>			
<p>Pursuant to instructions of Division Superintendent E.J. BRENNAN, Employee proceeded to the New Southern Hotel on this date, where subjects were stopping and placed them under surveillance after they were designated to Employee by Special Agent J.D. ROONEY.</p> <p>From November 28th up to and including December 2nd, Employee procured copies of telegrams sent to subjects and turned same over to Special Agent Loula. For details, your attention is respectfully invited to report of Special Agent Loula.</p> <p>On December 2nd, Employee also ascertained from confidential informant that EMMA GOLDMAN had procured two railroad tickets from Chicago to New York via N.Y.C.R.R. Train #26, leaving Chicago 12:40 P.M. Thursday, December 4th. Employee was also informed that ALEXANDER BERKMAN would leave sometime during the night of December 2nd.</p> <p>Employee was informed that BERKMAN's trunk was being sent to the I.C. depot, whereupon Employee proceeded to the depot and upon arrival there, ascertained that BERKMAN was leaving for New York via N.C.R.R. at 8:P.M. and had lower berth 8, car #410.</p> <p>Employee imparted the above information to Special Agent Loula, who, with Special Agent Loebel, were to keep BERKMAN under surveillance until he arrived in New York. On departure of the train at 8:P.M. Employee discontinued for the day.</p> <p>On December 3rd, Employee kept EMMA GOLDMAN under surveillance until 1:P.M. when Employee was relieved by Special Agent Spolansky upon instructions to report to Division Superintendent BRENNAN.</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: <b>WASHINGTON (3) CHICAGO (1)</b>			7-571 <b>-1- MS.</b>

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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M. WOLFF.

NOV. 28-29-30-Dec. 1-2-3-4-5-Incl. 1919.

In re: EMMA GOLDMAN & ALEXANDER BERKMAN,  
Anarchist Matter.

Noted  
F.D.V.

Upon arrival at the Bureau office Division Superintendent BRENNAN instructed Employee to procure transportation to New York City and keep EMMA GOLDMAN under surveillance until her arrival in New York.

Employee proceeded to the ticket office and procure transportation, receiving lower berth #12, car #431, which was the same car that EMMA GOLDMAN had her reservations.

Employee then returned to the hotel and relieved Special Agent Spolansky at 5:35 P.M.

EMMA GOLDMAN left the hotel and went to a meeting which was being held at the West Side Auditorium. Employee discontinued for the day.

On December 4th, Employee arrived at the New Southern Hotel and continued the surveillance of EMMA GOLDMAN until 11:A.M. when Employee was relieved by Special Agent Spolansky.

At 12:30 P.M. EMMA GOLDMAN arrived at the depot and shortly after boarded the train with a man and woman, name unknown, who accompanied her to New York.

At Toledo, Ohio, EMMA GOLDMAN sent a telegram to HARRY WEINBERGER, New York City, saying that she was enroute and would arrive in New York 9:40 A.M. Friday, December 5th.

On December 5th, the train arrived in New York at 9:40 A.M. and Employee was met at the station by Special Agents Loula and Loebel and two other Special Agents from the New York office, who relieved Employee of the surveillance of EMMA GOLDMAN.

-2-

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691

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Byrne H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.— 3 p.; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.  
Summary: Uhl sends Caminetti a list of the anarchists currently held at Ellis Island.

COPY

from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932  
File Number 54235/36

ADDRESS ANSWER TO  
"COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION"  
AND REFER TO NUMBER

98524/353

## U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR IMMIGRATION SERVICE

OFFICE OF  
COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION  
ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

December 8, 1919

Commissioner-General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Pursuant to the request contained in your telegram of the 7th instant, I submit below list of aliens at present held at this station charged with being in the Anarchistic class. You will note that there are ninety of them.

Name  
709-453 Abrossemoff, Michael  
-362 Andonoff, Misha  
-272 Andrieuk, Roman  
Apanasech, Benj. ✓  
94 Antonchik, Fred ✓  
407-17 Berger, Frederick H.  
52410-43 Berkman, Alexander ✓  
616-115 Bernstein, Ethel  
616-115 Bianky, Peter ✓  
-460 Bomuff, John  
-448 Bratko, Mike  
-273 Brook, Abe  
-354 Bugdonoff, Ignatz  
-647 Buhkanov, Thomas P.  
-460 Chalow, Adam  
-285 Chernoff, Alex.  
-117 Chinejuko, Marin  
-363 Cozlich, John  
-360 Cyzyk, George, alias Gigalko, Paul  
De Blasis, Rocco, alias Di Blasis or Biblasis  
-515 Duboff, John  
-339 Federaco, Tony  
-365 Furs, Thomas  
616-24 Gran, Jose, alias Sopelano, A.  
235-159 Haskewicz, Leo  
-353 Hastialla, Andre ✓  
-358 Hieduk, Alfonse  
-158 Kaminsky, Steve  
-642 Kanonwich, Samuel  
-359 Keretchuk, Boris  
52410-43 Kersner, Emma Goldman or Goldman, Emma  
616-115 Ketsus, Arthur  
-454 Kolesnikoff, John

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692

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Byrne H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.— 3 p.; 33 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Uhl sends Caminetti a list of the anarchists currently held at Ellis Island.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932  
File Number 54235/36

96524/353

-2-

	Name
709-252	Kornen, Alex
-345	Koropotko, Micheli ✓
-456	Korscheikoff, Antony
-360	Kotovich, Theodosy ✓
-342	Koza, Joe
-446	Kozloff, Peter
-483	Kravchuck, Michael
-343	Kravecuk, Dimian
-522	Kushmarev, Feodor
-489	Lawriniuk, Mike
-347	Lazarowitz, Andrew
616-118	Lesiga, Arthur
-275	Lipkin, Dora
-456	Lipski, Anton
-349	Melnick, Nick
-125	Melnikoff, Gregory
616-106	Mihailov, Nicholas
-627	Nazaruk, Andrew
-338	Newar, John
616-119	Novick, Peter
616-111	Novikoff, Ivan
-337	Ochryuk, Nick
616-115	Oradowsky, Marcus
-367	Pancko, Dimitrie
616-116	Pawlas, Peter
616-116	Perkus, Hyman
-356	Podlipsky, Mathew
-449	Poluleck, Josef or Bolluch
-364	Proskowich, Theo
616-154	Rakics, Daniel
-240	Rice, Daniel
-467	Ristick, Louis
-278	Schatz, Boris
-128	Schatz, Alex
-366	Schmidt, August, alias Lauwa, William
616-29	Schnabel-Delass, Adolph, alias Sznabel, Adolph
-113	Seegan, Mike
-348	Sevitzky, Nick
-462	Sinkewich, Eli
-447	Skochuk, Harry ✓
-280	Smollok, Tony
248-20	Stepanuk, Naum
-531	Stocky, Max
-253	Tarasyk, John
-341	Turka, Tom
-351	Urgell, Peter
648-28	Paredes, Edmundo

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693

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Byrne H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.—  
3 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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-3-

709-346 Uschenna, Stephen  
616-117 Vermanuk, John  
-355 Vizeroff, Nick  
616-96 Volosuk, Nicolai  
-344 Warchenko, Peter or Noronenko  
-461 Wardner, Harry  
-514 Wasilieff, Nicholas  
Wasloff, John  
-350 Yarmola, John  
-284 Zafronia, Necita  
-458 Zoran, Peter.

*Byrne H. Uhl*  
Acting Commissioner.

U/LSB

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, Chicago [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Leon Green.—  
1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Green reports that he could not find "the party," namely Jacob Kersner, in Chicago to help Weinberger contest Goldman's deportation.

**Notes:** Broken type. For reply, see 811104264.

I. HARRIS, President

W. P. VENT, Vice-President

FRANK KARPF, Financial Secretary

WM. DESS, Treasurer

## Retail Clerks International Protective Association

LOCAL UNION No. 195

Affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Office: 704 Federation Building  
166 W. Washington Street

TELEPHONE MAIN 3374

CHICAGO, December 8th 1919

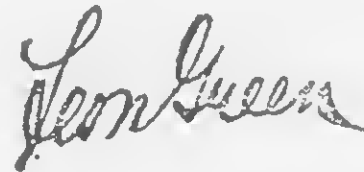
Mr. Harry Weinberger,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:—

In regard to the party in Chicago whom I was to locate by request of our friend will state that I did my best.

However, could get no records in the place you thought it was his employer, the place you know of. Also got in touch with the organization that should have a record but they too have no knowledge of that party.

Vrey Sincerely Yours,



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, New York [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Caffey sends Weinberger a letter he wrote to the Circuit Court of Appeals, asking to argue against granting a stay of deportation for Goldman or Berkman.

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"UNITED STATES ATTORNEY"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

Department of Justice

United States Attorney's Office

New York

22179

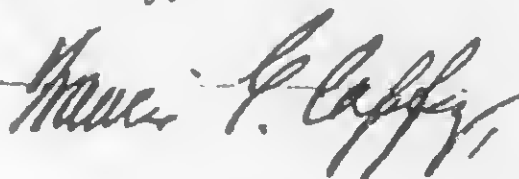
December 8, 1919.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
261 Broadway,  
New York.

S i r :

Enclosed I send you copy of a letter I this day sent to Honorable Henry Galbraith Ward, Presiding Judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals, requesting an opportunity to be heard in the event you should apply to that Court or to any of the Judges thereof for any stay or supersedeas in the cases of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman.

Respectfully,



United States Attorney.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 8 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Wein-  
berger. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger authorizes Caminetti to send him Goldman and Berkman's bail bonds.

**Notes:** Handwritten corrections by Weinberger. Reply to 850712366. For follow-up, see 850712372.

WESTERN UNION

December 8, 1919.

A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration.  
Washington, D. C.

Send bonds Berkman Goldman by  
express ~~period~~ <sup>2</sup>absolve government from all risk of  
loss and will pay charges ~~period~~ <sup>an</sup> mailing receipts  
to you ~~period~~ have bonds sent <sup>immediately</sup> today by express

HARRY WEINBERGER.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 8 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Comm[issioner] General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].  
— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks Caminetti not to send him Goldman and Berkman's bail bonds if he has not  
already sent them to New York.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy. Follow-up to 850712371.

Decombor 8th, 1919.

Mr. A. Caminetti,  
Comm. General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

If you have not already expressed Liberty Bonds  
in the case of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, hold  
them as I will call for them personally Wednesday .

Yours truly,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 8, New York [to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.— 1 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey sends the attorney general copies of the government's reply to Goldman's habeas corpus petition.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"UNITED STATES ATTORNEY"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

Department of Justice

D.V.C.-J.E.J.

United States Attorney's Office

22179

New York

December 8, 1919.

The Attorney General,  
Washington, D. C.

FILE  
J.E.J.

S i r :

I enclose copies of the returns in the Berkman and Goldman habeas corpus cases. It has occurred to me that you may desire these in event application is made to the Supreme Court for a stay, supersedeas or bail. I fear that I failed to supply copies to Mr. Hoover before he left today. I am having made copies of the petitions and writs, which will be forwarded to you tomorrow.

Respectfully,

*Francis G. Caffey*

DEC 12

United States Attorney.

(Incl. #16513)

186233-13-228

*RE J.E.J.*

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699

## The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Return, 1919 Dec. 8 [to Goldman's petition for writ of habeas corpus] / Augustus P. Schell [Immigrant Inspector, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration files its reply to Goldman's habeas corpus petition, explaining why her deportation is proper.

Notes: Enclosed with 810113075. For enclosed Exhibits A and B, see 870701004 and 870701005. Reply to 870701001. For reply, see 870701006.

### UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

### FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

----- x

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, on the relation of :  
EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator, :

-against- :

A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IM- :  
MIGRATION, and BYRON H. UHL, ASSISTANT AND :  
ACTING COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, ELLIS :  
ISLAND, NEW YORK,

Respondente. :

----- x

### SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, ss:

Augustus P. Schell, being duly sworn, says that he is and during all the times herein mentioned has been an Immigrant Inspector in the service of the United States; that he is the Inspector-in-Charge of the Law Department of the Immigration Service of the United States at Ellis Island, New York; that he has had charge of the hearings hereinafter mentioned and has personal knowledge thereof; that he in his official capacity is authorized to make, and in behalf of the respondents hereby makes, the following return to the Writ of Habeas Corpus herein.

In compliance with the direction of this Court, the body of the relator in her own proper person is produced herewith before this Court at the time and place specified in the writ.

It is respectfully urged that on its face the petition upon which the writ was granted is insufficient in law, and that the writ should therefore be quashed, because (a) the petition does not allege facts to show that the proceedings of the Department of Labor upon which was issued the warrant of deportation, pursuant to which the relator is held, were not regular, fair and in compliance with the statute applicable in such case nor facts from which this Court can

## The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Return, 1919 Dec. 8 [to Goldman's petition for writ of habeas corpus] / Augustus P. Schell [Immigrant Inspector, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

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determine that the proceedings were either irregular, unfair or not in accordance with such statute; (b) the petition does not allege any facts which entitle this Court to review the findings and conclusion of the Department of Labor upon which the warrant of deportation was issued; (c) it is not alleged that there was no evidence before the Department of Labor upon which it based or could have based its findings and conclusion in accordance with which the warrant of deportation was issued; (d) it does not appear by allegations of facts that the issues sought by the petition now to be litigated in this Court have not already been determined by the Department of Labor adversely to the relator in proceedings which were regular, fair and in compliance with the statute applicable thereto; (e) it appears by the petition that the relator is an alien and it does not appear that the Department of Labor has not duly found her to be such and to be an anarchist.

(1) The relator above named was duly arrested, pursuant to a warrant of arrest duly issued by the Acting Secretary of Labor, dated September 5, 1919, a copy of which, marked Exhibit A, is hereto annexed and made part of this return.

(2) The relator was duly accorded a hearing before deponent upon the charges contained in the said warrant on October 27, 1919, which was continued from time to time, and a further hearing was duly held before deponent upon said charges on November 12, 1919. At such hearings the relator was personally present and represented by counsel. Upon the hearing proceedings were had, testimony taken and other evidence, including exhibits, introduced as appears by the minutes of such hearings, a true copy of which minutes and exhibits is submitted and filed herewith and made part of this return.

(3) As appears by the minutes and exhibits aforesaid, the relator was duly informed and apprised of the charges against her

## The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Return, 1919 Dec. 8 [to Goldman's petition for writ of habeas corpus] / Augustus P. Schell [Immigrant Inspector, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration files its reply to Goldman's habeas corpus petition, explaining why her deportation is proper.

Notes: Enclosed with 810113075. For enclosed Exhibits A and B, see 870701004 and 870701005. Reply to 870701001. For reply, see 870701006.

as set forth in said warrant dated September 5, 1919; the relator was afforded a full, complete and fair hearing by the Department of Labor upon said charges; the relator was afforded a fully, complete and fair opportunity to answer and to submit evidence upon such charges; there was before the Department of Labor evidence to sustain each of said charges; the Department of Labor duly found that the charges were sustained; and said charges were in fact fully sustained by the proofs that were before and were considered by the Department of Labor.

(4) The proofs and record of the proceedings before mentioned having been duly transmitted to him, the Acting Secretary of Labor duly issued a warrant for the deportation of the relator dated December 1, 1919, a copy of which, marked Exhibit B, is hereto annexed and made a part of this return; and for cause of the detention of the relator complained of in the petition herein, deponent says that the relator is and since December 5, 1919, has been held under and in obedience to said warrant of deportation.

WHEREFORE, deponent prays that the Writ of Habeas Corpus herein be dismissed and the relator remanded to the custody of the respondent Acting Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, New York, to be dealt with in accordance with the said warrant of deportation.

Subscribed and sworn to before me )  
this 8th day of December, 1919. )

*Augustus P. Schell*

*Augustus P. Schell*



# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Return, 1919 Dec. 8 [to Goldman's petition for writ of habeas corpus] / Augustus P. Schell [Immigrant Inspector, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 4 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

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Notes: Enclosed with 810113075. For enclosed Exhibits A and B, see 870701004 and 870701005. Reply to 870701001. For reply, see 870701006.

Form No. 336

## U. S. District Court,

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

Sir:

You will please take notice that a \_\_\_\_\_  
 of which the within is a copy, was this day  
 duly entered in the within-entitled action, in  
 the office of the Clerk of the \_\_\_\_\_

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_, 19

Yours, etc.,

U. S. Attorney,  
 Attorney for Defendant.

To

Attorney for \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, on the  
 relation of EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator,

versus

A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER GENERAL  
 OF IMMIGRATION, and BYRON H. UHL,  
 ASSISTANT AND ACTING COMMISSIONER  
 OF IMMIGRATION, ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK,  
 Respondents.

R E T U R N

FRANCIS G. CAFFEY,

United States Attorney,  
 Attorney for Respondents.

Due service of a copy of the within is hereby  
 admitted.

NEW YORK, \_\_\_\_\_, 19

Attorney for

Attorney for

7-69

703

# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Return, 1919 Dec. 8 [to Goldman's petition for writ of habeas corpus] / Augustus P. Schell [Immigrant Inspector, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

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Notes: Copy of 870701003.

[Dec. 8, 1919]

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, on the relation of :  
EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator, :

-against-

A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION, and BYRON H. UHL, ASSISTANT AND ACTING COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK, Respondents.

Comes now the relator, Emma Goldman, and the Department of Labor adversely

in the relator in proceedings which were regular, fair and in compliance with the law. SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, ss.: (s) It appears by the petition that Augustus P. Schell, being duly sworn, says that he is and during all the times herein mentioned has been an Immigrant Inspector in the service of the United States; that he is the Inspector-in-Charge of the Law Department of the Immigration Service of the United States at Ellis Island, New York; that he has had charge of the hearings hereinafter mentioned and has personal knowledge thereof; that he in his official capacity is authorized to make, and in behalf of the respondents hereby makes, the following return to the Writ of Habeas Corpus herein.

In compliance with the direction of this Court, the body of the relator in her own proper person is produced herewith before this Court at the time and place specified in the writ.

It is respectfully urged that on its fact the petition upon which the writ was granted is insufficient in law, and that the writ should therefore be quashed, because (a) the petition does not allege facts to show that the proceedings of the Department of Labor upon which was issued the warrant of deportation, pursuant to which the relator is held, were not regular, fair and in compliance with the statute applicable in such case nor facts from which this Court can

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Copy of 870701003.

determine that the proceedings were either irregular, unfair or not in accordance with such statute; (b) the petition does not allege any facts which entitle this Court to review the findings and conclusion of the Department of Labor upon which the warrant of deportation was issued; (c) it is not alleged that there was no evidence before the Department of Labor upon which it based or could have based its findings and conclusion in accordance with which the warrant of deportation was issued; (d) it does not appear by allegations of facts that the issues sought by the petition now to be litigated in this Court have not already been determined by the Department of Labor adversely to the relator in proceedings which were regular, fair and in compliance with the statute applicable thereto; (e) it appears by the petition that the relator is an alien and it does not appear that the Department of Labor has not duly found her to be such and to be an anarchist.

(1) The relator above named was duly arrested, pursuant to a warrant of arrest duly issued by the Acting Secretary of Labor, dated September 5, 1919, a copy of which, marked Exhibit A, is hereto annexed and made part of this return.

(2) The relator was duly accorded a hearing before deponent upon the charges contained in the said warrant on October 27, 1919, which was continued from time to time, and a further hearing was duly held before deponent upon said charges on November 12, 1919. At such hearings the relator was personally present and represented by counsel. Upon the hearings proceedings were had, testimony taken and other evidence, including exhibits, introduced as appears by the minutes of such hearings, a true copy of which minutes and exhibits is submitted and filed herewith and made part of this return.

(3) As appears by the minutes and exhibits aforesaid, the relator was duly informed and apprised of the charges against her

# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Return, 1919 Dec. 8 [to Goldman's petition for writ of habeas corpus] / Augustus P. Schell [Immigrant Inspector, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 4 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

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as set forth in said warrant dated September 5, 1919; the relator was afforded a full, complete and fair hearing by the Department of Labor upon said charges; the relator was afforded a fully, complete and fair opportunity to answer and to submit evidence upon such charges; there was before the Department of Labor evidence to sustain each of said charges; the Department of Labor duly found that the charges were sustained; and said charges were in fact fully sustained by the proofs that were before and were considered by the Department of Labor.

(4) The proofs and record of the proceedings before mentioned having been duly transmitted to him, the Acting Secretary of Labor duly issued a warrant for the deportation of the relator dated December 1, 1919, a copy of which, marked Exhibit B, is hereto annexed and made a part of this return; and for cause of the detention of the relator complained of in the petition herein, deponent says that the relator is and since December 5, 1919, has been held under and in obedience to said warrant of deportation.

WHEREFORE, deponent prays that the Writ of Habeas Corpus herein be dismissed and the relator remanded to the custody of the respondent Acting Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, New York, to be dealt with in accordance with the said warrant of deportation.

Subscribed and sworn to before me )

this 8th day of December, 1919. )

AUGUSTUS P. SCHELL

SAM'L M. HITCHCOCK

U. S. Commissioner,  
Southern District of New York.

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706



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Str:

You will please take notice that a \_\_\_\_\_  
of which the within is a copy, was this day  
duly entered in the within-entitled action, in  
the office of the Clerk of the \_\_\_\_\_

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_, 19

Yours, etc.,

U. S. Attorney,  
Attorney for Defendant.

To

Attorney for

Form No. 836

U. S. District Court,

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, on the re-  
lation of EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator,

versus

A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF  
IMMIGRATION, and BYRON H. UHL, ASSISTANT  
AND ACTING COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION,  
ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK,

Respondents.

R E T U R N

FRANCIS G. CAFFEY,

United States Attorney,  
Attorney for Respondents.

Due service of a copy of the within is hereby  
admitted.

NEW YORK, \_\_\_\_\_, 19

Attorney for

To

Attorney for

7-60

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707

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Summary: The court stenographer prepares a verbatim transcript of Harry Weinberger and Francis Caffey's arguments before Judge Mayer in Goldman's challenge to her deportation.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, on the  
RELATION OF ALEXANDER BERKMAN and  
EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relators,

vs.

A. CAMINETTI, COMMISSIONER GENERAL  
OF IMMIGRATION and BYRON H. UHL,  
ASSISTANT AND ACTING COMMISSIONER  
OF IMMIGRATION, ELLIS ISLAND,  
NEW YORK,

Respondents.

BEFORE

HON. JULIUS M. MAYER, J.

NEW YORK December 8, 1919.

## STENOGRAPHER'S MINUTES

### INDEX

TESTIMONY OF	DIRECT	CROSS	RE-DIRECT	RE-CROSS
Argument of Mr. Weinberger	3			
Argument of Mr. Caffey	55			

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STENOGRAPHER

UNITED STATES COURTS

U. S. COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE

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1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

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709



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wh

3

MR. CAFFEY: If the Court please --

MR. WEINBERGER: Mr. Caffey -- may I suggest that Mr. Caffey and myself see your Honor on the bench for just a moment before we start any argument or any motions?

THE COURT: I do not see any occasion for that.

MR. WEINBERGER: There is a certain reason for it.

THE COURT: You may communicate first with the Colonel.

MR. WEINBERGER: I told the Colonel what it was.

THE COURT: Is there any occasion?

MR. CAFFEY: None, in my judgment.

THE COURT: Very well.

MR. WEINBERGER: That will be all right, then.

MR. CAFFEY: On the 5th day of December, 1919, your Honor issued a writ of habeas corpus requiring the production of Alexander Berkman, who was held by the authorities of the Department of Labor for deportation. I now produce the writ with the return. This is the return. Made a part of that return are a certified copy of all the proceedings in the Department of Labor which led to the issuance by the Secretary of Labor of the warrant of deportation. That I will hand your Honor in a moment, but I would like to consider it part of the return; and with that the exhibits, which constituted a part of the evidence taken.



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wh

3

On the 5th day of December your Honor also issued a writ of habeas corpus requiring the production of Emma Goldman. She is held under warrant of deportation by the Labor authorities. I will now file the return to that writ. As a part of that return I produce a certified copy of the proceedings in the Department of Labor, with the exhibits at the hearing, and those I shall probably not have occasion to refer to, although there are a few of the exhibits I may have occasion to refer to.

Both of the persons held under these warrants are now here in court.

MR. WEINBERGER: The statement which I desired the Colonel to take up with your Honor was first, with all due respect to the Court and no intention in any way to question the Court's manner or method of sitting in this case, was the question whether or not your Honor was justified under the laws of the United States to sit in this case, and whether or not it is not, under this writ of habeas corpus, practically reviewing an act of your Honor's in a former case, the United States vs. Goldman and Berkman.

I have before me the transcript of record, which I believe is also part of the return in this case which is put in as evidence that the defendant

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m

4

should be deported -- or the relators in this case.

In sentencing them to two years and ten thousand dollars fine, your Honor directed further as follows:

"I further direct the District Attorney, under the provisions of the Immigration Act, to forward to the Commissioner of Immigration the record of this conviction in order to determine in due course whether or not either or both of the defendants are subject to the provisions as to deportation provided in that Act. That is a matter which is, under the statute, an administrative matter for the Commissioner of Immigration, and the District Attorney is directed to forward the record of this conviction to the Commissioner of Immigration."

That would be a preliminary objection to your Honor proceeding with it; and, if your Honor overrules that preliminary objection, I might proceed to argue the writ of habeas corpus.

THE COURT: In the first place, if you desire to qualify, the procedure must be in accordance with the provisions of the Judicial Code. In the second place, the extract which you have read was a direction by the trial court to forward the papers to the appro-

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wh

5

priate administrative officials. As they have been forwarded, your objection, if it be one, is overruled, and the hearing will proceed.

I may call to your attention that first, there is no merit to<sup>the</sup> objection; second, if there was any, you waived it by applying to me for a writ of habeas corpus in the case of each relator, which writ I allowed.

MR. WEINBERGER: There was a question in my mind whether or not that might be construed as an order of your Honor, ordering deportation, and it was really my intention, for that reason, to ask your Honor whether you would construe it as an order or not, and therefore step out of the case. But as I stated, I have no objection to your Honor sitting in the case; and the application was made to your Honor because your Honor was sitting ex parte; and I have no objection to arguing the habeas corpus before your Honor. I feel that the questions involved here are so much a matter of law that every right that these relators may have, or urge as a matter of law, the illegality and unconstitutionality of their deportation, will be protected by this Court, and every right of appeal.

I believe this Court will see that we have

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wh

6

those rights as well, and I state now that I have no objection personally to arguing this writ of habeas corpus before you. But under certain circumstances it was my duty to urge the question whether it was an order of your Honor's, of deportation, on which they were here.

My first point — I will argue both the Berkman and Goldman writs of habeas corpus as one, because they are absolutely similar with the exception that the Goldman case has one particular point, and that is: is she or is she not a citizen of the United States? And, because that is the one point in her case I will allow that as my last point in the process of my argument.

I might state that I told Mr. Caffey that I would argue this return to the writ as if I had filed a traverse as insufficient, and in the course of the afternoon or tomorrow morning I will file a printed traverse to the return, with the Court's permission, as insufficient on the question of whether or not there is sufficient evidence to order the deportation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

MR. CAFFEY: I said that he might state on the record that he traversed.



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wh

7

MR. WEINBERGER: I so state on the record, and will file a formal traverse later.

My first point is that under the first amendment to the Constitution, the law of 1917 and 1918, known as the Anarchist Law, is unconstitutional. That law provides that anyone holding beliefs or expressing the beliefs of anarchism may be deported. The warrant of deportation and the warrant of arrest state, and the proof is, that both Goldman and Berkman are anarchists, and we do not deny it. We hold, however, that under the first amendment to the Constitution, any opinion whatsoever may be held, and any opinion whatsoever may be expressed on any political, economic or social question, and that it is not within the province of the United States Congress to pass any law ordering deportation for the holding or expressing of that opinion.

It must be apparent in the mere reading of the warrant of deportation that the defendants are found advocating or teaching anarchism, that she had been found teaching the overthrow by force of violence of the United States or of all forms of law; that she is a rabid anarchist; that she believes in the overthrow by force of violence of the Government of the United States; that she believes in the overthrow by force

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wh

8

or violence of all forms of law — in other words, it goes on also, though there is no proof in the record, that these defendants believe in the assassination of public officers. But I will stand on the broad proposition that even if someone believes that, he is perfectly protected under the first amendment to the Constitution.

In other words, our contention here is that a belief, economic, political or social, whatsoever, is protected; and that an alien has as much right to have that belief or advocate that belief as a citizen of the United States; and that the ordering of deportation, which in the old days was considered the worst form of punishment for a crime, is beyond the power of Congress.

I know that in the case of ~~Abraham~~ <sup>Abraham</sup> v. United States, the United States Supreme Court on November 10th affirmed that conviction for the expressing of an opinion, Judge Holmes in that opinion, however, stating that the defendants had as much right to express that opinion --

THE COURT: But that was a dissenting opinion.

MR. WEINBERGER: A dissenting opinion. I just want to state here why that is not still binding, inasmuch as I believe that that opinion of the United

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wh

9

States Supreme Court, while not passing specifically, in the majority opinion, on the question of whether the Espionage Law was constitutional or not, I believe is not good law for that very reason, that it was absolutely contrary to the constitution of the United States.

THE COURT: I understand your proposition to be that the District Court of the United States should decline to follow the Supreme Court?

MR. WEINBERGER: I believe it --

THE COURT: You mean that is your proposition?

MR. WEINBERGER: My proposition is that a decision, even of the United States Supreme Court, which is wrong, should not be followed by a United States District Court.

THE COURT: Well, you need not spend any time arguing that.

MR. WEINBERGER: I know that the Court feels it is bound by that decision.

THE COURT: The Court feels it is bound judicially, and the Court feels it is bound as a matter of law and order to respect the opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States. So I would not spend any time on it.

MR. WEINBERGER: No. I just want to urge, though, the broad proposition, and explain that in the Abrahams

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wh

10

case that question was urged, or the Court felt it was in that case, and in the Debs case - though the Debs case was unanimous; in the Abrahams case Judge Holmes and Judge Brandeis dissented on the broad proposition - I want to explain here, I am still arguing this question of free speech, and I say I believe the Anarchy statute is in violation of that, although the Supreme Court has not passed upon it, the first amendment to the Constitution specifically says this:

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

It makes no difference, in my opinion, whether Congress specifically says that a law does abridge the freedom of speech or press, or whether it attempts to do it directly or indirectly; I believe that passing the Anarchy statute, so-called, making it a crime or making it the ground of deportation proceedings, in view of the first amendment to the Constitution, is beyond the power of Congress.

I know, of course, that we have the idea today that anyone who talks against the form of government, or attempts to overthrow the government, is guilty of sedition and crime and may also be deported; but one of the men who wrote the Constitution, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, says this specifically



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wh

11

in his First Inaugural Address:

"If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, may they stand undisturbed as monuments to the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it." And surely Thomas Jefferson knew what that particular amendment to the Constitution was intended to protect; and without attempting, in any way, to go into the question of the historical purpose behind that section, we can just state in a general way this: that the men and women who came to this country and founded this country, came because of opinions for which at that time they were jailed and killed.

We find in various countries of Europe Catholics being killed by Protestants --

THE COURT: Oh, now, of course you understand that I have no desire to abbreviate your argument, but you are arguing now to the Court and not before a jury; and the general contention of the conditions of the world does not at the moment interest the Court. The Court is interested merely in the question of law; as you say, namely, are the relators unlawfully detained so that they may not be deported? If they are, please direct your attention to the

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wh

13

statute, the decisions of the Court, and any conduct on the part of the public officials which would lead to the conclusion of unlawful detention and unlawful intended deportation.

I have no desire to hear a general discussion of alleged principles either on the side of one or the other, of either of the persons here represented.

MR. WEINBERGER: My point, of course, is that if this section of the Anarchy statute is in violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution, then these defendants, who, admittedly, on the return, are being deported because of that particular statute and the authority of that statute, — it is immediately apparent that they are being illegally deported, if the statute under which the attempt is made and under which they are at the present time being held is unconstitutional.

THE COURT: Yes, that proposition is perfectly sound in the premise.

MR. WEINBERGER: That is, if it is unconstitutional.

THE COURT: I understand you to say that the Supreme Court of the United States has held it constitutional.

MR. WEINBERGER: No, I do not. The case has been

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wh

13

decided by this Court and decided by the Circuit Court in the Lopaz case, and in both cases the defendants -- or, rather, Lopaz -- the writ was dismissed. Lopaz was admitted to bail pending appeal; the case was then taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals; the dismissal of the writ affirmed; a stay given, and Lopaz admitted to bail pending appeal to the United States Supreme Court. That is the situation at the present time. Lopaz is out on bail at this time, and the case is on its way to the United States Supreme Court.

If your Honor should in either one or both of these cases, dismiss this writ, we intend to take our appeal on the same proposition, although I think we have certain additional points that Lopaz did not have.

THE COURT: Read the section of the statute.

MR. WEINBERGER: It is the Act of October 16, 1918.

THE COURT: I am familiar with the Act, but just read the provisions; you have them handy.

MR. WEINBERGER: I have not. If Mr. Caffey -- (Mr. Caffey hands copy of Act to Mr. Weinberger).

The Act approved October 16, 1918. That aliens who are anarchists, aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence -- then it goes down and says all those people having those beliefs may be

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wh

14

deported. My contention, as I stated, though, is that under the First Amendment, anyone is entitled to have any belief and to express any belief, in voice or in writing, and that anyone who is arrested for that, is arrested in violation of the constitution, and anyone held for deportation, is held in violation of the constitution.

If your Honor feels that you are bound by the Lopez decision and the proceedings in that case, why there is no use in my spending any more time on the first point, that is, that it is in violation of the first Amendment to the Constitution.

My second point here is that both Berkman and Goldman, having come to the United States more than thirty years ago, neither of them being anarchists at that time, though admittedly both believing in anarchism at this time, they were legally and properly admitted to the country; at that time I believe there was a statute which said that an alien found under certain classes, may be deported within three years.

Neither Berkman nor Goldman having been deported from the United States within that three years — which was afterwards amended to five — my contention is that they gained a status, they gained a right, and that Congress could not by this law of 1917 and



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wh

15

1918/, extend the period within which aliens may be deported, because it comes under that section, Article 1, Subdivision 3, United States Constitution, which prohibits Congress from passing any ex post facto laws.

So that, after an alien, properly and legally admitted, continues within the country over a period of three or five years, Congress passing a law saying that people having certain beliefs may be deported, no matter how long they have been in the country, it is my contention that that was beyond the power of Congress; that if, for instance, the Court should believe that Congress has a right to pass a law saying that anarchists hereafter shall be deported, or those who believe or express the views of anarchism may be deported, that would apply to anyone coming into the country at the present time; that would be a law or a condition upon which he would have been admitted; but that going back thirty years, where an individual comes into the country not holding illegal views at that time and being admitted into the country and obtaining that status, Congress has not the power to pass a law under this section of the Constitution to order them deported at this time.

My third point is: I have a letter from Mr. Caminetti, Acting Commissioner General of Immigration, in which he says:

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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wchl6

16

"As to your request for written assurances of the Department that neither Mr. Berkman nor Miss Goldman will be deported to any port of the world where their lives will actually be in danger, the Bureau would state that you already have the assurance that they will be deport~~ed~~d in the usual way attending deportation by the Department of Labor, to Soviet Russia. In relation to your request for a written answer, to allow Mr. Berkman and Miss Goldman to select their own port and pay their own expen--ses of deportation, the Bureau states that the Government will select the port of embarkation and deportation will be at its expense."

My third point, therefore, is that there is no Government known as the Soviet Government which this country has recognized, and that under the laws, rules and regulations of the Immigration Department and the laws of the United States, we cannot, or, rather, the United States cannot send any alien to a country where the Government itself is not being recognized.

I might state on my various points at this time that I did not have an opportunity to get it into a proper form for submission to the Court in full, and when I am through I will ask at least two days to

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m-17

17

submit a typewritten copy of my various points with my authorities under them.

THE COURT: I do not say that I will give it to you.

MR. WEINBERGER: I just want to state it at this point, in case I forget it. I make that request.

My contention is that under the Immigration Law, the Immigration Department has not the right to deport Berkman and Goldman to Soviet Russia, though they themselves might be willing to go, if allowed to go at their own expense, and to their own port, and if the United States would stop espionage after they left the shores of the United States; but until that Government --

THE COURT: Do I understand that your point is that relators ordered deported can make the terms with the United States Government upon which they shall be deported?

MR. WEINBERGER: No, not to make their terms; they are perfectly willing to leave the country --

THE COURT: Let me see that letter from Mr. Caminetti. (Mr. Weinberger submits letter to the Court). All right, go ahead.

MR. WEINBERGER: That was in answer to the proposition that both of these relators have no objection,

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18

m-18

and Mr. Berkman in particular has not, and Miss Goldman has not, to go to Soviet Russia, if allowed to choose the port and pay their own expenses. The Government insists that they must spend the money. I might state also that there was another letter in which he asked that they be allowed to pay the difference between steerage and first-class, in leaving the country, as was done in the case of John Turner, an anarchist, I believe deported in 1903; but Mr. Caminetti said they could not even allow that.

The defendants not being allowed to leave the country at their own expense, to go where they please, my contention is that this Government has not the power to send them to a government unrecognized by the United States; and my brief will go into that in full in reference to the regulations of the Immigration Law and why that contention is sound.

I might state further, outside of the warrant of deportation, there is no way of telling at this time when the defendants may be deported to the Soviet Government of Russia, where they belong, and which, under the law, they must be sent to -- Russia, the country from which they came. If the United States has not the power to send them to Soviet Russia, because it is not recognized, the defendants will be kept



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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wh19

19

there indefinitely, and perhaps for the term of their natural lives, which would be in violation of the Constitution, which says that no one shall be either imprisoned or punished or killed except by a trial by jury of their peers and by an accusation made under an indictment and a trial in the regular way provided by law.

So that under this third point our failure to recognize Soviet Russia, and as far as we know and as far as we are able to ascertain, and as far as even the Immigration officials know, there is no immediate chance of the deportation of Emma Goldman or Alexander Berkman. The immigration officials are absolutely bound by the State department, and they have no more information than these relators as to when they will be able actually to deport these individuals from the United States.

So that it is our contention that the rights, under the constitution and the law -- that the United States has not the power to keep aliens indefinitely in custody until some future time, which must be indefinite, as to when they will send these aliens out of the country; and that they have no right or any power to keep them in custody.

And I might call the Court's attention particularly

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wrh20

20

to this, that in every procedure of our law, an individual accused of crime, and under the constitution, too, defendants must be allowed out on bail.

Under this warrant of deportation, though, the time when the defendants may be sent out of the country is indefinite. There is no provision to let the defendants out on bail pending the arrival of a definite time; and the constitution says that no one shall be deprived of their liberty without the right of bail which is not excessive.

Now, on the question of the citizenship of Emma Goldman --

THE COURT: Does that cover your joint points?

MR. WEINBERGER: That covers my joint points.

THE COURT: Well, I think we can dispose of two out of the three without spending any time.

Point number one, the Court obviously holds the act constitutional for two reasons: first, the court of original jurisdiction, unless clearly and firmly convinced to the contrary, will always hold an Act of Congress constitutional.

Secondly, this particular act has been held to be constitutional in this district, and circuit, in the so-called Lopez case. That disposes of that.

As to the second contention, that assumes the

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m-21

21

legal admission of the relators to the country a considerable number of years ago. The Court holds that at any time the Congress of the United States, in dealing with aliens, may pass any act that it deems proper with respect to the deportation of aliens provided that no provision of the Constitution is violated, and that the act in question in no manner can be construed as applied to these relators as an ex post facto piece of legislation. The Court rules against you on that.

MR. WEINBERGER: Let the stenographer note an exception.

THE COURT: Oh, yes. Now, on the question of debarkation; of course, that is an administrative function. This Court has no power to order the appropriate administrative officials to make agreements as to the kind of passage that relators who are to be deported shall have. Those details are for the administrative officials. When it comes to that point that you raised, the Court has no judicial knowledge of the existence of a Soviet Russia. In the case of the Canadian Car & Foundry Company vs. the American Can Company -- to which I will give you the reference in a moment -- which was tried by the District Court, a civil action, and affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals, the principle

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wh22

32

was reiterated that the international recognitions are not made by the Court independently; the Court must take such recognitions from the political side of the Government; and in that case the State Department certified that Mr. Bakmieteiff was the Ambassador of Russia. My recollection is not clear at the moment as to the last date on that certification, but so far as the files of this court show, Mr. Bakmieteiff was the Ambassador of Russia. This Court had no knowledge of Soviet Russia or of any other kind of Russia except the kind of Russia that the State Department recognized; and therefore it is utterly immaterial, so far as this Court is concerned, to what place the administrative officials in point of fact deport these relators, provided that it is their intention, that it is the intention of the administrative officials, applied to the statutes, to deport them whence they came, which I assume is what is set forth in the return. That is the usual return. Is that correct?

MR. CAFFEY: Yes, sir.

THE COURT: So there is nothing in that point.

MR. WEINBERGER: Will your Honor hear me for a moment before you pass to the next point? The Court, however, must take judicial notice, and of course they



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crwh23

23

may inform themselves, and must inform themselves, as to this particular time, as to the status of the relation of the United States with Soviet Russia.

THE COURT: Not at all. The Court can make no independent inquiry as to a matter of law, as you will see very fully laid out in the case to which I referred, which in turn refers to some very interesting and important cases reported in the various reports of cases in the United States. The Court makes no independent investigation; that is not a part of the judicial branch of the Government; that is no duty of the judicial branch of the Government. Courts do not determine whom the Government shall recognize. That is for, as I said before, what is called the political branch of the Government, which means, of course, usually, the executive branch, and in some instances the legislative branch, and in some circumstances, perhaps, the joint action, as in treaty arrangements, between the executive and the legislative branches. But it has long been held by the courts that courts must accept the status of any foreign country or ambassador, from the executive branch of the Government.

MR. WEINBERGER: I agree with your Honor on that; and this is my point: I am not asking this Government

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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wh24

24

to recognize the Soviet Government or not to recognize it; my point is that the Court, however, must recognize the status given by the Department of State, and it is the duty of the Court to inform itself, if it does not actually know, what the status of Soviet Russia or Russia is, as far as the State Department is concerned; and then, for instance, the State Department said one thing a month ago or two months ago, It is not binding on what the condition is today; it may be that the State Department will inform the Court that Bakmieteiff is no longer recognized as the Ambassador. It may even inform the Court that at the present time the discussions and the meetings in Russia at this particular moment have put the United States into the position of recognizing the Soviet Government.

THE COURT: I think you misapprehend the point, and I want to make it clear, because there may be other cases come along. This writ of habeas corpus brings up solely the question of unlawful detention, whether the relator is unlawfully detained. If the Court hold that they are not, then the details of deportation under the statute rest with the executive officials who, under familiar canons, are presumed to do their duty, and to carry out the statute. So all of the speculations

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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wh25

25

and potentialities or possibilities of what will happen in the event that it proves the detention is lawful are matters with which the Court is not concerned, and which are immaterial so far as any power of the Court is concerned.

MR. WEINBERGER: Except this, if the Court pleases: if, for instance it should be apparent from the information given by the State Department, that the so-called White Guards of Deniken, Kolchak, et al., should be recognized by this Government, and it should be apparent that the order of deportation would be practically an order for execution of Berkman and Goldman, I believe that under the constitution and under the judicial policies of both this Government and the courts, the Court would not allow the deportation; in other words, if these defendants cannot be deported, it must be apparent that their continued arrest and holding for the purpose of deportation is illegal and unconstitutional.

THE COURT: Well, I do not think we need spend any more time on that. The Court rules against you.

MR. WEINBERGER: I respectfully except. I might say to the Court also that in a writ of habeas corpus the other day — about this idea that the question has been decided so far as this District Court is

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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wh

26

concerned - in the case of Hyman Laphowsky, the writ was granted by Judge Learned Hand, and on the argument, with out consent, immediately dismissed, and a stay given pending appeal, and Judge Hand stated in the dismissal that he dismissed it on the authority of the Lopaz case, because he felt that he was bound by that decision, as this Court has also stated it now also feels bound by that decision.

But that was the procedure in the Lachowsky case: writ dismissed and defendant allowed out on bail.

THE COURT: We have not arrived at that, yet.

MR. WEINBERGER: No. I just want to state it is the same proposition in both cases.

Now, on the question of the citizenship of Emma Goldman: the return will show --

THE COURT: Well, have you covered the case of Berkman?

MR. BERKMAN: I have covered the case of Berkman.

THE COURT: Well, in order to keep the proceedings orderly - the case is one where delay is inadmissible both to the relators and the Government - the Court will dispose of the Berkman case, and dismisses the writ, letting him be remanded in the custody of the appropriate officials.

MR. CAFFEY: Will your Honor endorse that on the



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wh

27

official record?

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. WEINBERGER: Will your Honor state whether the proper officials are the marshal or the immigration officials?

THE COURT: The present custody.

MR. WEINBERGER: And will your Honor give us a stay and fix the amount of the bail?

THE COURT: I will take that up after the Goldman case.

MR. WEINBERGER: Oh, I thought your Honor wanted to dispose of the Berkman case first.

THE COURT: No, I will take that up after the Goldman case. Just a moment, so I can dispose of that.

(The Court endorses record).

THE COURT: Now, the point in this Goldman case?

MR. WEINBERGER: It is our additional contention in reference to Miss Goldman that Miss Goldman is a citizen by virtue of her marriage to one Jacob A. Kersner. The record and the return before your Honor has the evidence in that case. On the hearing, at the end of the Government's case, I asked for one month's time to allow us to submit evidence in reference to Miss Goldman's citizenship. The Government refused, and I refused to file a brief and proceed with

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wh

28

the hearing on that account; and the Government declared the thing closed, refusing us time, and our objection to the order of deportation is on the further ground, as far as Miss Goldman is concerned, that the Government refused us time to prove her citizenship. But even on the record of the return, as it stands today, it is our contention that Miss Goldman is a citizen of the United States.

THE COURT: Excuse me a moment. For your information I will give you the title of that case: Agency of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company vs. American Can Company, 253 Fed. Rep., 153. Affirmed 258 Fed. Rep., 363. The point of that case being merely to reiterate what I have said as to the position of the Court, legally speaking, in regard to recognition of foreign governments, and ambassadors.

MR. WEINBERGER: I do not know whether the Court got my position straight on that. Not that I believe the Court has the power to do any recognizing; my point is the Court must inform itself as to what the State Department — in other words, a court must take judicial notice of the government that is actually recognized. I am now not referring to who is the ambassador to this country; I am talking to the point as to what country is recognized as controlling Russia

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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wh

29

at the present time.

THE COURT: I understood your point perfectly, and I have ruled.

MR. WEINBERGER: In October 1918, — and I am now talking on the record in reference to Miss Goldman's citizenship as represented by the record on the Government's hearing, on October 18, 1884, one Jacob A. Kersner became a citizen of the United States in the County Court of Monroe County, a State County Court, of Monroe County, of the State of New York. Thereafter the relator, Emma Goldman, married the said Jacob Kersner, I believe, in the year 1887.

THE COURT: Does the record say where?

MR. WEINBERGER: In the City of Rochester.

THE COURT: And is the exact date given or just the year?

MR. WEINBERGER: February, 1887; I do not think we have the exact date.

THE COURT: Was the marriage --

MR. WEINBERGER: By a rabbi.

THE COURT: Was it recorded in any way?

MR. WEINBERGER: I do not believe so. In those days they were not — we did not have in the State of New York, as your Honor is probably familiar with, the so-called license law and the filing of various proofs. But in

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wh

30

the Government proceedings for the cancellation of the record of the naturalization of Jacob A. Kersner, they submitted evidence themselves that Emma Goldman was married to Jacob A' Kersner, and witnesses have so testified, that they knew them as man and wife, and they lived together as such.

So that we can stand practically on the record as presented by the Government on the marriage and the naturalization. It is of course important to note that the naturalization was in the County Court, a State Court; more than sixteen years rolled by, or fifteen years, and on April 9, 1909, an order was entered in the United States District Court for, I believe, the Western District of New York, cancelling the citizen papers of Jacob A. Kersner, obtained in the State Court.

Our contention as to the invalidity of that order is this: first, there was no proof that Jacob A' Kersner at the time of the commencement of the proceedings, was alive. Jacob A/ Kersner had disappeared from the City of Rochester before the commencement of the proceedings. I might state that I made a mistake when I said fifteen or sixteen years, it is almost twenty-four years after Kersner became a citizen; that is, the attempted proceedings to cancel his papers were commenced in the United States District Court, the authorities



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wh

31

are agreed --

THE COURT: Well, he was naturalized, you say, on October 18, 1884?

MR. WEINBERGER: 1884. The cancellation order in the United States District Court was in 1909. The decisions are, first, that a woman, an alien, married to a citizen, and in this case Kersner was a citizen before Emma Goldman married him, that an alien woman married to a citizen becomes a citizen as if she had become such by her own act or by Act of Congress. That is important, when we come to the question of cancellation.

The decisions also are that there are two kinds of citizenship: State citizenship and national citizenship. The statutes of the United States say that a State Court which is a court of record having a seal and a clerk, may go through a certain procedure to make an alien a citizen of the State and of the United States. The County Court of Monroe County was such a court, and on October 18, 1884, made Jacob A. Kersner a citizen.

Also, that a man who became a citizen, an alien who becomes a citizen has all the rights of a natural born citizen; he obtains a status; and the woman who marries an alien obtains that status as well.

If Emma Goldman became a citizen by virtue of her marriage to Jacob A. Kersner, as if of her own act,

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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wh

32

she was not made a party to the suit in the United States District Court which was started by publication; she was not served with any papers; she was not given an opportunity to defend. The real purpose and intent on the part of the United States Government was to denaturalize Emma Goldman and not Jacob A. Kersner, who, as far as the Government knew, was dead. And yet she was not served with any papers and was not given an opportunity to defend.

The decisions are that a State Court has concurrent jurisdiction with the United States Court in making a citizen. It is our contention that when the State Court goes through certain forms and is of the opinion that there is sufficient evidence before it to make a citizen, if there is any allegation of fraud upon that court it is the duty to go before that court and have that citizenship annulled. In other words, it would be like any judgment in a State Court obtained by fraud; whether the United States was interested in it or not, it could not come into this court and allege fraud and attempt to prove it, and thereby enter an order cancelling that judgment. And that is exactly the procedure that was followed. They went into the United States District Court for the Western District and attempted by publication to serve

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wh

33

Jacob A' Kersner, who, as far as we know, was dead, and of whose living no proof was submitted to the Court; and the Court entered an order ordering the cancellation of the naturalization papers of Jacob A' Kersner.

Now, it is my contention that if Jacob A' Kersner was dead, that the cancellation or the starting of a suit as against a dead man can certainly have no effect upon the living, and certainly it cannot have any effect upon the living, without the living having been given notice to defend and being made a party to the suit.

In other words, the matter of fair play, as held by the United States Supreme Court, applies to the United States the same as to any individual who comes into court. We cannot allow a snap judgment without giving an individual his day in court, without giving him notice as to the allegation; and the only allegation of fraud as against Jacob A. Kersner in the United States Court, or, rather, the only attempted proof was that he was not 21 years of age when he became a citizen; and the evidence was of his old father who, when they asked him when Jacob A. Kersner was born, said in 1865, "I suppose;" no attempt at cross-examination; no opportunity for Miss Goldman to come into court and

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wh

34

cross-examine. That is the evidence upon which the United States Court held that there was fraud upon the State Court, the father saying, "I suppose he was born in 1865." Have I got that year right, 1865 or 1856?

MR. CAFFEY: Here are the findings of the Court if you want to refer to them.

MR. WEINBERGER: I just want that date. 1865.

MR. CAFFEY: There are other grounds; that is not the sole ground.

MR. WEINBERGER: The only evidence before the Court - I do not care what the findings show; I do not care what the complaint shows; the stenographic minutes which are also in evidence show that the only ground is that Jacob A. Kernner was not twenty-one years of age, and if the findings are there, they are there without a counsel ever having had an opportunity to try the case, to object to the findings, or to propose other findings.



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wol

35

So that if Jacob A. Kersner was dead at the time of the beginning of these proceedings, it almost needs no argument, no other submission of any authorities to show that the proceedings fall of themselves; that the only way to effect someone else's rights, they must be made a party to the suit and brought into the action.

It is our contention, and I have the authorities here, that the jurisdiction of the State Court is concurrent with that of the United States Court; that if the State Court was satisfied -- there is a peculiar wording in that statute -- that the Court must be satisfied with the facts -- the Court looking at the defendant who swore he was twenty-one years of age, was satisfied that he was twenty-one years of age and made him a citizen, and it was necessary for the United States to go back into the County Court if they wanted by subterfuge and indirection to cancel the citizenship of Emma Goldman; they had to go to the County Court; they could not go into the United States Court and then get an order there without Emma Goldman being present, and then have that order sent into the County Court and have that record cancelled.

I have here the authorities as I stated, on my proposition that a woman who becomes a citizen by virtue of her marriage to her husband, who is a citizen,

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36

wb2

is a citizen as if made a citizen by her own act or the Act of Congress. It must be immediately apparent that any proceeding against her husband, who is dead, could not affect the citizenship of Emma Goldman. It must be apparent further that if the United States wanted to effect the citizenship of Emma Goldman they had to make her a party to the suit. It is further apparent that if they wanted to cancel the record of any Court or the judgment of any Court on that ground that the naturalization was obtained by fraud, they had to go into the Court which granted the citizenship, which is the County Court and not the United States District Court for the Western District. In addition to that they would have to go into the United States Court, if the United States had granted the naturalization, they would have to go into the Court where the alien or the alleged citizen was a resident at the time of the commencement of the suit; and there is no proof before the Court, and the fact that the Marshal makes a return in the proceedings that he cannot find Jacob A. Kersner within the jurisdiction of that Court, is prima facie proof that he was not a resident of that district; and therefore the proceedings even in the United States Court are without authority.

One of the cases on this point, as I just stated,

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37

wb3

is Leonard vs. Grant, 6 Sawyer, 603, which is considered practically the leading case; that case citing United States Revised Statutes, 1878, Section 1994, and giving Kelly vs. Owen, 7 Wallace, 499; Luhrs vs. Ennis, 88 New York, 171.

Section 15, I believe, of the Naturalization Law, says that the actions must be -- an action for cancellation of citizenship must be brought in the United States District Court where the naturalized citizen may reside at the time of the bringing of the suit. There is no evidence in these proceedings where Jacob A. Kersner resided; there was no proof submitted as to whether he was alive or not.

In the case of Davis vs. Cook, 9 South Dakota, and Merchants National Bank vs. McKinney, 2 South Dakota, 116, passing on Section 2165 of the Revised Statutes, it was held that it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the Court -- and then goes on with giving the requirements as to citizenship. In other words, the facts must be made to the satisfaction of the Court; the Court has a judicial discretion to determine the existence or non-existence of these facts, and the statutes vest the Courts mentioned with jurisdiction in order to exercise judicial discretion. That<sup>a</sup> statute, using such phrases as it must be made to

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38

wb4

appear to the satisfaction of the Court, or the Court must be satisfied, is intended to confer judicial discretion and not jurisdiction, which the exercise of judicial discretion presupposes is well settled. And also the case of Spratt vs. Spratt, in the United States Supreme Court, 4 Peters, 393. So that if the State Court in the exercise of its judicial discretion, is satisfied, or was satisfied, and it was made to appear to that Court that Jacob A. Kersner was 21 years of age at the time he applied for citizenship, that is sufficient even if, as a matter of fact, he should have been under 21 years of age.

THE COURT: Well, is this the same statute or a successive statute to that which was considered in the Mulvey case?

MR. WEINBERGER: I don't know.

THE COURT: Do you know, Colonel?

MR. CAFFEY: The Mulvey case? I do not recall that.

THE COURT: The Mulvey case is a case which was decided by our Circuit Court of Appeals.

MR. CAFFEY: The statute was in the same form that it has been in in this respect since June 29, 1906. Section 15 is the section which fixes the jurisdiction of the District Court.



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wb5

39

THE COURT: Then that is the same case as United States vs. Mulvey.

MR. CAFFEY: I take it that is so.

THE COURT: So, under that case it does not make any difference whether the Court which admitted the applicant --

MR. CAFFEY: Mr. Walker filed the suit in that case, and he tells me it is the same statute.

THE COURT: Yes. It does not make any difference, because a suit in equity may be instituted by the Government to revoke the letters on the grounds stated in the statute, and if in point of fact a cause existed which if known would not have led to naturalization, it makes no difference what the situation was before the court that admitted the petitioner. Now, in the Mulvey case the point was this: It is a very interesting case, and involves the same principle; the requirement, as you know, is that a person shall have a continuous residence for five years preceding naturalization, and Mulvey was naturalized by one of the Judges of this Court and stated honestly and frankly to the Judge that during part of the time comprised in that five years he had visited Ireland for the purpose, if my memory is right, of seeing his mother, who was then ill; and he remained there considerably longer than he had intended, so that

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cb6

40

he remained absent from this country for a considerable period of time -- I think something like two years, I am not clear in my memory as to the exact time. The Judge who admitted him thought that under the circumstances that that was not such an interruption of his five years continuous residence as to debar him from naturalization, and the man was admitted. Subsequently the Government instituted a suit in equity under the statute, and that came before the District Court, which did not go into the merits, but held that in view of the fact that Mulvey -- this is my recollection -- that Mulvey had not perpetrated any fraud upon the Court admitting him, that the effect of the suit would be to endeavor to review the action of the court of naturalization by this independent and indirect means instead of seeking to review the original order. That view was not sustained, however, by the Circuit Court of Appeals, which held that this was an independent action, and that this residence abroad was a break in the continuous residence, so that the man did not have to his credit the statutory requirement of five years continuous residence; with the result that a cause existed at the time of his application which prevented the Court naturalizing him; and that the Court when it naturalized him had no power so to do and erred.

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wb7

41

Now in the case here, on this point it becomes unimportant what the naturalizing court concluded as to the age of Kersner, because if, in point of fact, he was not 21 that can be tested in an independent suit, which, I assume, this must have been, and the decree of that Court in that independent equity suit, unappealed from, stands as written and cannot be collaterally attacked.

Now, I see but one point in your argument —

MR. WEINBERGER: Will your Honor allow me, on the point of the Mulvey case, to make one statement?

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. WEINBERGER: May I ask first whether that case went to the United States Supreme Court?

THE COURT: No.

MR. WEINBERGER: Because there are certain cases out of the United States Supreme Court absolutely contrary to your Honor's statement of the decision in the Mulvey case; and then there is an additional point: Your Honor stated that he was naturalized in this Court, and this Court denaturalized him.

THE COURT: Yes; but that does not make any difference. The statute, as I recall it, authorizes the Government to bring suit in any Court. There is nothing in that. The only point that is worthy of consideration and argument is whether or not the relator Goldman, if

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43

wb8

the record shows that she was married to this man -- it is a moot question, perhaps -- whether she was entitled to notice in that suit that was brought in the Western District. That is to say, whether she had acquired any rights even though the decree related back and rendered the whole procedure void; whether she had acquired any rights as a matter of law which required that she be made a party defendant or otherwise notified.

MR. WEINBERGER: In other words, I believe two things: First, even if that Court, assuming that the decision should be that the United States Court could cancel the record in a State Court -- which I deny and I do not believe is correct as a matter of law -- being concurrent courts -- and so the decisions hold -- no concurrent court can ever cancel the record of a Court of an equal jurisdiction on the subject. For instance, your Honor could not --

THE COURT: Well, that involves on your part saying that the statute is unconstitutional?

MR. WEINBERGER: No.

THE COURT: Oh, yes, it does.

MR. WEINBERGER: I state this: That the decisions are that a State Court of record with a seal and a clerk has concurrent jurisdiction of naturalization to that of the United States District Court. And if that

750



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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wb9

43

is correct, as a matter of law, no Court of concurrent jurisdiction can enter an order cancelling the record of the other Court.

For instance, I do not believe your Honor --

( THE COURT: I want to clear these things up as you go along. You do not apprehend the point to which I desire to direct your attention: Under the statute which was operative in 1909 at the time this proceeding was begun to which you have referred, the provision was this: That it shall be the duty -- Section 15 of the Naturalization Statute -- "that it shall be the duty of the United States District Attorneys for the respective districts, upon affidavit showing good cause therefor, to institute proceedings in any Court having jurisdiction to naturalize aliens in the judicial district in which the naturalized citizen may reside at the time of bringing the suit, for the purpose of setting aside and cancelling the certificate of citizenship on the ground of fraud or on the ground that such certificate of citizenship was illegally procured. In any such proceedings the party holding the certificate of citizenship alleged to have been fraudulently or illegally procured shall have sixty days personal notice in which to make answer to the petition of the United States; and if the holder of such certificate be absent from the

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m

44

United States or from the district in which he last had his residence, such notice shall be given by publication in the manner provided for the service of summons by publication or upon absentees by the laws of the state or the place where such suit is brought."

Now, obviously, Congress had power to enact this legislation; Congress also has power to determine how, in cases of this character, jurisdiction can be gained. The mere absence of the alien from the jurisdiction does not oust the court of jurisdiction; the alien might, as the statute indicates, be absent from the United States. The reason that Congress conferred the power was because many rights, family rights, property rights, spring up from naturalization; and, therefore, Congress determined that the courts should not be ousted of jurisdiction merely because the person alleged to have fraudulently obtained the naturalization happened to be absent from the United States. So that there is nothing, as I see it, in any of your points, except the one point that you make concerning which we should perhaps have further argument by yourself and by the District Attorney. In other words, your argument as to lack of power of the District Court of the United States for the Western District to deal with the subject matter falls unless the statute is unconstitutional, because the statute

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45

wb11

authorizes just the kind of a suit which, according to your statement, was brought? Does the record say this was a suit in equity, Colonel, brought under this section?

MR. CAFFEY: Yes, sir.

THE COURT: Very well?

MR. CAFFEY: But there were two grounds -- one ground for the suit not yet stated.

THE COURT: I see.

MR. CAFFEY: One was that he was not of age, and the other was that he had not been in the country a sufficient length of time. He arrived in 1882, and it was so found by the Court; his naturalization was in 1884.

MR. WEINBERGER: But the minutes will show that the Court had absolutely no evidence before it of that fact.

THE COURT: You are sufficiently acquainted to know that you cannot collaterally attack that decree.

MR. WEINBERGER: I know it; and my point is that if Emma Goldman had been a party to that suit she would not have had to collaterally attack, but could have attacked it directly.

THE COURT: But I mean to say this Court can look only to the decree; this Court cannot go behind the

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cbl2

46

decree of that Court. You say there was no evidence on the second ground stated by Colonel Caffey. This Court, as a matter of law, will not look to see whether there was evidence, and could only examine the evidence if there was an appeal from that decree, and I assume there was none.

MR. WEINBERGER: There was not, because Emma Goldman was not a party to the suit; there was not because, as far as the evidence, the record, shows Kersner was dead; there was no proof that he was alive; there was some proof that he had disappeared. As far as the record is concerned and the findings are concerned the only evidence submitted to the Court for its determination was whether or not Kersner was 21. It must be apparent to the Court that if Kersner had been actually served and had come into Court and said he was 21 years of age, and his father who said, "I suppose he was born about 1865," — I might state off the record that his father does not figure it is that way at all; he figures it by the Jewish calendar, five thousand and something, and he never knew enough to say 1865, even at the present time; and under that decision that I have of the United States Supreme Court, that snap judgments and fair play -- and that is the exact wording of the decision -- that everyone should have his day in



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wb13

47

Court. And when your Honor reads the record of that trial, the minutes, you will see specifically that the intent and purpose of the action was to disqualify Emma Goldman's citizenship; they did not care about Kersner. As far as the United States Government is concerned, Kersner was dead, and as far as anyone knows he was dead at the time of the suit, and he is dead today; but the real defendant in that particular action was Emma Goldman, and the United States Government after spending years on the matter and spending tens of thousands of dollars, did not even give Emma Goldman her day in court, serve her with any papers to show that at the time Kersner became a citizen he was in the country five years and he was 21 years of age.

Your Honor cited the Mulvey case. I do not believe that that case -- I am not familiar with the case itself -- but I do not believe that that case went to the United States Supreme Court. And in *Spratt vs. Spratt*, 4 Peters, 393, the United States Supreme Court, by Chief Justice Marshall said:

"But is it anything more than evidence which ought indeed to be required to satisfy the judgment of the Court, but the want of which cannot annul that judgment? The judgment has been rendered in a form which is unexceptionable. Can we look behind it, and inquire on

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m

48

what testimony it was pronounced?"

It Kersner was dead at the time, it must be apparent that the only defendant in the suit was the party whose rights are intended to be abrogated, and Emma Goldman should have been made a party to that suit.

In the McCarthy case (McCarthy vs. Marsh, 5 New York, 263), on this question of citizenship or evidence before the court, it is said:

"All courts look with favor on proceedings to admit aliens to citizenship, and it is just that they should; for the want of acquaintance with our laws and judicial proceedings, the unsettledness of their residences, in general, for some years, and the consequent liability to lose their documents and papers, should shield them from technical and sharp objections to their naturalization papers, whenever there appears to have been an honest intention to become a citizen, and comply with the laws of our country."

In other words, the United States does not question the citizenship of Kersner until 25 years continuous --

THE COURT: I do not think really there is any use in arguing along that line. Heretofore you argued along lines on this proposition on legal points. The Court is not concerned with points of view or ideas of how things should or should not be done. The Court

756

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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wb15

49

is dealing solely now with questions of law, and the question is whether the decree was perfect. Being a decree, as I understand, of a court of competent jurisdiction, which was not appealed from, and therefore cannot be collaterally attacked, as a matter of law, it is binding upon this relator. That is the sole question. Now, the Mulvey case I called your attention to solely in order to have you understand the nature of suit provided for by the statute, and secondly that the admission of the alien may be subsequently attacked in a suit of the character provided for by the statute. And I am told by Colonel Caffey here, and you do not disagree with him, that this decree to revoke Kersner's letters was a decree of the United States District Court for the Western District of New York, rendered upon a jurisdiction asserted to have been obtained by the Marshal reporting, pursuant to Section 15 of the Act, that the man Kersner, whoever he may be, was not found? Is that correct?

MR. WEINBERGER: That is correct.

THE COURT: Now, that being so, I think all the other points immediately disappear, except the single point to which I directed your attention. That point, briefly stated, is this: Where the naturalization was obtained by fraud, the argument may be presented that

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50

wb16

it was void ab initio, and never existed, and therefore carried with it no rights. Your argument is, on the contrary, that the naturalization having been obtained, that in the years intervening that obtaining of the naturalization and the decree of this Court to which reference has been made, certain rights sprung up, among others the right of the defendant to be heard in the event that the citizenship was to be attacked or be taken away from the man by virtue of marriage to whom she acquired her citizenship. That is all there is to it.

Have you the judgment roll and the decree in the Western New York case, Colonel Caffey?

(Mr. Caffey submits the same to the Court.)

THE COURT: As Colonel Caffey says, this bases the decision of the Court, or its conclusion of fact, upon two grounds: One that he came to the United States for the first time in the summer of 1882, whereas he was naturalized in 1884, and therefore had not been in the United States for five years.

MR. WEINBERGER: I take that back about that point. I think the father did say something about his leaving Russia in 1882, but that two other witnesses who testified were not asked that question, and they were the ones that testified that they knew him five



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wbl7

51

years in this country, and they were not asked whether it was not a fact that they did not --

THE COURT: As a matter of fact that is the only ground.

MR. CAFFEY: No; it also appears that he was born in 1865.

THE COURT: Oh, yes; I see that.

MR. CAFFEY: So that he was under age.

THE COURT: Oh, yes; there are two grounds. I see that now. Well, the ground was that the man had obtained his certificate by fraud on two grounds: One that he was not old enough, and secondly, and more seriously, that he had been in the United States less than five years -- only two years and a fraction.

MR. WEINBERGER: And yet the witnesses who testified in this particular suit in reference to the old father were the ones who testified that they knew in the naturalization proceeding that he was five years in the country.

THE COURT: Yes; but you know, as a lawyer, that the Court, except upon appeal, never examines into a decree collaterally on grounds of that kind.

MR. WEINBERGER: No; but it is important in this respect: That the defendant, Emma Goldman, was the one whose citizenship they were trying to take away,

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wbl8

53

and she was nota party to the suit. And it is important in whether or not you can say that that decree -- the Court also knows that no decree is ever binding on anyone else it affects, unless that defendant or that individual is a party to the particular suit, unless they claim certain property, etc., under it as an heir.

THE COURT: That leaves it just where I said before, that there is the single question remaining, the one as to whether or not she was entitled to notice or to be made a party.

MR. WEINBERGER: And I believe also the question of whether he was alive at the time or whether the Government was not under the necessity of proving it, for this reason --

THE COURT: There is nothing in the record one way or the other on that.

MR. WEINBERGER: And I claim that under those facts the proceedings are insufficient on their face. In the Clyde case against the United States, 165 United States, the Court lays down what it calls a principle of fair play on this question of death. It lays down the proposition that a witness on a former trial who had died, could not be discredited on the second trial by evidence of contradictory statements, because death had cut him off from an opportunity to protect his

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wb19

53

character and explain away the contradictions. And though justice itself shall fail, our contention is that Kersner should have been actually served or proved alive, or Emma Goldman should have been made a defendant to the suit, so that the alleged proof on the part of the Government could have been shown to have been what it was, untrue, and that counsel would have had an opportunity to cross examine the father whose testimony was absolutely contrary to the two witnesses who testified in this suit as well as the naturalization proceedings, when they said he was here five years. In other words, unless those witnesses committed perjury, and they were before the Court at the time, they should have been asked the question, Was Kersner in this country five years, and if they had said yes, then it would have shown that the father's memory was entirely wrong, and the Court would have refused to cancel the naturalization papers of Jacob H. Kersner.

And I state again that in the Spratt case they held there that where the matter is practically a matter of discretion, and if the Mulvey case did not go to the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court decide to the contrary --

THE COURT: The Spratt case has not anything to do with it at all. You can take an extract from many,

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wb20

54

many books dissociated from context and prove almost anything. You might even prove that you were not arguing this case if you could get a proper extract.

MR. WEINBERGER: I believe you would have a hard job doing that. But I do believe this, that that is a correct statement of the law. The law states that there must be sufficient evidence before the Court satisfactory to it that the facts are so, and I do not believe that on this so-called snap judgment, without either Goldman or Kersner being before the Court, that that is binding at this time on Emma Goldman; because if the other decision which I will submit on my memorandum to the Court is correct, that is, if she became a citizen by her marriage, the same as if she had been made a citizen by Act of Congress, or by her own act, if Kersner was dead at the time those proceedings were started or at the time of the entry of that order, it certainly cannot affect her status.

THE COURT: Is there any proof in the record of the death of Kersner?

MR. WEINBERGER: There is no proof whatever, and the father was not asked. He had disappeared. And our contention here is that the Government should have proved that he was alive, if what they wanted and intended was not to disqualify Kersner but to disqualify Goldman.



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wb21

55

And on all these points, I would like to submit a memorandum to the Court in two days.

THE COURT: On the single point I have indicated.

MR. CAFFEY: If the Court please, there are a number of sufficient answers that could be made to the arguments of Mr. Weinberger, but I think it is enough to address myself to one consideration. The citizenship, if derived by marriage -- conceding that there was marriage, although it is not proved in this case -- but conceding that there was a marriage, the citizenship which is claimed by this relator rests exclusively upon Section 1994 of the Revised Statutes. That provision states any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized shall be deemed a citizen.

Now, I omit consideration of that part of the statute which requires that in order that a woman, by virtue of marriage, shall acquire citizenship, she shall herself be one who might be lawfully naturalized. Assuming now that she married Kersner, Kersner at the time being a naturalized citizen, it appearing here that the naturalization of Kersner was decreed by a court of joint jurisdiction to have been obtained by fraud, the sole question, as I understand your Honor, is whether or not that decree is effective as against

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ub22

56

this relator without her having been made a party.

Now, if the Court please, the statute which provides for these denaturalization proceedings does not contain any provision requiring the making of a party thereto of any person except the citizen himself who has been naturalized. There is not provided any procedure for bringing in wives or children. It has never been the practice throughout the history of this statute to make a party of any person other than the one who himself has obtained the original naturalization.

Now, the proceeding, if your Honor please, is in rem. In addition to that it belongs to that class of proceedings which asserts status and the rule is general and universal that not only is it not required that anyone except the person involved shall be made a party, but that no one else can be made a party.

The question has not arisen, so far as I know, in the Federal Courts, or been decided by the Federal Courts, but has been repeatedly decided by the State Courts, and your Honor will immediately recognize, I think, the principle upon which it rests. There are numerous decisions here. I read from the Digest which cites them:

"Judgments or decrees in rem and those upon the personal status or relation of parties, such as marriage,

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wb23

57

divorce and the like, are evidence of the matters which they determine as to all parties, all persons, whether parties thereto or not."

And it must be true. There was no way in which this woman could be made a party. The statute made no provision for it; she could not have been brought in.

But assume, if the Court please, that she could have been made a party. She has never applied to have that judgment vacated. She, in this proceeding, in the hearing before the Labor Department, has made no defense to that judgment; and now coming before this Court and having here only the limited right of review which your Honor has already stated, the limited right of review by a Court as of the proceedings in the Labor Department, she seeks to raise this question. She cannot raise it now, even though it were merited.

Now, it is not in this record proved -- proof was not made in the hearing before the Labor Department as to the continued existence of Jacob A. Kersner; but the fact is that Jacob A. Kersner, the person referred to, was alive until the 18th day of January, 1919, on which day he died. There has been no injustice to this woman.

MR. WEINBERGER: Have you any evidence of that

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wb24

58

in the record?

MR. CAFFEY: I said the evidence was not in the record; but I state it as a fact. He died on the 18th day of January, 1919.

MR. WEINBERGER: May I ask where?

MR. CAFFEY: I will not state to you.

MR. WEINBERGER: All right.

MR. CAFFEY: She has nothing to complain of, if the Court please. She had every opportunity, if she desired it, to seek to have that judgment set aside; she has not done it; she has made no proof on a hearing before the immigration authorities. She declined to go into the issue; it is not now open to the Court under the limited court review which the authorities, as your Honor has already indicated, allow.

But, taking it upon its merits: In this matter of marital status the proceeding is in rem; it fixes the relations of parties, and the rule, as I say, is universal where the question has arisen that those who are outside or who are incidentally affected not only are not required to be made parties, but they cannot even be heard.

Now, then, if the Court please, what is the situation under that judgment? The situation is this: That Jacob A. Kersner was born in 1865; he came into



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wb25

59

this country in 1882, when he was seventeen years of age. He procured his naturalization by fraud and by misrepresentation in the State Court, the County Court of Monroe County, in which Rochester is situated, in 1884, when he had been here but two years. Now, there was a fraud which, as your Honor has clearly indicated, entitled the Government under Section 15 of the Act of June 29, 1906, to have a complete revocation and annulment. That revocation and annulment being for fraud, that citizenship which had been procured by fraud was void ab initio; he never was a citizen; he was not a citizen when he was married to this relator.

Now, it would be a supererogation, I submit, your Honor, for me to go more extensively into that. It is plainly, uniformly, completely determined in the State cases, although so far as I can discover the question has not been before the Federal Court.

MR. WEINBERGER: In 15 Opinions of the Attorney General, in the case of Mrs. B. Ambrosius, Solicitor-General Phillips decided that the marriage of an alien brown woman to a naturalized citizen of the United States conferred on her a permanent status of citizenship defeasible only as in the case of other persons, and gives his authority as *Shanks vs. duPont*, 3 Peters,

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wb26

60

242.

THE COURT: Well, that proposition is quite familiar. If, under the terms of the statute read by the United States Attorney, an alien woman marries a citizen, she becomes a citizen. That is not anything new.

MR. WEINBERGER: But it goes further. In the case of the United States vs. Keller, Justice Harlan says that the woman upon her marriage with a naturalized citizen of the United States becomes — and then cites certain sections — becomes a citizen of the United States as fully as if she had complied with all the provisions of the statutes upon the subject of naturalization. I stand on that contention which your Honor asked Colonel Caffey to answer, and which I believe he has not, whether or not Emma Goldman should not have been made a party to that suit, or whether a suit should not have been brought specifically against Emma Goldman. To say that we should have gone into the United States District Court years afterward when it was finally called to our attention — we could not have gone into that case because we were not a party to that suit. As far as answering it at the hearing is concerned, the Government would not allow a sufficient time either to prove that Kersner was dead or alive at the time of the pro-

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wb27

61

ceedings -- they tell us now that Kersner died on January 18, 1919. It is not on the record and they refuse to tell us where they got the information and where he died.

On this question of a judgment in rem, Minor on Conflict of Laws, and Muller vs. Muller, 91 New York, Ross vs. Ross, 129 Massachusetts, 243, Adams vs. Adams, 154 Massachusetts, 293, hold that judgments in rem defining permanent personal status are not open to attack or question collaterally for any purpose. By permanent status I mean a personality conferred by law without limitation as to time or place, such as naturalization, legitimacy, adoption and marriage.

In other words, if Emma Goldman obtained that status of citizenship by virtue of her marriage, and the decisions so hold that she did, as if she had become a citizen by her own act, this attack against Kersner is a collateral attack and cannot dispose of her particular status.

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62

Wm-1

THE COURT: I think the United States Attorney has presented clearly and convincingly the legal questions involved on this particular point. The Court has no power to look beyond the decree. The decree was rendered in accordance with the provisions of Section 15 of the statute. The rights of the relator, if any, depended upon the citizenship of Kersner. Citizenship to aliens is not a right; it is a privilege. And, when that privilege was accorded to Keraner, that privilege would go to any woman he married, so long as he was entitled to that privilege of becoming a citizen, which, when he became one, would be the right of citizenship.

Now, the statute undoubtedly implied the requirement to serve only the naturalized citizen, and not his wife or children, upon certain fundamental theories, and upon the theory, probably, that the United States should not be expected to ascertain whether the man thereafter had married or had children, or what his other status was.

When, therefore, by decree of a court of competent jurisdiction, it was found that Kersner was never entitled to become a citizen, the situation was one that, so far as this relator is concerned, was void ab initio, and she never became a citizen in law, because Keraner had no power to make her a citizen. The decree related



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63

Wm-2

back to October 18, 1884, when the fraudulent naturalization was obtained, and by its force, rendered null and void that fraudulent naturalization.

Therefore, Emma Goldman never became, at any time, a citizen of the United States, and, therefore, in law she is an alien. Therefore, on that ground, and on the grounds related in connection with the Berkman case, the writ is dismissed.

MR. CAFFEY: Will your Honor endorse your order to the same effect?

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. WEINBERGER: And will your Honor give us a stay, as was done in the Lopez case by the Circuit Court -- your Honor stated you were bound by the decision of the highest court -- a stay and an allowance of the defendants out on bail pending appeal? We intend to take this case to the United States Supreme Court and have the matter decided.

THE COURT: Where do you intend to apply, to the Supreme Court or to the Circuit Court of Appeals?

MR. WEINBERGER: I believe we will take the case to the United States Supreme Court direct, in view of the fact that the Lopez case is now on its way there, and that will be the quickest way of getting a decision on the appeal's merits.

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64

Wm-3

MR. CAFFEY: I call your Honor's attention to two decisions on that question of appeal, and also to the nature and reason of them --

THE COURT: Well, you need not argue the question of bail; it is only the question of a stay.

MR. CAFFEY: On the question of stay: If your Honor please, if you will examine the petitions in these cases, you will find that they are completely frivolous, perfectly absurd.

THE COURT: I have examined them.

MR. CAFFEY: They are perfectly absurd; they are absolutely without merit. Now, the Government is prepared to deport these aliens, along with others, within two weeks from this time, and there should not be any delay or any maintenance of a status here, to have a couple of aliens carry to the Supreme Court a question of phantom rights; and I ask your Honor not to permit any supersedeas or any stay pending that appeal.

MR. WEINBERGER: Mr. Caffey has said that our contentions in our habeas corpus petitions were frivolous and absurd? Perhaps he is right. The fact is, that the very contentions made in these cases were passed upon by the United States Circuit Court, and the United States Circuit Court gave Lopez a stay, and fixed bail pending appeal. And whether the Government or the

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65

Wm-4

District Attorney likes these defendants or not, we are entitled to our rights under the law, and we ask for them here now. We are entitled to bail. In Hudson against Parker, 156 United States, the United States Supreme Court said that every one in every court, before conviction or after conviction, was entitled to bail pending appeal.

And my contention is further here, that under these proceedings of deportation, it is not a criminal proceeding; the defendants have not been convicted in a court of law --

THE COURT: Is it your contention that they are entitled to bail, as a matter of right?

MR. WEINBERGER: It is my contention that they are entitled to bail, as a matter of right, under the decisions in habeas corpus proceedings.

THE COURT: I do not understand the law to be such at all.

MR. WEINBERGER: I know your Honor held, in the case of Berkman and Goldman, and Judge Clayton held, I understand, after consultation with all the Judges of this particular District, that Abrahams and the other defendants were not entitled to bail pending appeal, and the United States Attorney General sent out such instructions; and yet, on an application before the

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Wm-5

66

entire Supreme Court bench, where the Attorney General was represented by the Solicitor General, and the contention was made, during time of war, that those opposed to the Government should not be allowed out on bail pending appeal; my contention there was that every defendant was entitled to bail pending appeal, and the whole Court so held. That is *Abrahams* against the United States.

THE COURT: I do not understand the court held that, at all, did it?

MR. WEINBERGER: I was counsel in that case, and I made the motion.

THE COURT: Where is the decision?

MR. WEINBERGER: The defendants were allowed out on bail pending appeal.

THE COURT: The Court may exercise its discretion.

MR. WEINBERGER: In *Hudson* against *Parker*, there was no discretion, if your Honor will get that case.

THE COURT: I have no question at all but that the question of bail is a question of discretion.

MR. WEINBERGER: I disagree with the Court on that.

THE COURT: Very well. Now, the Court views both of these defendants as enemies of the United States of America, and of its peace and comfort. The defendant



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67

Wm-6

Berkman has a criminal record that began with his attempt to assassinate Mr. Frick. At the beginning of the war, both of these defendants sought to injure the United States by preventing the carrying out of the Selective Service Draft Law. They were convicted, and their conviction was sustained. They did everything they could to destroy the welfare, the stability and the integrity of this Government; and the Court considers that their actions, as disclosed in that case, which is of record and which has been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States -- that their actions were every bit as bad, and every bit as inimical to the Government as were the actions of the common enemy, the German Empire. Therefore, the Court declines to allow them on bail. The Court will allow a stay in order to give you an opportunity to apply to the Circuit Court of Appeals or the Supreme Court of the United States, as you may be advised, until Thursday of this week at 4:00 p.m.

MR. WEINBERGER: If the Court please, I understand from Mr. Caffey that there is no opportunity of the aliens being deported, anyway, within two weeks, and I would like to have at least those two weeks.

THE COURT: I will allow a stay until Thursday afternoon at four o'clock. If, then, your appeal is

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68

Wm-7

allowed by either of the Appellate Courts, you may take up such questions with those courts, or the Judges thereof, as you may be advised. I will give you an opportunity until four o'clock on Thursday afternoon, to apply to some other court for bail and for a further stay. You may submit an order to-morrow at ten o'clock, in accordance with what I have just stated.

MR. WEINBERGER: In court, your Honor?

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. WEINBERGER: Because I probably shall want to go down to Washington to-morrow night, I think.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Order Dismissing Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 9 / Julius M. Mayer, Judge, United States District Court.—  
3 p.; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.

Summary: Judge Mayer signs an order written by Francis Caffey, which dismisses Goldman's writ of habeas corpus, denies her request for bail and grants a two-day stay of deportation pending an appeal.

Notes: Enclosed with 810113073. For related documents, see 870701001 through 870701005. For same order prepared by Harry Weinberger and never signed, see 850812026.

At a Stated Term of the United  
States District Court held  
in and for the Southern District  
of New York on the 9 day  
of December, 1919.

P r e s e n t

HONORABLE JULIUS M. MAYER,

Judge.

-----x

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, :  
on the relation of Emma Goldman, :

-against-

A. CAMINETTI, Commissioner General :  
of Immigration and Byron H. Uhl, :  
Assistant and Acting Commissioner :  
of Immigration, Ellis Island, :  
New York, :  
Respondents. :

-----x

A petition having been duly filed herein for a Writ  
of Habeas Corpus in behalf of the above named relator, dated  
December 5, 1919, and a Writ of Habeas Corpus returnable  
December 8, 1919, at 2 P.M., having been duly issued by this  
Court on the petition, and the body of the relator having  
been produced in Court in compliance with the writ and a  
return, including a record of the proceedings in and the  
testimony, exhibits and evidence offered and taken before  
the Department of Labor, having been duly filed herein on  
December 8, 1919, in behalf of the respondents, and the  
said Writ of Habeas Corpus having duly come on to be heard  
on December 8, 1919, and application having been made for  
the admission of the relator to bail, pending the determina-  
tion of an appeal to be taken from this order and a further  
application having been made in behalf of the relator for a  
stay of proceedings pending the determination of an appeal  
to be taken from this order:

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777

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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NOW, after hearing Harry Weinberger, Esq., Attorney for relator, in support of the said writ and the said applications and Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, in opposition thereto, and due deliberation having been had thereon, it is

ORDERED that the said writ be and the same hereby be dismissed and the relator is remanded to the custody of the respondent Acting Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, New York: and further

ORDERED that the application for the admission of the relator to bail pending the determination of an appeal from this order be and the same hereby is denied; and further

ORDERED that a stay of the execution of the warrant of deportation until four o'clock in the afternoon of December 11, 1919, is hereby granted.

*Julius M. Mayer*

U. S. D. J.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Order Dismissing Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 9 / Julius M. Mayer, Judge, United States District Court.—  
3 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.

Summary: Judge Mayer signs an order written by Francis Caffey, which dismisses Goldman's writ of habeas corpus, denies her request for bail and grants a two-day stay of deportation pending an appeal.

Notes: Enclosed with 810113073. For related documents, see 870701001 through 870701005. For same order prepared by Harry Weinberger and never signed, see 850812026.

Sir:

You will please take notice that a .....  
of which the within is a copy, was this day  
duly entered in the within-entitled action, in  
the office of the Clerk of the .....

Dated, N. Y., ....., 19

Yours, etc.,

U. S. Attorney,  
Attorney for

To

Attorney for...

Court Docket No. ....

Form No. 336.

**U. S. District Court,**

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

The United States of America  
on the relation of Emma  
Goldman

-against-

A. CAMINETTI, Commissioner  
General of Immigration and  
Byron H. Uhl, Assistant and  
Acting Commissioner of Immi-  
gration, Ellis Island, N. Y.

Respondents.

ORDER DISMISSING WRIT OF  
HABEAS CORPUS

FRANCIS G. CAFFEY,

United States Attorney,

Attorney for

United States

Due service of a copy of the within is hereby  
admitted.

NEW YORK

19

Attorney for

Attorney for

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779

# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti; [Order Dismissing Writ of Habeas Corpus] 1919 Dec. 9 [draft] / [Julius M. Mayer, Judge, United States District Court]. -- 1 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Harry Weinberger prepares an order for Judge Mayer's signature, which dismisses Goldman's writ of habeas corpus and grants a two-day stay of deportation pending an appeal.

Notes: Broken type. For the signed order with different text, written by Francis Caffey, see 870701006.

[1919 Dec 9]

Fol.1.

At a Stated Term of the United States District Court, in and for the Southern District of New York, held at the Post Office Building, in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, on the 9th day of December, 1919.

P R E S E N T,

HON. JULIUS M. MAYER,

JUSTICE.

- - - - -X

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ex rel  
EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator,

-against-

2

A. CAMINETTI, Commissioner General  
of Immigration, and BYRON H. UHL,  
Assistant and Acting Commissioner of  
Immigration, Ellis Island, New York,

Respondents.

- - - - -X

The petition and Writ of Habeas Corpus for the release of the above named Relator having come on to be heard before this Court, and after hearing HARRY WEINBERGER, ESQ., attorney for the Relator, and FRANCIS G. CAFFEY, ESQ., United States attorney, in opposition thereto, it is

3

O R D E R E D, that the said Writ of Habeas Corpus be and the same is hereby dismissed, and the Relator remanded to the United States Commissioner of Immigration, Ellis Island, New York, and it is further,

O R D E R E D, that the deportation of Relator is stayed until December 11th, at 4 P.M. , to allow application to higher Court for further stay and bail.

E N T E R.

District Judge.

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780



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 9, New York [to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General  
[Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
Summary: Weinberger notifies Palmer that he will ask the Supreme Court for a writ of error the following day.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Department of Justice

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

6wa 31

New York, December 9, 1919

U. S. Attorney General,

Washington, D.C.

At request of New York United States Attorney I hereby notify  
you I will present writ of error request for stay and bail cases  
Goldman and Berkman Wednesday ten o'clock to Judge Brandeis.

Harry Weinberger

12 32 P.M.

186233-13-129

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781

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 9, New York [to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey sends the attorney general the papers in Goldman and Berkman's habeas corpus petition.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"UNITED STATES ATTORNEY"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

Department of Justice

United States Attorney's Office

New York

22179

December 9, 1919.

The Attorney General,  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Enclosed I send you copies of the petitions for writs of habeas corpus, the writs, and the orders of Judge Mayer dismissing the writs in the cases of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

Respectfully,

*Francis G. Caffey*

United States Attorney.

186233-13-231

*Gilbert*



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 9 [New York to] Louis D. Brandeis [Associate Justice] U[nited]  
S[tates] Supreme Court, Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 18 × 22 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
Summary: Weinberger arranges to stay Goldman's deportation pending the Supreme Court's consideration  
of her appeal.  
Notes: Broken type. Handwritten corrections by Weinberger.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
Telegram	
Day Letter	
Night Message	
Night Letter	
Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM	

WESTERN UNION  
TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Form 1201

Receiver's No.
Check
Time Filed

Send the following message, subject to the terms  
on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

December 9th, 1919 19

To Hon. Louis D. Brandeis *Rush Important*

Street and No. U.S. Supreme Court,

Place Washington D.C.

At request of N.Y.U.S. Attorney I have notified Attorney General  
will submit writ of error and stays to you Wednesday, 10 o'clock  
as stay granted by Judge Meyer expires Thursday 4 P.M. *scb* Application for  
bail will be made to entire Supreme Court.

Harry Weinberger

SENDER'S ADDRESS  
FOR ANSWER

SENDER'S TELE-  
PHONE NUMBER

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 9 [New York to] Byrne H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks Uhl if M.E. Fitzgerald may visit Goldman and Berkman as his representative when he is in Washington, D.C.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

December 9, 1919.

Byron H. Uhl, Esq.,  
Acting Commissioner of Immigration,  
Ellis Island, N.Y.

Dear Sir:-

Will you kindly allow Miss M. E.  
Fitzgerald to consult with Alexander Berkman and  
Emma Goldman, as my representative, Wednesday,  
December 10th, 1919, as I am leaving for Washington  
to-night.

Very truly yours,

HW/ICW

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Harry Weinberger, New York? 1919 Dec. 9?] / [Agent No. 7, Military Intelligence Division? War Department?].— 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

*Obtained from the New York State Archives.*

**Summary:** An unnamed agent reports that Goldman and Berkman's associates are visiting Ellis Island by posing as Harry Weinberger's law clerks.

**Notes:** For related report, see 810331078.

"Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are keeping in touch and connecting with their 'plotting allies' by having Attorney Harry Weinberger issue credentials as his clerks to them. Weinberger simply writes on the back of his business card that the bearer is a clerk employed at the law office of Harry Weinberger and wishes to interview his clients. So far every one producing one of Harry Weinberger's cards has been admitted."

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785

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 9 [Chicago? to] Thomas B. Crockett [Department Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department], Chicago / [Agent] No. 452 [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Agent No. 452 forwards No. 7's report that Goldman and Berkman are receiving visitors at Ellis Island who are posing as Harry Weinberger's law clerks.

Notes: Enclosed with 810331083. For original report, see 821210003. For related report, see 810331085.

(The Department Intelligence Office - Chicago)

December 9, 1919.

Major Thomas B. Crockett,  
230 East Ohio Street,  
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

No. 7 reports on December 9 as follows:

"Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are keeping in touch and connecting with their 'plotting allies' by having Attorney Harry Weinberger issue credentials as his clerks to them. Weinberger simply writes on the back of his business card that the bearer is a clerk employed at the law office of Harry Weinberger and wishes to interview his clients. So far every one producing one of Harry Weinberger's cards has been admitted."

No. 452



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchists, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1919 Dec. 9 / J.D. Rooney [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Rooney reports on his surveillance of Goldman and Berkman in Chicago.

Notes: For Loula report mentioned, see 880606269.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY:

J.D. Rooney,

PLACE WHERE MADE

Grand Rapids, Mich.

DATE MADE

December 9, 1919.

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION

In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Anarchists,

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS EVIDENCE COLLECTED NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED PLACES VISITED ETC

At Chicago, Ill.

As per instructions from Division Superintendent E.J. Brennan, Agent in company with several other Agents kept the two above mentioned subjects under surveillance. Upon the arrival of subjects in Chicago at the New Southern Hotel, Agent made arrangements with the management of the hotel to cover all incoming and outgoing telephone calls from the suite of rooms occupied by subjects. A complete report in the form of a penciled memorandum was submitted to Agent Loulay who was designated by Mr. Brennan to make a resume of the activities of subjects while they remained in Chicago.

On November 29th Frank C. Dailey, Assistant Attorney General, telegraphed to Mr. Brennan instructing him to send Agent Rooney, Fergus and Jamie back to Grand Rapids at the earliest possible hour.

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Chicago and Washington.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Lost File on Goldman-Berkman Case, New York, 1919 Dec. 9 / E[dward] Anderson [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Anderson describes his search for Goldman and Berkman's immigration files, lost in the mail to Francis Caffey's office.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

LCL

REPORT MADE BY: E. ANDERSON	PLACE WHERE MADE: New York, N.Y.	DATE WHEN MADE: Dec. 9, 1919.	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Dec. 6, 1919.
--------------------------------	-------------------------------------	----------------------------------	---

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

RE RE:- LOST FILE ON GOLDMAN-BERKMAN CASE

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

DEC 12 1919

DEC 12 1919

Received instructions from Agent Scully that two envelopes addressed to United States Attorney Caffey were lost in the mail. I immediately proceeded to the office of Mr. Caffey, and he informed me that up to 5:00 P.M. he had not received any envelopes on the Goldman-Berkman case.

I then went to the General Post Office to get in touch with the mail inspectors, but was unable to do so as they had gone for the day. One of the Assistant Postmasters informed me that all mail addressed to the United States Attorneys would come in at the downtown post office.

I next proceeded to the downtown post office, Park Row, and spoke with the Postmaster, who immediately started a search for the articles mentioned. He then informed me that about 2:00 P.M. there was a package about 12 by 12 addressed United States District Attorney, Eastern District, New York, N.Y. This package was taken upstairs in the Attorney's office, the man receiving it stating it was the package they were looking for all day. Parties carrying and receiving it unknown. I then called up Mr. Caffey at his home, 44 West 44th St., and informed him of what the postmaster had told me. Mr. Caffey stated that nothing was turned over to him all afternoon.

I then went upstairs to the District Attorney's offices at 7:00 P.M. and found Assistant U.S. District Attorney James Osborne still in his office. He and I started a search of all the Assistant Attorney's offices, but could find no package as described by the Postmaster. I then went to the

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

7-871

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788

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Lost File on Goldman-Berkman Case, New York, 1919 Dec. 9 / E[dward] Anderson [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 27 × 19 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** Agent Anderson describes his search for Goldman and Berkman's immigration files, lost in the mail to Francis Caffey's office.

LCL

E. ANDERSON

(Lost File on GOLDMAN-BERKMAN CASE, Cont.)

Postmaster again and was informed that nothing had been found, and up to the time I left, at 8:00 P.M., nothing was found.

7-871

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789

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Court Fight Lost by Berkman and Goldman Woman — 28 cm. In [New York Times? (Dec. 9, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: A New York newspaper gives a detailed account of Goldman and Berkman's habeas corpus hearing before Judge Mayer on December 8, 1919.

Notes: Dark copy. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

## COURT FIGHT LOST BY BERKMAN AND GOLDMAN WOMAN

Judge Refuses Writs and Sends  
Them Back to Island—Gov-  
ernment Shows Goldman  
Never Was Citizen.

THIS TAKES ANARCHIST  
WHOLLY BY SURPRISE.

Court Rejects Motion for Bail  
and Says They Are Enemies  
of U. S.—Nineteen Indicted on  
Anarchy Charge.

After brief consideration of the arguments put forward by Harry Weinberger, counsel for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Judge Julius M. Mayer dismissed yesterday the writs of habeas corpus which Mr. Weinberger has sued out in an effort to prevent the deportation of the two Anarchists.

Announcing he would not admit either of them to bail, Judge Mayer sent them back to Ellis Island and granted them a stay until 4 o'clock next Thursday in which to take an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, which he decided was their right.

**Ready to Deport Them.**  
United States Attorney Caffey said he had been informed that the Government was prepared to deport Berkman, Goldman and other aliens within two weeks.

"They should not be permitted to talk this, to argue a question of phantom rights," went on the United States Attorney.

"The court views both of these defendants as enemies of the United States," said Judge Mayer in refusing them bail. "The defendant Berkman has a long criminal record, beginning with his attempted assassination of the late Henry C. Frick. At the beginning of the war both sought to injure the United States, particularly in their opposition to the enforcement of the Selective Draft Law, for which they were convicted."

"They have consistently and systematically done everything to destroy the welfare, stability and integrity of the Government. Their actions were as bad and as inimical to the action of the common enemy, the German Empire."

Goldman has such outward anxiety as a dangerous outbreak in a court case been evidenced by the authorities yesterday, when every agency of the State and Federal Government was used to guard both the inside and the outside of the old Post Office Building, where the hearing was held. The Government was represented by half a dozen attorneys, including John E. Joyce, David B. Cahill of Mr. Caffey's staff, William J. Peters, law officer of the Department of Immigration from Washington, L. E. Hoover, special assistant to the Attorney General, and Augustus P. Schell, law officer at Ellis Island.

Mr. Caffey sprung one big surprise when Mr. Weinberger came to the argument of his contention that the Goldman woman is an American citizen because she was married in 1887 to Jacob A. Kersner. The Government has proved that Kersner's citizenship was revoked in April, 1909, because at the time his naturalization papers were issued in Rochester he was not twenty-one years of age. Weinberger has contended in all previous proceedings that for all the Government knew Kersner was dead at the time his papers were cancelled, and that the cancellation was illegally put through for the sole purpose of striking at his client.

**Weinberger Waived Rights.**

Weinberger began by questioning the qualifications of Judge Mayer to preside at the hearing on the ground that at the time of sentencing Goldman and Berkman to the penitentiary he had expressed an opinion that they should be deported. Judge Mayer disposed of this with the statement that in making application to him for the writs Weinberger waived any right he might have had on these grounds.

Immediately after the hearing the two Anarchists were hurried back to Ellis Island, followed to the Barge Office by a dozen of their Greenwich Village friends, who were visibly disturbed at the turn affairs had taken.

Nineteen indictments charging criminal anarchy were returned yesterday before Supreme Court Justice Weeks against men who were arrested in a Lusk committee raid a month ago because of their connection with the Communist Party. The indictments charge anarchy either in membership in the Communist Party, advocating its ideas or assembling with its members. Among those indicted was Harry Winitsky, Executive Secretary of the party in New York, whose bail was fixed at \$5,000.

The others were held in \$1,000 each, except one man, who was not arrested, and another who was released on a \$300 bond on his promise to appear to-day and put up \$700 additional. Those under arrest are Abraham Weinberg, L. Shapiro, H. Pfeffer, Benjamin Tobak, Joseph Szewecuk, Mike Stechna, Hyman Blewels, John Solsky, Harry Winitsky, Harry Israel, Abe Schaffor, Iddore Cohen, Tufkevitch, Moses Zimmerman, Jay Lovestone, Elias Marks, John Holland and Nathan Schechter.

New York paper,  
December 9, 1919



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Back to Russia — 28 cm. In [unknown periodical (Dec. 9, 1919)] / [author unknown].  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
**Summary:** An unidentified newspaper applauds the court's decision to uphold Goldman and Berkman's deportation.  
**Notes:** Typed date is incorrect. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

December 19, 1919.

### Back to Russia.

A federal court in New York city yesterday ruled that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, having broken the laws of this country and demonstrated themselves as undesirable, as fomenters of revolt and as dangerous to the peace and security of the American people, must be deported. They will now await at Ellis Island the sailing of a ship that will take them to Russia, whence they came long ago. This will be, in a way, like throwing fuel back upon the fire, inasmuch as both of these radicals declare that they will go to Russia to work for the general revolution, hoping to spread their agitation to these shores through the Russian anarchistic organization. But at least they will not be setting things alight here directly. There may be a better way to dispose of these creatures, possibly the establishment of a penal colony somewhere in midocean, but as long as we have not arrived at the point of our evolution where such precautions against domestic turmoil have been taken, there is no place to dispatch them save to the country of their origin. And there are scores, doubtless hundreds, of others as dangerous as Berkman and Goldman, of less notoriety, but of equal malevolence, who should go quickly and forever, as long as our laws do not permit their final dispatch in this land, which they have sought to inflame with class hatred and to overturn in anarchism. 22.

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791

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] Keonan [Department of Justice?, Washington, D.C.] / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** Burke instructs Mr. Keonan to publicize the government's efforts to oppose bail for Goldman and Berkman, now held on Ellis Island.

**Notes:** Dark copy; barely legible. For press release, see 880606302.

72-1337

15446

December 9, 1919.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KEONAN.

Assistant Attorney General Stewart and Mr. Hoover will appear in the Supreme Court of the United States tomorrow morning at ten o'clock to represent the government in the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who are applying to Justice Brandeis for bail.

Assistant Attorney General Stewart thinks this matter should have wide publicity to show that the government opposed it as far as could be.

Assistant Director and Chief.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Press Release on Deportation of Goldman and Berkman, 1919 Dec. 10] / [Keonan? Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** The Justice Department prepares a press release summarizing the legal proceedings in Goldman and Berkman's deportation case and emphasizing how hard they opposed bail or delay in the case.

**Notes:** Broken type. For related document, see 880606300.

154406  
X-9a  
FOR IMMEDIATE PUBLICATION.

On Friday, December 5, 1919, ALEXANDER BERKMAN and EMMA GOLDMAN were surrendered at Ellis Island upon order of the Secretary of Labor who had issued warrants for their deportation to Russia, upon the ground of being alien anarchists. Through counsel they sued out writs of habeas corpus and on December 8, 1919 a hearing was held in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, Judge Julius H. Mayer presiding, at which time the government protested against the release of these subjects upon habeas corpus. The government was represented by Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Assistant United States Attorney Cahill, J. E. Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General and Mr. W. J. Peters, chief law officer of the immigration service. The court sustained the contention of the government and refused to grant the writ of habeas corpus and remanded Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to the custody of the Acting Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, without bail. Counsel for the two anarchists requested the court to be permitted to file assignment of error and to take out a writ of error. The court allowed counsel until Thursday, December 11th at four o'clock to perfect his writ of error. On Wednesday, December 10th,

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Press Release on Deportation of Goldman and Berkman, 1919 Dec. 10] / [Keonan? Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** The Justice Department prepares a press release summarizing the legal proceedings in Goldman and Berkman's deportation case and emphasizing how hard they opposed bail or delay in the case.

**Notes:** Broken type. For related document, see 880606300.

-2-

R.P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General and Mr. J.E. Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, appeared on behalf of the Department of Justice before Justice Brandeis in order to protest against the stay of the deportation warrant and to protest against the releasing of these two anarchists upon bail pending final determination of their cases. Justice Brandeis suggested that the attorney for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman should present his request to the entire Supreme Court. Following this suggestion, counsel for the two anarchists, Mr. Harry Weinberger, presented his request orally to the Supreme Court of the United States on Wednesday, December 10th. The Chief Justice requested that he submit a written memorandum setting forth the grounds upon which he was making his appeal to the United States Supreme Court and allowed counsel for the anarchists until four o'clock Wednesday, December 10th, to file said memorandum. The Attorney General, represented by R. P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General, requested the privilege of filing a memorandum objecting to the release of these two subjects upon bail and the staying of the deportation. This right was allowed and the Department of Justice has presented to the Supreme Court a brief setting forth its reasons for opposing the release of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman upon bail, basing the same upon grounds that these two persons would be a menace to society through the disseminating of anarchistic propaganda.

Decision will be made by the United States Supreme Court on Thursday, December 11th.

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794



# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Error and Appeal,  
1919 Dec. 10 / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger asks the Supreme Court to review the District Court's denial of Goldman's habeas  
corpus petition.

Notes: Submitted with 850812029. For related documents, see 850812012 and 850812015.

[Dec. 10, 1919]

Fol. 1.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

-----X  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA on :  
relation of EMMA GOLDMAN, :  
Relator-appellant, : PETITION FOR WRIT  
-against- : OF ERROR AND  
A. CAMINETTI, Commissioner General of : APPEAL.  
Immigration, and BYRON H. UHL, Assistant :  
and Acting Commissioner of Immigration, :  
Ellis Island, New York, :  
Respondents. :

2

-----X  
Now comes the above named Relator, Emma Goldman,  
by her attorney, and respectfully represents that on the  
9th day of December, 1919, a decree was entered by this Court  
dismissing her petition for Habeas Corpus and remanding her  
to the custody of the United States Acting Commissioner of  
Immigration, at Ellis Island, New York, and your petitioner  
respectfully shows that in and by the said decree, manifest  
error was committed, and your petitioner does hereby appeal  
from the said decree to the Supreme Court of the United  
States for the reasons set forth in the assignment of errors  
filed herein.

3

WHEREFORE the said Relator, Emma Goldman, prays  
for the allowance of a Writ of Error and such other orders  
and processes as may cause all and singular record and pro-  
ceedings in said cause to be sent to the Honorable Justices  
of the Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D.C.,  
under and according to the laws of the United States, in that  
behalf made and provided, and so that the same being inspect-  
ed, the said Justices of the said Supreme Court of the United  
States cause further to be done therein to correct that  
error, what of right and according to law ought to be done,  
and also that an order be made herein that all other proceed-

# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Error and Appeal, 1919 Dec. 10 / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks the Supreme Court to review the District Court's denial of Goldman's habeas corpus petition.

**Notes:** Submitted with 850812029. For related documents, see 850812012 and 850812015.

Pol.4.

ings in this action in this Court be suspended and stayed until the determination of said Writ of Error by the said Supreme Court of the United States, and that the operation of the order dismissing the Writ hereby appealed, be stayed and the deportation of the Relator pending the determination of the appeal herein be stayed, and your petitioner will ever pray.

Dated, New York, December 10th, 1919.

HARRY WEINBERGER,  
Attorney for Relator, appellant,  
Emma Goldman,  
Office & Post Office Address,  
No . 261 Broadway,  
Borough of Manhattan,  
New York City.

5.

6.

The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Error and Appeal, 1919 Dec. 10 / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.  
Summary: Weinberger asks the Supreme Court to review the District Court's denial of Goldman's habeas corpus petition.  
Notes: Submitted with 850812029. For related documents, see 850812012 and 850812015.

NOTICE OF ENTRY

Sir:—

Please take notice that the within is a true copy of a \_\_\_\_\_ this day duly filed and entered in the office of the Clerk of the \_\_\_\_\_

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_ 191

Yours, &c.,

HARRY WEINBERGER

ATTORNEY FOR

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City  
To \_\_\_\_\_ Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR

NOTICE OF SETTLEMENT.

Sir:—

Please take notice that an order of which the within is a true copy, will be presented for settlement and entry herein to Mr. Justice \_\_\_\_\_

at \_\_\_\_\_ of this Court at \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ in the Borough of \_\_\_\_\_ in the City of New York, on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ 191 at \_\_\_\_\_ o'clock, in the forenoon or as soon thereafter as Counsel can be heard.

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_ 191

Yours, &c.,

HARRY WEINBERGER

ATTORNEY FOR

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City  
To \_\_\_\_\_ Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR

CLERK'S INDEX No.

YEAR

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA on  
relation of EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator-appl't. ~~Plaintiff~~

against

A. CAMINETTI, Commissioner  
General of Immigration and  
BYRON H. UHL, etc.,

Respondents. ~~Defendant~~

COPY

PETITION FOR WRIT  
OF ERROR AND APPEAL.

HARRY WEINBERGER

Relator-appl't.

ATTORNEY FOR

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To \_\_\_\_\_ Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR

Due and timely service of a copy of the within \_\_\_\_\_

is, hereby admitted.

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_ 191

Attorney for

The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Assignment of Errors, 1919 Dec. 10 / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p. ; 35 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger argues that the Supreme Court should review the District Court's denial of Goldman's habeas corpus petition, because Goldman is a citizen and the Anarchist Deportation Laws are unconstitutional.

[Dec. 10, 1919]

Fol. 1.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

-----X  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA on  
relation of EMMA GOLDMAN,  
Relator-Appellant,  
-against-  
A. CAMINETTI, Commissioner General of  
Immigration, and BYRON H. UHL, Assistant  
and Acting Commissioner of Immigration,  
Ellis Island, New York,  
Respondents.  
-----X

ASSIGNMENT OF  
ERRORS.

2

Now comes the Relator, Emma Goldman, in the above entitled case; by her attorney, and files and makes the following assignment of errors upon which she will rely upon her prosecution of the Writ of Error and appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, sued out by her herein, to review the error of the decree dismissing the Habeas Corpus made by this Court upon the 9th day of December, 1919.

That the District Court erred as follows:

3

FIRST: In dismissing the Writ of Habeas Corpus herein, in that the evidence before the Court was sufficient to prove that said Emma Goldman is a citizen of the United States.

SECOND: That said Court erred in holding that the warrant of deportation issued by the Secretary of Labor for the deportation of the Relator was sufficient in law.

THIRD: That the Court erred in holding that the warrant of deportation aforesaid was based on sufficient competent evidence and was warranted by the record in the proceedings.

FOURTH: That the Court further erred in holding that the Secretary of Labor did not exceed his discretion and



# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Assignment of Errors, 1919 Dec. 10 / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p. ; 35 x 20 cm.

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Summary: Weinberger argues that the Supreme Court should review the District Court's denial of Goldman's habeas corpus petition, because Goldman is a citizen and the Anarchist Deportation Laws are unconstitutional.

Fol.4. his jurisdiction in issuing the aforesaid warrant of deportation upon the record before him.

FIFTH: That the said Court erred in holding the proceedings had before the United States Inspector of Immigration, for the deportation of the Relator, were held in accordance with the Immigration laws, rules and regulations of the Department of Immigration, and that the said laws, rules and regulations were not violated in the proceedings, and that the said laws, rules and regulations are not in violation of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution.

5 SIXTH: That the said Court erred in holding that a believer in anarchism can be deported under the laws and Constitution of the United States.

SEVENTH: The Court erred in holding that the acts of February 5th, 1917 and October 16th, 1918, known as the Anarchy Deportation Laws were not unconstitutional in respect to the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in that the holding of mere opinions, whether of anarchism or any other belief, religious, political or social, can not be made the basis for a warrant of deportation of an alien, if not a citizen.

6 EIGHTH: That the Court erred in not holding that the Relator was deprived of due process of law, secured her by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

NINTH: That the Court erred in not discharging Relator from custody.

TENTH: That the said Court erred in not discharging Relator Emma Goldman, inasmuch as the United States has no present or immediate intention of deporting the said Emma Goldman, within a reasonable time, because the Government of the United States has not recognized the govern-

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Fol. 7.

ment now controlling Russia, otherwise known as the Soviet or Bolshevik Government, and such deportation, if attempted, would be in violation of the laws of the United States, or if the said deportation should be to the so-called "White Guard" country, under the governments of Kolchak, Denikine, or Yudenitch, the deportation would be equivalent to the sentencing of the Relator to death, in violation of the laws and Constitution of the United States, and the traditional policy of the United States Government.

8.

ELEVENTH: That the said Court erred in refusing to discharge the Relator, as the warrant of deportation does not provide any bail on which said Relator can be discharged until such time as said Relator may be deported, and said deprivation of liberty may be for the period of the said Relator's natural life, in violation of the Eighth Amendment of the United States Constitution.

9.

TWELFTH: That the said Court erred in not holding that the Anarchy Law and Amendments therein, under which the warrant of deportation was issued, was an ex post facto law, in its relation to <sup>Emma Goldman</sup>~~Alexander Berkman~~, Relator, in violation of Article I, Section 9, Subdivision 3 of the Constitution of the United States.

WHEREFORE, appellant-relator, Emma Goldman, prays that said decree be reversed for the errors aforesaid, and that the said District Court for the Southern District of New York be ordered to enter a decree reversing the decision of the lower court in the said case, or such other or further disposition may be made as is in accordance with the laws and Statutes in such matter made and provided. All of which is respectfully submitted.

Dated, New York, December 10th, 1919.

HARRY WEINBERGER,  
Attorney for appellant-relator,  
Emma Goldman,  
Office & P.O. Address,  
No. 261 Broadway,  
Borough of Manhattan,  
New York City.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Allowance of Appeal [1919 Dec. 10?] /  
[Louis D. Brandeis] Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court. —  
2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Justice Brandeis agrees to hear Goldman's appeal of the District Court's denial of her habeas corpus petition.

[Dec. 1919]

Pol. 1.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA on  
relation of EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator-appellant,

-against-

A. CAMINETTI, Commissioner General of  
Immigration, and BYRON H. UHL, Assistant  
and Acting Commissioner of Immigration,  
Ellis Island, New York,

Respondents.

: ALLOWANCE OF

: APPEAL.

2

On reading the petition of HARRY WEINBERGER, for  
appeal and consideration of the assignment of errors present-  
ed therewith, it is.

O R D E R E D, that the Writ of Error and appeal,  
as prayed for, be and is hereby allowed and that a certified  
transcript of the record and all proceedings be forthwith  
transmitted to the Supreme Court of the United States, and it  
is further.

3

O R D E R E D, that the operation of the order  
dismissing the Writ hereby appealed, is hereby stayed and  
the deportation of the Relator Emma Goldman is hereby stayed  
pending the determination of the appeal herein. Bond for  
costs of appeal is fixed in the sum of Two hundred and fifty  
(\$250.00) Dollars.

Associate Justice of the United  
States Supreme Court for the  
Second Circuit.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

801

# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Allowance of Appeal [1919 Dec. 10?] / [Louis D. Brandeis] Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court. — 2 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

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Summary: Justice Brandeis agrees to hear Goldman's appeal of the District Court's denial of her habeas corpus petition.

## NOTICE OF ENTRY

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Please take notice that the within is a true copy of a \_\_\_\_\_ this day duly filed and entered in the office of the Clerk of the \_\_\_\_\_

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_ 191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To \_\_\_\_\_ Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR

## NOTICE OF SETTLEMENT.

Sir:—

Please take notice that an order of which the within is a true copy, will be presented for settlement and entry herein to Mr. Justice \_\_\_\_\_

at \_\_\_\_\_ of

this Court at \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ in the Borough of

\_\_\_\_\_ in the City of New York,

on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ 191

at \_\_\_\_\_ o'clock, in the forenoon or as soon thereafter as Counsel can be heard.

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_ 191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

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ATTORNEY FOR

CLERK'S INDEX No.

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COPY

ALLOWANCE OF APPEAL.

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

Relator-applt.

ATTORNEY FOR

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To \_\_\_\_\_ Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR

Due and timely service of a copy of the  
within \_\_\_\_\_

is, hereby admitted.

Dated, N. Y., \_\_\_\_\_ 191

Attorney for

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending December 10, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, Military Intelligence [4, War Department].— 6 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Military Intelligence's weekly situation report gives the status of Goldman and Berkman's deportation appeals.

**COPY**  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State  
Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and  
the Chief Special Agent  
File No. 504-69

504-69

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jun.



CONFIDENTIAL.

WEEKLY SITUATION SURVEY FOR WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 10, 1919.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, GENERAL STAFF,

SECTION M. I. 4.

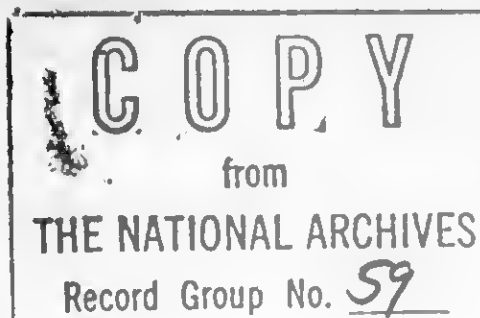
803

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General Records of the Dept. of State  
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File No. 504-69

RESUME	Page 1
RADICAL ACTIVITIES	2
Resolutions of the Senate	2
Activities of Radical Aliens	2
Ludwig Martens and his Associates	3
Goldman and Berkman Appeal	3
Arrests, Indictments, Convictions, etc.	4
The Socialist Party	5
The Communist Parties	6
Anti-Radical Measures and	
Coordination in Massachusetts	9
Anti-Radical Measures in the Northwest	11
General Counter-Measures against Radicalism	13
LABOR UNREST	14
The Coal Strike	14
The Steel Strike	16
Strikes Ended	17
Strikes Continuing	18
New Strikes	20
Strikes Threatened	20
NEGRO SUBVERSION	22
I.W.W. Propaganda	22
The Clash at Bogalusa	23
NATIONALISTIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES	23
Greeks	23
Italians	23
Jugo-Slavs	24
Finns	24
Japanese	25
CONDITIONS IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT	25
Posts and Camps	25
Thefts and Frauds	25
FOREIGN COUNTRIES	26
Mexico	26
Panama	27
England	27
France	28
Switzerland	28
Czecho-Slovakia	29
Japan	29

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## RESUME

The Senate adopted a resolution to investigate the presence and activities of radicals in the Federal Trade Commission, and the attitude of the commission toward business; and a resolution to enforce the passport regulations and to curb the travelling privileges of known ultra-radicals. A number of Russian aliens in the United States have petitioned for gratuitous transportation to Russia. Justice Greenbaum has denied the motion of Ludwig Martens to stay the proceedings of the Lusk Committee.

In spite of an order issued December 1st for the immediate deportation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, they secured a stay of execution by an appeal to the Supreme Court. There have been a number of arrests, indictments and convictions of leading radicals during the week.

The Socialist Party is showing signs of impaired vitality, although it has gained ground in New York City and held its own in several cities of the East. No progress has been made in merging the Communist Labor Party with the Communist Party. The Communist Labor Party gives evidence of being backed by ample funds, which are believed to be traceable through Ludwig Martens to the "exterior propaganda" activities of the Russian Soviet Government.

Massachusetts has adopted a plan of drastic activity against the local Communists, and a number of the leaders have been indicted. An important conference of all the agencies engaged in combatting radicalism was held during the week at the instance of the Mayor of Boston. Charges have been preferred against numerous I.W.W.'s held in the Northwest and a number of indictments have been returned; a campaign against the publication of radical papers is also under way. Various states are considering the enactment of anti-radical legislation, among these being North Dakota, Idaho, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Jersey. The American Legion, especially in the Northwest, is aggressively active against radicalism.

The labor situation has materially improved in that the coal strike was settled December 10th by the miners' acceptance of President Wilson's plan of readjustment. The steel strike continues, but is regarded as broken. An important event of the week was the arrest of 98 strikers in Donora, Pa. accused of bomb outrages.

Eight strikes involving about 410,000 men were reported as ended during the week.

One hundred fifty-seven strikes, involving about 200,000 men are reported as continuing.

Eleven new strikes involving about 7,000 men were reported during the week.

Thirty strikes which, if put into effect, would involve about 600,000 men are threatened.

I.W.W. propaganda is being carried on through the wide distribution of pamphlets addressed "To the Colored Workers of America" urging the negroes to join the I.W.W. in order to ameliorate their condition. Racial conflict at Chicago is threatened on account of the encroachment of the negroes on the white districts. Organization of the negroes in the lumber district of Louisiana by armed white agitators has resulted in the killing of three union men who were protecting a negro strike leader.

Bolshevist doctrines are being spread among racial groups in this country through agitators who speak the language of the groups to be reached. An Italian anarchist society in Chicago is reported to be taking on new life. Radical propaganda has made considerable headway among the Dalmatians and Montenegrins in Wyoming. The Communist party has been paying particular attention to the Finns who are reported to be unpatriotic and unruly. The I.W.W.'s are said to be active among the Japanese in this country.

Radicals continue the attempt to disseminate their doctrines among troops in the United States, and a definite propaganda against the military is shown in the attempt to obstruct recruiting.

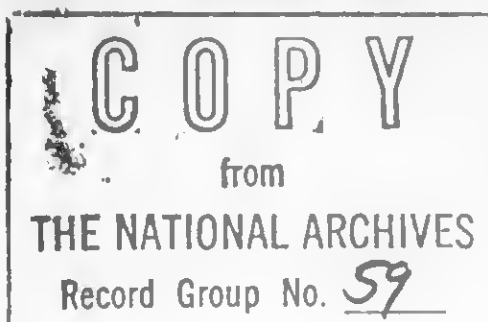
The Mexican Government is encouraging the immigration of Germans to that country, and is fostering radicalism in this country, in the hope of preventing intervention. The I.W.W.'s are sending Spanish speaking organizers to the Canal Zone to spread their doctrines among the Spanish speaking element. Platten, the Swiss agitator, has not returned to Switzerland; he is to remain in the Ukraine as a liaison between that Government and the Soviets. An active Spartacist organization is reported in northern Bohemia, and there is a strong Socialist undercurrent gaining headway in Japan.

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- 3 -

repts. In their petition the Russians protested against the many "unwarranted" arrests to which their people had lately been "subjected". On being asked by the District Attorney why so many Russians refused to become American citizens, they replied that they were "proud to be members of the Russian Soviet Republic."

The Russians have widely advertised their case in the radical press in the Northwest, and lately they have been joined by a committee of Finns, who claim that 6,000 Finns in this region wish to leave America in the same manner. The Finns, however, do not want to return to Finland, as Finland, under the present "White Guard" government, according to their statement, "is just as bad as America."

### LUDWIG MARTENS AND HIS ASSOCIATES:

Justice Greenbaum has denied the motion of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens' attorney to stay the proceedings of the Lusk Committee. He will rule later on the cancellation of the subpoena of the committee which Martens has also demanded, but the ruling will probably be an adverse one, and it is expected that Martens will, after the present series of delays, continue his testimony.

Dr. Mislis, former treasurer of the Russian Socialist Federation, has refused to give the names of the officers or members of that society. An attempt will be made to have him punished for contempt. Dr. Mislis admits disbursing funds from his Federation to finance the inaugural convention of the Communist Party in Chicago.

### GOLDMAN AND BERKMAN APPEAL:

In spite of the fact that an order was issued December 1st by Commissioner of Immigration Gaminetti providing for their immediate deportation, Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman have again

- 3 -

806

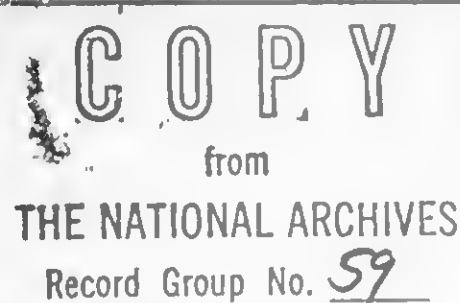


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- 4 -

secured a stay of execution by an appeal to the Supreme Court on a writ of error from the decision of Judge Mayer in New York. This application is made to Justice Brandeis. If the writ is granted, their lawyer will apply to the full bench of the Supreme Court to release these anarchists on bail, pending the argument and final decision. Both profess that their reason for trying to avoid deportation is not a desire to remain in America, but a preference to return to Russia of their own choice rather than under compulsion. Pending the decision of their appeal, they are being detained at Ellis Island ready to sail at short notice.

### ARRESTS, INDICTMENTS, CONVICTIONS, ETC.:

Among the important arrests of the week, outside of the Massachusetts Communist, John J. Ballam, and Charles Ruthenberg and I. E. Ferguson, national communist learders hereinafter noted, are those of Charles Wilson, an I. W. W. leader in Idaho, Anita Whitney, member of the Oakland, California, I.W.W. defense committee and a delegate to the State Communist Convention, 18 prominent members of the Communist Party indicted in Greater New York, and the I.W.W.'s, John Shanke and Roberta Bruner, arrested on a propaganda tour at Pueblo, Colorado. Of the many cases brought against I.W.W.'s and other radicals under the criminal syndicalism law in California, the most important case, that of James McHugo, is concluded and McHugo has been found guilty, a precedent which will have a sharp effect on the I.W.W. movement. The campaign in California is being rigorously pursued; three men, including the I.W.W. leader, James Malloy, were arrested at the I.W.W. headquarters in San Francisco, while Los Angeles, which had put a ban on I.W.W. meetings, has now stopped the so-called I.W.W. dances, which were found to be simply subterfuges for meetings. In all, more than 20 arrests were made of I.W.W.'s in California during the week, making

- 4 -

807

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- 29 -

Government and that of the Soviets.

An ex-minister of the Russian Socialists has been in Berne to further a plan by which the menshevists in concert with the revolutionaries of the Left who are enemies of Bolshevism would give up all political struggles against the present Soviet Government, and, on the contrary, reunite all the vital forces of Russia to combat the counter-revolutionary forces.

From Switzerland the Russian ex-minister was to proceed to Italy to confer with the directors of the Italian Socialist Party.

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA:

It is reported from Switzerland that an active Spartacist organization has been discovered in northern Bohemia which is in direct communication with like organizations in Saxony and Vienna. A paper, "Rote Fahne", engaged in intensive agitation and struggle against the official Social Democracy, has been suppressed although it was published under cover of the left socialists and pretended to have no connection with the Communists. Numerous propaganda pamphlets are said to have been smuggled over the border and are being circulated among the civilian population and the Czecho-Slovak military.

### JAPAN:

The writings of Karl Marx are said to be selling rapidly in Japan, indicating a strong Socialist under current. Bolshevism is a "hunger disease", which may find a fruitful soil in Japan where the high price of rice is causing great privation to the poor.

Wrisley Brown,  
Lieut. Colonel, U. S. Army,  
Chief, Foreign Influence Section.

MWS

- 20 -

808

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 10, Washington, D.C. [to] Henry G. Pratt, Military Intelligence Division [War Department, Washington, D.C.?] / Lynn Copeland, Corps of Intelligence Police [Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Copeland, an undercover agent, describes his meeting with L. Francis Shea, who expressed sympathy with Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Broken type.

10110-1378

M.T.-13.  
~~Confidential~~

Washington, D.C.,  
December 10, 1919.

2

From : Sergeant Lynn D. Copeland, Corps of Intelligence Police.  
To : Major Henry G. Pratt, Military Intelligence Division.  
Subject: INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD WELFARE ASSOCIATION,  
MIGRATORY WORKERS UNION,  
L. FRANCES SHEA,  
JOHN X. KELLY,

*Copy filed -  
M. & V. file  
4/7/22  
(480)*

1. In response to a letter received from L. FRANCIS SHEA of 405 H. St., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. (the letter attached), the writer called on this party this morning at the above address. (Shea was a delegate to the "Convention" of the I. B.W.A. in Baltimore which was held recently). Shea showed the writer a letter that he had just received from JAMES EADS HOW written from Toledo stating that he (How) was on his way to Chicago and had stopped off in Toledo. How enclosed a money-order for \$2. to pay the rent of a room on the 3rd floor of 811 E. St. N.W. which was to be used for a meeting tonight. Shea stated that he had talked with E.F. LUDWIG, SEC'Y. OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN WASHINGTON yesterday and had been informed by Ludwig that the SOCIALISTS HAVE ARRANGED TO HAVE A MEETING AT 811 E. ST. TONIGHT COMMENCING AT 8 and that if he (Shea) wanted to hold a meeting he would have to adjourn same at 8 in order that the Socialist meeting was not interfered with. Shea stated that he could not call a meeting before 7 P.M. and that he would not any more than get started in at 8 and asked the writer's advice on holding the meeting anyway - the writer advised him to call it off - this he stated that he would do, but arrange for one to be held next Wednesday night, December 17th. Shea stated that he desired to turn his place, 405 H. St. N.W. into a meeting place for the I.B.W.A. and that he had written Headquarters (410 Clinton St. Cincinnati, Ohio) for an allowance of \$20. per month to cover the rent of same, he states that he rents and occupies the building at the above address and that he believed it would be better than depending upon the room at 811 E. St. N.W.

2. Shea mentioned Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and remarked "isn't it a shame that people are denied the right of free speech and the right to express their opinion in this country - it is just such actions as this that causes people to become Anarchists - and you can't blame them". Shea then stated that he had to pay \$40. per year for a license for operating a second hand store and had to hold all goods purchased for ten days before he could sell them and in the meantime had to notify the Police Dept. and that if the Police found anything in his possession that had been stolen it would be taken away from him without any way for him to recover his loss - Shea raved about this and called it an outrage, etc. Shea talked of being in the Sing Sing Prison and of "meeting lots of the boys on the outside". He also talked of his experiences in New York City lecturing from "soap boxes" and that he had been associated with Anarchists in that city - however he confined his remarks to lectures he had given, etc., in this connection he remarked "I want to walk a straight path but they won't let me - when a hobo goes into business they put such a license over him that it prohibits him from doing anything or getting started - they always cater to the big interests that can afford it - now they expect me to pay \$40. for another license and I haven't got it and as a result I will have to go out of business - therefore I have planned on turning this place into a boarding house and a hang-out for Hobos".

3. Shea informed the writer on several occasions that he had a Police Record in Washington and New York City as well as various other places. Recommend that his record at the Washington Police Headquarters be looked up and a copy attached to the files for the information of the M.I.D. - for future use.

4. The writer is in receipt of a letter from JOHN X. KELLY AN ORGANIZER OF THE MIGRATORY WORKERS UNION AND AN OFFICIAL OF THE I.B.W.A. from St. Louis under date of December 8th, stating that he will be in St. Louis for a short time. Kelly's headquarters are at 410 Clinton St. Cincinnati, Ohio and he is in the habit of traveling around doing organization work for the Migratory Workers Union - therefore believe that he is in St. Louis for this purpose. He is receiving his mail at General Delivery but hangs around 119 A. North 13th St. while in St. Louis. Kelly was a delegate to the I. B.W.A. from Cincinnati to the Baltimore "Convention" held recently. Recommend that the above information re: Kelly be referred to the Dept. of Justice in order that he may be placed under surveillance while in St. Louis.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 11 [Boston to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department, Washington, D.C.] / Henry A. Frothingham [Department] Intelligence Officer, Northeastern Department [War Department].—  
1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.*

**Summary:** Frothingham sends a newspaper clipping to the director of Military Intelligence.

**Notes:** Light copy. For enclosure, see 810331122.

10110-1461  
64  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
102 X

December 11, 1919.

From: Intelligence Officer, Northeastern Department,  
To: Director of Military Intelligence,  
Subject: Clipping from Boston Herald, December 7th, 1919.

1. Attached find clipping from the Boston Herald of  
December 7th, 1919.

2. This for your information.

enc  
ar

Henry A. Frothingham,  
Captain, U.S.A.

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810



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 11 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].—  
1 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover returns Goldman and Berkman's immigration files to the Bureau of Immigration.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JEH-GPO

186233-13

December 11, 1919.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,  
Commissioner-General of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Caminetti:

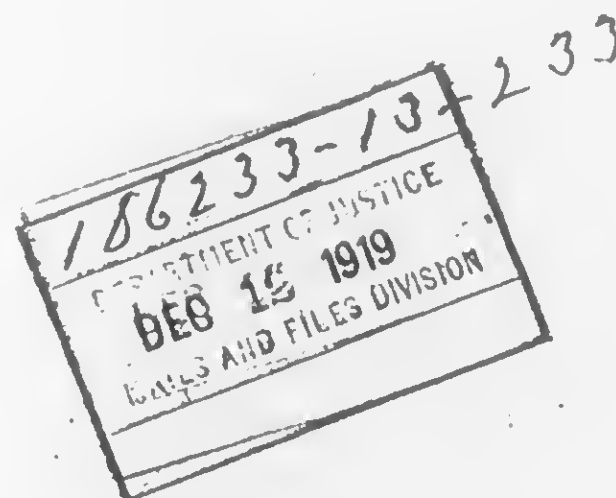
I am inclosing herewith two files which were forwarded to New York for use in connection with the EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN deportation proceedings. The United States Attorney did not have occasion to use these files and for that reason I am returning them to you.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Incl. 4619



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811

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 11 [Washington, D.C. to] Theodore De Munel, Brooklyn, N.Y. / Thomas J. Spellacy, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Spellacy promises De Munel that his worries about Goldman and Berkman will receive appropriate attention.

Notes: Dark copy. Reply to 891216019. December 12 should read December 7.

COPY

from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13-226

December 11, 1919

Mr. Theodore De Munel,  
113 Cooper St.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of December 18th in regard to the deportation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman has been received.

Your reference to the fact that the supporters of these two radicals are making sport of the action taken by the government in the deportation of radicals is being given proper attention.

Very truly yours,

For The Attorney General.

(Signed) Thomas J. Spellacy

Assistant Attorney General.

LC



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 11 [Washington, D.C. to Francis G. Caffey] United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / [Alexander C.] King, Solicitor General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: King asks Caffey for papers to help him prepare to oppose Goldman's Supreme Court deportation appeal.

Notes: Dark copy. Barely legible. For reply, see 810113072 and 810113048.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

SC-7

186233-13

December 11, 1919.

United States Attorney,  
New York, N.Y.

Supreme Court this afternoon denied writ error stay and bail to Berkman. Postponed further consideration application Goldman to Monday next. Ordered Weinberger to file complete record and print same. We wish to prepare memorandum in opposition in Goldman matter and if you can furnish copies of papers would like them. Originals of course must be kept in clerk's office so Weinberger can comply with court's order.

King,

Solicitor General.

186233-13-237

DEC 15 1919

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813

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 11, New York [to Alexander C. King] Solicitor General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey sends documents to King for Goldman's deportation appeal in the Supreme Court.

Notes: For enclosures, see 870701001 through 870701006, 830214027, and 850812025. Reply to 810113069. For reply, see 810113071.

**COPY**  
from  
**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE**  
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"UNITED STATES ATTORNEY"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

D.V.C.

22179

Department of Justice

United States Attorney's Office  
New York

December 11, 1919.

The Solicitor General,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

S i r :

I have your telegram of today in which you ask me to furnish copies of papers in the Emma Goldman habeas corpus proceedings.

I have already forwarded to you copies of the writ, the petition for the writ, the return and the order dismissing the writ. I enclose stenographic minutes of the hearing before Judge Mayer on the 8th instant; type-written copy of the hearing before the Immigration authorities at Ellis Island, with a list of the exhibits; and photostat copy of certain of the exhibits. These are all of the papers in the habeas corpus proceedings of which I have copies. The originals are on file with the Clerk of the District Court here.

Respectfully,

*Francis G. Caffey*

United States Attorney.

186233-13-234

DEPT OF JUSTICE
DEC 13 1919
RECORDS FILES DIVISION
SOLICITOR GENERAL



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 11, New York [to Alexander C. King] Solicitor General, Dep[artmen]t [of] Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Francis G.] Caffey [United States Attorney, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey informs King that part of Goldman's immigration file has been returned to the Bureau of Immigration in Washington.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Reply to 810113069. For related document, see 810113047.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Department of Justice

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

110W bu 33 740

186233-13-238

Solicitor General

Dep. Justice Wash.

Ellis Island returned to Commissioner General

Caminetti containing copy of Goldman examination Winnipeg

nineteen and no possible other exhibits in habeas corpus

proceedings

Caffey

186233-13-238

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 11, Seattle, Wash. [to] W.H. Moran, Chief, Secret Service [Treasury Department], Washington, D.C. / Thomas B. Foster, Agent in Charge [Secret Service, Treasury Department]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Porter forwards an intercepted copy of one of Goldman and Berkman's fund-raising letters.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 880606306. Enclosed with 880606304.

OFFICE OF U. S. SECRET SERVICE  
DEC 10 1919  
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

RECEIVED  
DEC 12 1919

Page 1 of 1  
292

Seattle, Wash., December 11, 1919.

Mr. W. H. Moran,  
Chief, U. S. Secret Service,  
Washington, D. C.

RE RE I. V. H.

Sir:-

The Police Department here is very active in investigating the I. V. V. and undoubtedly has them on the run for the time being at least. I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter addressed to one Gloro, at South Seattle, which was forwarded from there to 3731 14th Avenue N. E., which is the address of Anna Falkoff, anarchist. Gloro a number of months ago committed suicide in the Immigration Station here where he was being detained as an alien anarchist. This joint letter, signed by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who are about to be deported, indicates that, while the Government of the United States is all that is bad, according to them, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ they do not want to be deported back to dear old Russia and they are trying to raise the "wind" to fight deportation. The address of Alex. Berkman is given as care of K.E. Fitzgerald, 257 Broadway, New York City, and that of Emma Goldman as 24 Grove St., New York, N. Y.

Respectfully submitted,

*Thomas B. Foster*  
Agent in Charge.

1 enc

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816



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Anarchist Activities, Emma Goldman—Alex[ander] Berkman Hearing, New York, 1919 Dec. 11 / E[dward] Anderson [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 28 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Anderson acts as a security guard during Goldman and Berkman's District Court hearing.

Notes: Broken type.

REPORT MADE BY: **E. ANDERSON** PLACE WHERE MADE: **NEW YORK CITY** DATE WHEN MADE: **DEC 11, 1919** PLACED FOR INDEX BACK: **DEC 8, 1919**

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR DUTY OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:  
**IN RE: ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES**  
**EMMA GOLDMAN - ALK. BERKMAN HEARING**

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, DATES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.  
 Instructed by Agent Souly to proceed to the Federal Building to see if any members of the Union of Russian Workers were around there or if any one attempted to do damage.

When the above mentioned subjects arrived at the building I brought them to Marshall Mc Carthey's Office after the hearing they proceeded back to Ellis Island and I went to the Barge Office to see that no one attempted any thing. I then returned to the Bureau Office.

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

7-477

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817

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 12, New York [to] Byr[ne] H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Caffey gives Uhl a status report on Berkman and Goldman's deportation cases and asks to be notified if the Bureau cannot deport them within two weeks from the habeas corpus hearing.

Notes: Bleedthrough; dark copy. For telegram mentioned, see 810113069.

D.V.C./B.A.K.  
22179

## UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE

NEW YORK

December 12, 1919

Honorable Byron H. Uhl,  
Acting Commissioner of Immigration,  
Ellis Island, New York.

S i r:

I had a telegram on the 11th instant from the Solicitor General informing me that the Supreme Court of the United States had dismissed the application of Alexander Berkman for a review by that Court of the order of Judge Mayer dismissing the writ of habeas corpus. The stay granted by Judge Mayer has now expired and there is no legal obstacle to the deportation of Berkman.

The telegram from the Attorney General also informed me that the Supreme Court had allowed Emma Goldman until next Monday to file a printed record in her case and had continued a stay of her deportation until that date. Mr. Hoover of the Department of Justice stated to me over the telephone yesterday that the time allowed to Goldman was until Thursday of next week, the 18th instant, and that the stay in her behalf had been continued until that date. I am writing to the Department at Washington for the purpose of ascertaining which date is correct.

In registering the release of Berkman and Goldman, I stated to Judge Mayer in open court at the hearing on the 8th instant that the Government was prepared to deport these and other aliens within two weeks from that date. If there is any variation from that program I shall be obliged if you will promptly advise me. If there is such variation, I shall undoubtedly be called upon in some way for an explanation and shall feel that I ought to make explanation.

Respectfully,

Francis G. Caffey

United States Attorney.

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818



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 12, New York [to Alexander C. King] Solicitor General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey asks King how long the Supreme Court agreed to stay Goldman's deportation. He urges the Justice Department to deport Goldman within the two weeks he promised Judge Mayer.

Notes: For reply, see 810113081. For correspondence mentioned, see 810113069 and 810113048.

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Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

✓ D.V.C. Sam

22179

Department of Justice

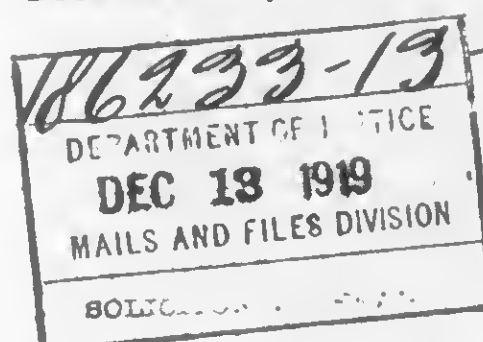
United States Attorney's Office

New York

December 12, 1919.

The Solicitor General,  
Washington, D. C.

S i r :



I received your telegram of the 11th instant stating that the Supreme Court had denied the application of Alexander Berkman for a review of the order of Judge Mayer in the habeas corpus proceedings; also that Emma Goldman had been allowed by the Court until Monday, the 14th instant, in which to file a printed record and that the stay of her deportation had been continued until that date. Mr. Hoover stated over the telephone yesterday that the time allowed to Goldman in the stay is until Thursday, the 18th instant. I shall be obliged if you will inform me definitely by wire on this point. I have advised the Acting Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island that the duration of the stay in the Goldman case is in doubt and that I would procure for him the exact facts.

Up to this hour Mr. Weinberger has not called upon me with respect to the preparation or printing of record in the Goldman case.

After mailing to you yesterday copies of all the papers I had constituting a part of the return in the Goldman case, it occurred to me that in the records of the Bureau of Immigration at Washington which were transmitted to me by Mr. Hoover and received by me on the 7th instant, but not made a part of the return in the habeas corpus proceedings, there were copies of the testimony taken at Winnipeg in 1908, which constituted one of the exhibits; possibly of some other of the exhibits. These papers were turned over by me on the 8th instant to Mr. Schell, the law officer of the Immigration Service at Ellis Island. He informed me a day or two ago that he had

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 12, New York [to Alexander C. King] Solicitor General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey asks King how long the Supreme Court agreed to stay Goldman's deportation. He urges the Justice Department to deport Goldman within the two weeks he promised Judge Mayer.

Notes: For reply, see 810113081. For correspondence mentioned, see 810113069 and 810113048.

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Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

D.V.C. - 22179

The Solicitor General,

-2-

December 12, 1919.

returned all of these papers to Commissioner General Caminetti. Consequently, I wired you on the 11th instant, after my letter of that date had been mailed, that perhaps you could secure these papers from Mr. Caminetti.

As appears by the minutes of the hearing transmitted to you on the 11th instant I stated to Judge Mayer in open court on the 8th instant that the Government was prepared actually to deport Berkman and Goldman within two weeks from that date. Considerable publicity has been given to that statement. It seems to me quite important that this program should be carried out. Mr. Hoover ascertained from the Bureau of Immigration in Washington, as I understand, that the Government was prepared to deport these and other aliens to Russia on a ship or ships leaving New York on or prior to the 22nd instant. It was on the basis of this information that I made my statement. In the present temper of the public mind on this subject, it seems to me that it would be very unfortunate if there should be a failure to do what the Government has thus committed itself to do. While I have no apprehension that it will not be done, I call the situation particularly to your attention, in order that every precaution may be taken; also because, as I understand, the local officials of the Bureau of Immigration are in uncertainty about the matter.

Respectfully,

Francis G. Caffey

United States Attorney.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 12 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / R[obert] P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Stewart acknowledges receipt of documents from Goldman's habeas corpus case.

Notes: Reply to 810113072.

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Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

HSR-GEA

RPS-

DEC 13 19

December 12, 1919.

186233-13-234

Francis G. Caffey, Esq.,

United States Attorney.

New York City.

Sir:

The Department is in receipt of your letter of the 11th instant (22179), transmitting various papers in the habeas corpus case of Emma Goldman.

The Department appreciates your prompt compliance with its telegraphic request.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

(Signed) R. P. Stewart

Assistant Attorney General.

*Handwritten signature*

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821

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 12 [New York to] Leon Green, Chicago / [Harry Weinberger].  
— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*  
**Summary:** Weinberger asks for a copy of Jacob Kersner's death certificate.  
**Notes:** Broken type. For reply, see 811104265.

December 12, 1919.

Mr. Leon Green,  
c/o Retail Clerks Internat'l Protective Ass'n,  
166 W. Washington St.,  
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Green:-

I understand that Jacob A.  
Kersner died sometime in January, 1919, in Chicago,  
and death certificate was filed in that name.

Kindly investigate and get me a  
certified copy of that death certificate and mail same to  
me immediately.

Very truly-yours,

HW/ICW

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822



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 12, New York [to] R[obert] P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General  
[Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
Summary: Weinberger tells Stewart why Goldman has decided to withdraw her Supreme Court appeal.

COPY

from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE  
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

HARRY WEINBERGER  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
261 BROADWAY, NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

December 12, 1919.

Hon. R. P. Stewart,  
Assistant Attorney General,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

This is to inform you that in view of the statement made by your Department and the Commissioner General of Immigration that Miss Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and the other Russians will be deported within ten days to Soviet Russia, and the personal guarantee of your Department of their safe conduct to Soviet Russia, and considering the large expense to her friends to print the tremendous record in the case, Miss Goldman instructs me to inform you that she desires to withdraw her application for Writ of Error or appeal, stay and release on bail.

This is especially her decision, for if the Supreme Court of the United States should allow the appeal but refuse bail pending argument and decision of the appeal, jail or deportation would be preferable to continued custody on Ellis Island without proper opportunity for exercise and where the Censor of the Department of Justice only comes once or twice a week to examine and allow mail to pass back and forth and visitors are only seen through a wire screen.

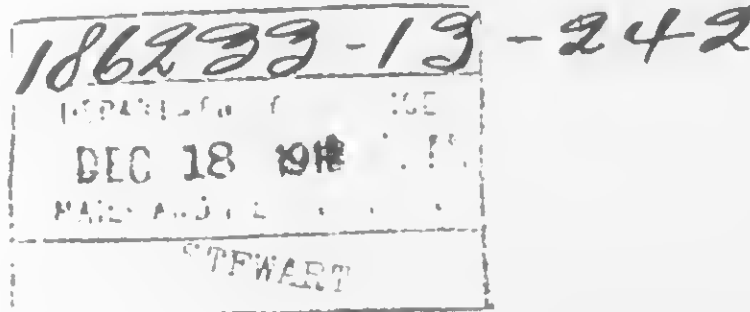
You may enter an order by consent dismissing the application for Writ of Error or appeal and vacate stay granted.

I am sending a copy of this letter also to the Clerk of the Court to communicate to the Chief Justice and the rest of the Court.

Respectfully yours,

*Harry Weinberger*

HW/ICW



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Statement [in re: Deportation of Emma Goldman, 1919 Dec. 12?] / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger transcribes his letter to Assistant Attorney General Stewart explaining why Goldman has decided to withdraw her appeal of her deportation order, possibly for use as a press release.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For transcribed letter, see 810113064.

## STATEMENT OF HARRY WEINBERGER.

The following letter sent to Hon. R. F. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General at Washington, representing the United States Government in the proceedings of United States ex rel Emma Goldman against A. Caminetti, et al:

December 12, 1919.

Hon. R. F. Stewart,  
Assistant Attorney General,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

This is to inform you that in view of the statement made by your Department and the Commissioner General of Immigration that Miss Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and the other Russians will be deported within ten days to Soviet Russia, and the personal guarantee of your Department of their safe conduct to Soviet Russia, and considering the large expense to her friends to print the tremendous record in the case, Miss Goldman instructs me to inform you that she desires to withdraw her application for Writ of Error or appeal, stay and release on bail.

This is especially her decision, for if the Supreme Court of the United States should allow the appeal, but refuse bail pending argument and decision of the appeal, jail or deportation would be preferable to continued custody on Ellis Island without proper exercise opportunity for exercise and where the Censor of the Department of Justice only comes once or twice a week to examine and allow mail to pass back and forth and visitors are only seen through a wire screen.

You may enter an order by consent dismissing the application for Writ of Error or appeal and vacate stay granted.

I am sending a copy of this letter also to the Clerk of the Court to communicate to the Chief Justice and the rest of the Court.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY WEINBERGER."

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Statement in re: Deportation, 1919 Dec. 12?] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: On the eve of her deportation, Goldman explains why she decided not to pursue her Supreme  
Court appeal.

Emma Goldman made the following statement:

I realize that citizenship by naturalization to-day is no protection to any former alien, and that it may be taken away practically by the whim of some public official even without notice or giving the naturalized citizen an opportunity to do and his citizenship which is what was done in my case. Even if the Supreme Court of the United States should decide that my citizenship is absolutely correct, that I cannot be deported, which it would probably not do in the present state of public hysteria, and even if that Court should order me freed, the day after the Government would start other proceedings to revoke my citizenship and would succeed because Judges have lost courage and all sense of justice and fair play.

The apparent cancellation of my citizenship by starting an action against Jacob A. Mersner without giving me an opportunity to defend or show the falsity of the government's position, shows how any woman married to a naturalized citizen and feeling secure in her citizenship, may suddenly find herself an alien, and because of some opinion she may hold that may be unpopular, find herself an arrested alien and deported from the country, she may come from more than 50 years ago, as in my case to-day.

I desire to go as soon as possible to Soviet Russia and I expect the Government to keep its promise to deport Berkman and myself as well as other Russians within ten days as promised to my attorney, Harry Weinberger.

I do not expect that I would be given time to arrange my affairs at the sudden calling for my deportation shows the hysteria of the government officials which has communicated itself to the Courts, and to print the tremendous record of books and exhibits in the case, which the government introduced, would drain my friends who have

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Statement in re: Deportation, 1919 Dec. 12?] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** On the eve of her deportation, Goldman explains why she decided not to pursue her Supreme Court appeal.

so nobly stood by me and would be of little avail in my opinion, as I have no faith in the Courts. Having lived 34 years in this country, having many business and personal affairs to arrange, yet I do not get time to settle any of them. It should be ~~rather~~ realized by the American people that these proceedings are not criminal and I am not being charged at this time with any crime, merely that I hold a belief in a system of society, known as Anarchism, and because of that belief and the expression of that belief, I am suddenly taken by the administrative arm of the Government and ordered banished from the country as the Czar of old Russia used to do with those holding opinions different from his. I expect while in Soviet Russia to shortly read of American born citizens being deported from America to the Island of Guam or some other colonial possession of America, despite the Constitution which guarantees free speech and free press.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 12, New York [to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.—  
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Weinberger requests that the Department of Labor lift limits on food, mail, and visitors at Ellis Island.

Notes: Dark copy. Handwritten note by W.J. Peters recommending denial. For reply, see 850712385. For follow-up, see 850712382. For drafts, see 850712375 and 850712376.

MAILED ENVELOPE VILLOWHART OFFICE

SSJAB

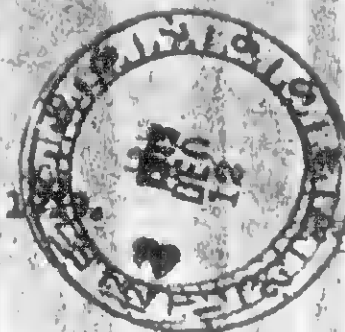
TELEGRAM

52440  
43

WU.....27.....Q.....119 Day Letter.

FI...New York.

11:06a.m., December 12, 1919.



John W. Abercrombie,

Acting Secretary of Labor,

Washington, D.C.

As your desire for formal request, I ask that you order Ellis Island to allow two visitors daily for Alexander Berkman, and Emma Goldman, and other Russians. For short time they have to remain, the despicable screen through which visitors have to be seen, should be removed, so that wives and children may be close to husbands and fathers. (Period).

That the stupid censorship of mail, which allows letters only twice a week, and that stops periodicals, should be removed. I also desire to be informed if food hampers must be taken along by these aliens, when they leave? I also ask that Ellis Island be ordered to allow fruit and foods to be sent to Ellis Island, while aliens detained.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

11:45pm

132  
Mr. Commissioner  
I think these  
two aliens are  
entitled to  
for own  
MPP

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827

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 12 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Handwritten corrections by Weinberger. Draft of 830214046.

LETTER FROM HARRY WEINBERGER.

December 12, 1919.

JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE,  
Acting Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

As for your ~~request~~ desire for formal request, I ask that you order Ellis Island to allow two visitors daily for Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman and other Russians for short time they have to remain, that the imperious screen through which visitors have to be seen should be removed so that wives and children may be closer to husbands and fathers period that the stupid censorship of mail which allows letters <sup>independently</sup> only twice a week and ~~the sign~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~sign~~ should be removed period I also desire to be informed if food rations may be taken along by these aliens when they leave period I also ask that Ellis Island be <sup>requested</sup> ~~permitted~~ to allow fruit and food to be sent to Ellis Island <sup>with</sup> ~~for~~ aliens detained.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 12 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. - 3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Handwritten corrections by Weinberger. Draft of 830214046.

WESTERN UNION.

December 12, 1919.

JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE,  
Acting Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

As per your ~~request~~ desire for formal request, I ask that you order Ellis Island to allow two visitors daily for Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman and other Russians for short time they have to remain, that the despicable screen through which visitors have to be seen should be removed so that wives and children may be closed to husbands and fathers period that the stupid censorship of mail which allows letters <sup>and parcels</sup> only twice a week ~~and that stop~~ ~~periodicals~~ should be removed period I also desire to be informed if food hampers may be taken along by these aliens when they leave period I also ask that Ellis Island be <sup>requested</sup> ~~released~~ to allow fruit and food to be sent to Ellis Island <sup>to</sup> ~~where~~ aliens detained.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 12 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

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Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Handwritten corrections by Weinberger. Draft of 830214046.

Handwritten text, likely a telegram, is visible on the left side of the page. The text is heavily obscured by noise and artifacts, making it largely illegible. Some fragments of text are visible, including "do without", "time", and "relations".

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830



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 12 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p.; 19 × 23 cm.

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Notes: Handwritten draft of 830214046 and 850712376.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
Telegram	<input type="checkbox"/>
Day Letter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Night Message	<input type="checkbox"/>
Night Letter	<input type="checkbox"/>

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION  
TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Form 1207

Receiver's No.

Check

Time Filed

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Dec 12 1919

To John W. Abercrombie  
Street and No. Acting Secretary of Labor

Place Washington D.C.  
as per your <sup>desire</sup> request for formal request  
~~I choose~~ <sup>ask</sup> that you order Ellis Island  
to allow 2 visitors daily for  
Alexander Berkman and Emma  
Goldman and other Russians for  
short time they have to remain, that  
the despicable screen through which  
visitors have to be seen should be  
removed so that wives and ~~sweethearts~~  
children may be close to husbands  
and fathers <sup>period</sup> that the stupid censorship

SENDER'S ADDRESS  
FOR ANSWER

SENDER'S TELE-  
PHONE NUMBER

# The Emma Goldman Papers

850712375

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 12 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p. ; 19 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library, Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Notes: Handwritten draft of 830214046 and 850712376.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
Telegram	
Day Letter	
Night Message	
Night Letter	

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM

## WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Form 1207

Receiver's No.

Check

Time Filed

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

[DEC, 12, 1919]

19

To

Street and No.

Place

I mail which allows letters only twice a week and that stops periodicals should be removed. I also desire to be informed if food hampers may be taken along by these alien when they leave. I also ask that Ellis Island be ordered to allow fruit and food to be sent to island while alien detainees.

SENDER'S ADDRESS FOR ANSWER

SENDER'S TELEPHONE NUMBER

Harry Weinberger

832

## The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Gets Stay of Week; Berkman to Go — 28 cm. In [Chicago Tribune (Dec. 12, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

**Summary:** The *Chicago Tribune* reports the Supreme Court's decision to dismiss Berkman's appeal and hear Goldman's appeal in one week.

**Notes:** Upper document only. Enclosed with 810331081 and 810331084.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT  
CHICAGO

*Enc. One*  
C-10110-1618  
42  
W. DEPARTMENT  
102

### Emma Goldman Gets Stay of Week; Berkman to Go

Washington, D. C., Dec. 11.—The supreme court today declined to interfere in the deportation of Alexander Berkman, anarchist, but granted a stay of one week in the case of Emma Goldman. This was granted to permit further consideration of her appeal from the action of Federal Judge Mayer in New York denying a writ of habeas corpus under the contention relating to her marriage.

*Chicago Tribune*  
*Dec. 12, 1919.*

### EMMA GOLDMAN READY TO GO TO SOVIET RUSSIA

New York, Dec. 12.—Rather than be separated from Alexander Berkman, her companion of years, Emma Goldman announced tonight through her attorney that she had abandoned her legal fight in the Supreme court to prevent her deportation to Russia with Berkman and some eighty other radicals.

Their plea before the Supreme court expressed fear of death if they were sent to "White Guard" Russia. The withdrawal followed assurances they would be sent to soviet Russia.

*Chgo Tribune*  
*Dec. 13, 1919.*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Soviet Ark to Sail in 10 Days — 36 cm. In [New York Globe (Dec. 12, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The New York Globe reports that the government has assured Goldman that it will deport her, with several hundred others, to Russia within two weeks.

Notes: Enclosed with 811027007, 870723001, and 870723002.

THE NEW YORK GLOBE

SATURDAY - - DECEMBER 12, 1919.

## SOVIET ARK TO SAIL IN 10 DAYS

Transport Is Being Made Ready  
Here to Carry Deported Rad-  
icals to Russia.

Within ten days or two weeks at the most an American transport will steam from this port bound for Russia with several hundred Reds of Russian origin who are now being held for deportation as a result of the various offenses against the government of the United States. Two of the most important members of the party will be Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

"When I bid good-by, perhaps the Statue of Liberty will turn around and face America. At present, and hitherto, she has always turned her back on the United States."

Such is a hope expressed by Emma Goldman, conveyed to-day by Harry Weinberger, attorney for Miss Goldman and Berkman. No statement was forthcoming by Berkman.

Mr. Weinberger said he was writing the State Department for confirmation of assurances of Anthony Caminetti, commissioner general of immigration, that the deported Russian aliens will be landed at Libau and guaranteed safe conduct into Soviet Russia and not in anti-Soviet territory, where they fear they will be executed.

### Hundreds to Be Taken.

It is expected that anarchistic and socialistic organizations in this city will make the enforced departure of Reds an excuse for a big demonstration of protest against what they call the "high-handed action" of the government. Arrangements are already being made, it is understood, to hold the demonstration on the eve of the departure of the vessel bearing the Reds.

Whether the demonstration will take the form of a monster parade, with all the local radical organizations participating, or a mass meeting in one of the largest assembly halls, such as Madison Square Garden, has not yet been decided. It is doubtful, however, if the police will permit such a parade to be held.

Emma Goldman yesterday withdrew her appeal against deportation upon learning from Harry Weinberger, her counsel, that the "Soviet Ark," with most of the leaders of the Russian Red movement in the United States, would leave here within two weeks.

At Ellis Island there are ninety Russian Reds held for deportation, and there are several hundred others detained in various parts of the country, who will be brought to New York within the next few days.

### Contradicts Emma Goldman.

United States Attorney Caffey, who opposed the writs of habeas corpus before Federal Judge Mayer here, in which the avowed anarchists sought a stay of deportation and their liberty from Ellis Island, on Saturday issued a statement contradicting one by Emma Goldman in which she is quoted as saying that she had not received a square deal, and that no woman could be assured of her citizenship if married to a naturalized citizen.

After reviewing Emma Goldman's life in America, her unregistered marriage to Jacob Kersner, and the latter's fraudulent naturalization when he was still a minor, and had been in this country but two years, Mr. Caffey concludes:

"Throughout the government's dealings with Emma Goldman clean-handed justice has prevailed."

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from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central File - Straight numbered files  
File Number 20200-45

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Goldman-Berkman-Mina Lowensohn-Count Max Podocki  
(Alleged Anarchists-Russian Activities), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 12 / J.[F.] McDevitt  
[Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 8 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Summary: McDevitt meets James Hajek, an undercover agent who has infiltrated Goldman and Berkman's associates posing as a Polish count. McDevitt tries to find out who printed the *Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin*.  
Mina Lowensohn tells him lots of gossip.  
Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. For follow-up, see 880606310 and 811222092.

REPORT MADE BY <b>J. F. McDEVITT</b>	PLACE WHERE MADE <b>PHILADELPHIA</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>12/12/19</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>12/8-9-10th</b>
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES OR NAME OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION <b>RE: GOLDMAN - BERKMAN - MINA LOWENSOHN - COUNT MAX PODOCKI</b> <b>(Alleged Anarchists-Russian Activities)</b>			
DEPARTMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC. <b>At New York, N.Y.: F.D.N. DEC 16 1919</b>			

Under directions of Division Superintendent Daniel, on Monday, December 8th, I proceeded to New York at the suggestion of Special Agent Scally in charge of radical activities in New York. My instruction before leaving Philadelphia was to meet former Agent JAMES HAJEK of this office at the Endicott Hotel at 81st Street and 5th Avenue, which I did, leaving Philadelphia at 5 P.M., and arriving at the Endicott Hotel about 7.30 P.M., where I met HAJEK in his apartments with a girl whom he calls JEWEL. Where I was told of the case we were to investigate.

It appears that HAJEK is well on the inside of the GOLDMAN - BERKMAN GROUP of alleged anarchists in New York city, who have been operating in different parts of the country. He outlined the entire case to me giving me the names and addresses of the different members of the group, a short history of their activities and his object. Hajek said that he was in possession of positive information that this group of anarchists positively were behind the printing of the "Plain Words Circular" that was found scattered about the neighborhood of the homes blown up on last June 2nd, included in which was the home of the U.S. Attorney General in Washington. Hajek said it was the same people who published the "ANARCHIST-SOVIET BULLETIN" and that he was in a position to get the press that these bulletins were printed upon. Also the "PLAIN WORDS CIRCULAR". He claims that his source of information is the former sweetheart of ALEXANDER BERKMAN the above woman MINA LOWENSOHN whom Hajek said was in charge of Goldman's work while she was in prison. Hajek substantiates his

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N.Y. -

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835

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Goldman—Berkman—Mina Lowensohn—Count Max Podocki (Alleged Anarchists—Russian Activities), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 12 / J.[F.] McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 8 p. ; 28 x 20 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: McDevitt meets James Hajek, an undercover agent who has infiltrated Goldman and Berkman's associates posing as a Polish count. McDevitt tries to find out who printed the *Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin*. Mina Lowensohn tells him lots of gossip. Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. For follow-up, see 880606310 and 811222092.

REPORT Form No. 2

story by producing the photostat copies of 66 letters sent to MINA LOWENSOHN by BERKMAN at different times, all of which, Hajek says he produced to Director Flynn and Agent Scully of New York, who is also acquainted with the entire story.

Hajek and I outlined a plan for the purpose of getting possession of the press, which was as follows:

Hajek who is known to Mina Lowensohn as Count Max Podocki, he and she having been arrested in Quebec, Canada, as they were about to sail for London, ostensibly for the purpose of beginning revolutions in different parts of Europe, all of which Hajek said was done while he was an agent of, I think, the

FAL. O'FARRELL DETECTIVE AGENCY all of which Director Flynn is familiar with.

Hajek registered as MAX PODOCKI at the Bonta Haragansett Hotel, where "JEWEL" his girl, posed as his nurse and I as his friend and agent of the Countess Markevic, Irish agitator. I assuming the name of JOSEPH T. MACKIN a brother-in-law of a mythical CHARLIE CROSSMAN a supposed personal friend of COUNT PODOCKI who aided him in his escape from the British Internment Camp in Quebec, which escape he was really aided in by

COLONEL H. G. THREILTES the British Prefect Marshal General in New York and chief of the British Secret Service in the East, and who can be located at No. 44 Whitehall Street, New York - telephone number Bowling Green 8412, town address No. 1 E. 35th Street - telephone number Merry Hill 224 and whose private secretary is a MISS LEERES whom Hajek states has a book filled with very valuable handwriting from Canada and informed me that at any time I wished to get in touch with the British Secret Service I could do so by calling upon Miss Leeres, telling her I am a friend of her cousin.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Goldman-Berkman-Mina Lowensohn-Count Max Podocki (Alleged Anarchists-Russian Activities), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 12 / J.[F.] McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 8 p. ; 28 x 20 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: McDevitt meets James Hajek, an undercover agent who has infiltrated Goldman and Berkman's associates posing as a Polish count. McDevitt tries to find out who printed the *Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin*. Mina Lowensohn tells him lots of gossip. Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. For follow-up, see 880606310 and 811222092.

We then planned to have Hajek feign illness with the object of having him ordered South for his health, hoping that Mina Lowensohn would invite him to Alabama where the headquarters and manufacturing plant of the bomb makers is located known in the group as the "CABBAGE PLANT"; Hajek was then to go there and I was to follow him, after, of course getting possession of the press in New York.

We then went to a Bohemian saloon kept by one JOHN ZELICK 1432 - 1st Avenue, where I was introduced to Hajek's personal friend Dr. J. F. C. LUHAN 220 E. 72nd Street New York - telephone number - zRhinelander 2062. He outlined the case to the doctor who agreed to assist us.

On the following day, Hajek called Mina Lowensohn on the telephone told her he was very sick and had her come to his rooms. I could plainly see that Mina was very much in love with Hajek whom she knew as "The Count" and that they had lots of conversation before regarding the activities of the radicals. I was introduced to her as described above and she was told by Hajek that I was very anxious to have some old copies of the "Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin" and that I was desirous of having some fresh propoganda written up in it. Of course, I was obliged to imagine a good deal in connecting up the different things that were said but I got enough from her talk to satisfy me that she knew about the printing of the "Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin" because to use her exact words, Mina said - "Epstein of the Graphic Press on E. 16th Street, near Broadway, is the man who use to print the Bulletin and other stuff. We cannot spare him on this account as we cannot afford to arouse suspicion that the boys have a hand press but JIM ISSACSON will gladly do any work that we want to

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837



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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have done." After Mina had left I asked Hajek if this press was the same press which had printed the "Bulletin" and Hajek said that it was. This information is in possession of Agent Scully of the New York Office according to Hajek. I further heard Mina say that she would bring Hajek fifty old copies of the "Bulletin" the following day. -

After she became convinced that I was all right, she became very talkative, saying among other things - "You know it make me laugh to see our people getting excited every time that there is a threatened raid to be made. You know we have had sixty years experience in Russia in this kind of work and when the authorities would come in on us we would sit at a table reading a perfectly conservative paper while the paper that we were reading from we would slide under a table. The agents would never think of searching underneath where we sat or about us, but would go on searching every other place about the room."

She then told us that she had 300 copies of the "Freedom" a Journal of Constructive Anarchism published by the Freedom Publishing Group, Brunswick, N.J., R.N.D. NO. 1 - Box 130 Harry Kelly - editor - Leonard D. Abbott, Associate Editor. copies of which I understand have been suppressed, which she must mail at different boxes throughout the city as they were done up in bundles of twenty. This she said would be quite a hard job for her because she had no convenient means of traveling whereupon Hajek agreed to furnish her with an automobile and the mailing of the magazines was to be done on Thursday, the 11th. This portion of course I left to Hajek - I had nothing whatever to do with it and whether it has been done or not at this time I do not know. Hajek then explained to Mina that the above Charlie Grossman

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. For follow-up, see 880606310 and 811222092.

was my brother-in-law and that he, Charlie Crossman had always done my printing for me on a little press which he had in his home but that Charlie had gone to Austin, Texas and of course, I was stuck and that I must have my printing of literature done before Monday for the reason that Lloyd George was about to present a new Irish bill in parliament on that day and that our group was opposed to the bill. Hajek then said we would furnish her with a copy of the manuscript the following day and it was from Colonel Thwaites that we intend getting some real Irish propaganda which he had in his files.

After considerable of other talk from Mina in which she explained to us the inside social workings of the Goldman-Berkman group such as their love affairs and Berkman's affair with Emma Goldman and his real sweetheart, ELEANORE FITZGERALD who Mina said is at a loss to know whether to accompany Berkman to Russia or not, Mina saying that friends of Eleanore Fitzgerald are trying to persuade her both ways, some of her friends feel she should accompany Berkman and others feel she should sacrifice herself in favor of Goldman, and other such stories.

She told us a great many things about HARRY KELLY of the Ferrer School whom she said was with the Raincoat Makers Union in New York and had credentials for the United Hebrew Trades in New York, giving him the privilege of collecting money for the Ferrer Schools. Other members of the gang are EUGENIE BILL SHATOV, MILITARY COMMANDER AT PETROGAD and of the original Ferrer School in New York known in the gang as Mina's brother Bill. ROBERT HINTER a Russian nihilist who is at the present time down on the CARBON PLANT or BOMB PLANT in Alabama. GEORGE SPIDEX whom Hajek is anxious to locate but whom Mina says she

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839

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Goldman-Berkman-Mina Lowensohn-Count Max Podocki (Alleged Anarchists-Russian Activities), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 12 / J.[F.] McDewitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 8 p.; 28 x 20 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: McDewitt meets James Hajek, an undercover agent who has infiltrated Goldman and Berkman's associates posing as a Polish count. McDewitt tries to find out who printed the *Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin*. Mina Lowensohn tells him lots of gossip. Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. For follow-up, see 880606310 and 811222092.

she never hears any more of. JOSEPH BOWMAN of 2033 No. 51st Street, Philadelphia, is a relative of GEORGE SLIDES. This man Bowman is the man who tried to pull off the Goldman-Berkman dinner in Philadelphia, and who it was reported to me just recently had a press in his house. Berkman is known in the group as SASSI.

Another member of the Philadelphia group is an Italian anarchist ANTHONY MARIZELA of 4119 Poplar Street, West Philadelphia, a member of the Ferrer Circle and a leader of the COLLECTIVIST and lives there with ROSE LIPSON and ANNA SCHWARTZ of the STILTON COLONY, STILTON, PA., and a friend of Mina who lives with Mina's sister Gussie of 1125 Boston Road, New York Bronx - telephone Intervale 5300.-

DOLPE BASBASSIR - apartment No. 9 of the same address who is Mina's brother-in-law. Another very

Another very interesting little story that Mina told us in reference to the conflicting love affairs of the "Group" is that

HERBY WEINBERG the New York attorney now fighting the Goldman-Berkman deportation proceedings is very much in love with Eleanore Fitzgerald, Berkman's sweetheart.

On Wednesday afternoon Mina came to Hajek's apartment again as she promised. She brought with her about fifty copies of the "Freedom" another circular entitled "Is opinion a crime?" signed by H. Z. Fitzgerald, Secretary for the League for the Amnesty for Political Prisoners and a booklet entitled "A fragment of the prison experiences of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman", copies of which I am attaching to the Washington copy of this report. - They were all given to me by Mina herself.

Hajek has purchased eight tickets for one of the theatres

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840

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Goldman-Berkman-Mina Lowensohn-Count Max Podocki (Alleged Anarchists-Russian Activities), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 12 / J.F. McDewitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 8 p.; 28 x 20 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: McDewitt meets James Hajek, an undercover agent who has infiltrated Goldman and Berkman's associates posing as a Polish count. McDewitt tries to find out who printed the *Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin*. Mina Lowensohn tells him lots of gossip. Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. For follow-up, see 880606310 and 811222092.

on Friday night. I understand that a young girl who is the private secretary of EDWARD C. A. H. MARTENS, the Bolsheviki Ambassador in New York will also accompany the crowd and if I am back in New York by that time, I expect to go with them.

Another thing I neglected to mention was a short talk I had with another friend of Hajek's - a Bohemian Novelist named DOCTOR SCHICK of No. 416 Central Park West - Apartment No. 71 - Telephone: Werside 4164. This man is a very intelligent highly educated gentleman and apparently very familiar with the political and industrial conditions. This man claims that he can positively prove that there is absolutely nothing behind these Bolsheviki activities other than a combination of what he says are all Jews. The doctor said he was tired trying to get his information before the proper authorities; that he took it before the

RUSSIAN INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE of New York, but he was unable to tell his story on account of this committee being composed entirely of Jews, that he tried to place his information in other hands but was unable to get a hearing. The doctor, I understood, was the former Austrian-Hungarian Consulate in Serbia and is the same man who gave the story to the Providence Journal during the war which created quite a sensation. The doctor told me that unless something was done to stop this Bolsheviki menace that he intended advising the Slavish people to emigrate from this country. He did not try to make any effort to present his story to anyone in fact he appeared to be thoroughly disgusted with his former efforts and in all probability had given up all thought of ever being able to bring it before the eyes of the public so I told him I would speak with our agent in charge in New York and try and arrange to have him meet Doctor Schick sometime in New York.

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He is credited to be that the money which he was spending and which was plenty. He was being furnished with by the METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT OF PHILADELPHIA through their sergeant J. J. CUNNINGHAM who was being furnished then by FRANCIS RALSTON FRENCH, Chief Clerk. Underneath that Director R. M. is thoroughly familiar with it.

Investigation to be continued as I am returning to New York today.

# 842



Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

**Summary:** In preparation for the deportation of Abraham Schneider, the Department of Justice summarizes reports on his radical activities. Schneider is an anarchist associated with Goldman and Berkman.

**Notes:** Portions barely legible. For related reports, see 870722000 through 870722003.

December 15, 1919.

ABRAMSON, 1971

44-38861-6417 Sub Div. 1, 1st, Mo.

**NATIONALITY:** Russian Alien.

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**Abstract**

Schneider was arrested in June, 1917, for failure to register for the draft, and was held pressed for lack of evidence to prove that he was within draft age. He was very active before the draft law went into effect and held numerous conferences with "socialist and anarchist leaders. He admitted being an Anarchist and spread his propaganda throughout the country. He threatened the life of any police officer who might try to arrest him and organized a "war crew" of "luggers" to beat up any officer who attempted to place him under arrest.

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OG 37 4672 - Berkman List

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Abraham Schneider [St. Louis? Mo.?] 1919 Dec. 13 [excerpt?] / [Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: In preparation for the deportation of Abraham Schneider, the Department of Justice summarizes reports on his radical activities. Schneider is an anarchist associated with Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Portions barely legible. For related reports, see 870722000 through 870722003.

-4-

Schneider was arrested during a raid of an I. S. C. meeting at 1248 Garrison Avenue, St. Louis, Mo., October 10, 1919, and was interviewed jointly by the Immigration Inspector and Department of Justice Agent. He had in his possession a trunk full of radical literature, including numerous copies of "The Liberator"; "The Nation"; "Soviet Russia"; "Morning Post"; "Modern School", published by the Ferrer Modern School of New York; "Proposed Roads to Freedom, - Socialism, Anarchism, and Syndicalism", by Bertrand Russell; correspondence from E. V. Fitzgerald, relating to Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman; letter from Harry Weinberger, acknowledging receipt of five Liberty Bonds, amounting to \$500 to be used toward the bail of Berkman; two letters from Stella Galantine (Emma Goldman's niece) regarding bail for Berkman and Goldman, and a proposed visit to St. Louis.

Schneider frequently attended radical meetings and in company with prominent radical supporters of the Goldman and Berkman type. He has spent various periods of time in New York City, Boston, Akron, and St. Louis. He stated that he registered for the draft and was placed in Class Five because of his physical condition; that he did not claim exemption on the ground of his alienage. He denied that he was an

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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-3-

Anarchist, or an I. W. W. or a member of the Communist Party, or a Syndicalist, though he admitted that he sent his Liberty Bonds to be applied to the bail of Emma Goldman. He is unmarried, and filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen at St. Louis, Mo. He professed to be in favor of our form of government and does not believe in sabotage.

(Interview by Agent Loeb - 10-11-19)

Schneider was elected as member of the Executive Committee of the Society of Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, at a conference held in St. Louis September 21, 1919. The purpose of this organization was to obtain technically trained men, such as engineers, expert mechanics, economists, teachers, craftsmen, etc., to go to Russia and assist the Soviet Government in the work of reconstruction, transportation money for this enterprise to be furnished by the Soviet Bureau of New York. This society was organized by Ludwig Martens, the Bolshevik Ambassador.

(Report - Loeb - 10-8-19)

The primary requirement of this Society is that every member must be a revolutionist and in accord with the principles of Soviet Russia.

(Report - Loeb - 10-8-19)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Abraham Schneider [St. Louis? Mo.?] 1919 Dec. 13 [excerpt?] / [Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

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Notes: Portions barely legible. For related reports, see 870722000 through 870722003.

-4-

Affidavit of Special Agent Alice Morton of December 1, 1919, reveals that Schneider in an interview on June 21, 1919, stated that he was a friend of Alex. Berkman and Emma Goldman, and claimed to be following Berkman's instructions in his work against the Conscription Bill; that he admitted being in correspondence with Berkman and Goldman; that on this same date, June 21, 1919, he also admitted being an Anarchist and expressed the belief that in his present attitude he was doing his fellowmen a favor; that on this date, June 21, 1919, Schneider told an operative of the Department of Justice, that Emma Goldman and Alex. Berkman were under arrest and would have to furnish bond for \$15,000, and when asked if they could furnish this amount, he replied:

"No, I do not think so, and that is where the thing will start. You must not think that they are the only two in the country. As you know there are over two million anarchists in this country. I know some of the most influential business men who are ready today with everything they have got. Just 25 of those rich bugs here on West Market Street blasted would mean a whole lot, and it is coming."

(Affidavit - Morton - Dec. 1, 1919)  
(Report - Walholland - 6-20-19)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]19 Dec. 13, Brunswick, Me. [to Frank K. Nebeker, Assistant Attorney General] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / J.R. Pierson. — 1 p.; 35 × 22 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

**Summary:** Pierson complains to the Justice Department about an editorial opposing Goldman's deportation.

**Notes:** Upper document only. For enclosure, see 870717000. For reply, see 891216024. For related document, see 870717001.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

12/13/19

Department of Justice  
Washington DC

How does this editor get away with it? Look over his files for the past few years to see this only as a sample

Yours truly,  
J.R. Pierson

11 Page 2

Brunswick

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R Pierson  
Brunswick, Me.

Transmits clippings re deportation of Emma Goldberg and Berkman, and origicising statement of editor therein.

Stewart-Fisher Bu Inves.

12-15-19 CH.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

The deportation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman is the unworthy way — 36 cm. In The Lewiston Daily Sun (Dec. 13, 1919) [fragment] / [author unknown].  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: The editor of The Lewiston Daily Sun objects to Goldman and Berkman's deportation.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 891216025.

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 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE  
 Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

PAGE FOUR

**THE LEWISTON DAILY SUN**  
 SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1919  
 Published every morning except Sunday at 104 Park St. Lewiston, Me.  
 Entered at the Lewiston Postoffice as Second Class Mail Matter  
 MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and also the local news published herein.

**SUBSCRIPTION RATE**  
 By Sun Carrier in Lewiston and Auburn by the week 12c, payable Saturday morning or payable in advance at The Sun Office, as follows:  
 One month \$1.50  
 Three months \$3.00  
 Six months \$5.00  
 One Year \$9.00

**BY MAIL IN ADVANCE**  
 One Month \$1.00  
 10 weeks \$2.50  
 6 months \$5.00  
 1 year \$9.00

The Irish hearing before the House committee on Foreign Affairs, yesterday was a lively show.

It recalls the show put up in the Senate last September, when the gallery applauded the speech of Senator Reed against the treaty and hissed Senator Ashurst, and won the smile of Senator Lodge.

Both had to do with foreign relations.

Last September was the more disgraceful. It was in open Senate. The leader of the party in control of the Senate had so little sense of the dignity of his position as to enjoy the gallery insult to a fellow Senator.

This of yesterday was only before a committee. The scheme of it was emphasized by having as the apparent chief of the demonstrant party a judge of a high court of a great State. A position so high that the man in it might be presumed to know better than to expect, or to wish, to make a critical change in foreign policy by a modification of an appropriation bill.

It was a h—a—a howl of a time.

The deportation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman is the unworthy way, weak and cowardly.

It shows a frightful misapprehension of the theory of our Federal Union to deport foreigners because of their offensive propaganda at the same time with the organization of Federal machinery for the enforcement of National prohibition.

National prohibition is a long way toward destruction of State government. Anarchy—if that is the name to characterize Goldman and Berkman—is destruction of all government. But that is not what they are having in Russia now—not exactly. What they are having to Russia is indeed a settling aside of law; but it is the maintenance of a despotism. Lenin is the despot. His orders are the law. The enforcement of that law is sold out to the long arm of the American prohibitionists. The long arm of the American prohibitionists is the long arm of the American prohibitionists. The long arm of the American prohibitionists is the long arm of the American prohibitionists.

seers a number of Chicago meat-cutters went on strike and opened independent markets. They cut all meat prices in two, selling porterhouse at 18 cents a pound, and still one shop made \$647 profit in one day. — Dearborn Independent.

New York is indulging in the delights of good music as never before. All seats at the Philharmonic are sold in advance and many are turned away. The music lovers are enjoying such things as the second concerto to Saint-Saens, played by Edwin Hughes, orchestra selections "Prelude to a Merry Play," Beethoven's "Leonore" overture, No. 3, overture, "Jupiter" symphony and Mozart's "Pomp and Circumstance." Toscha Seidel will be heard for the first time with the Philharmonic on Dec. 6. He will play the Tchaikovsky violin concerto, Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Grieg's "Symphonic Dances" and the Second Hungarian Rhapsody of Liszt will be the purely orchestral numbers on this program.

No person is ever condemned to a small life. Many are assigned to small circumstances, but our lives may be as large as we want them to be. For the only limits of life are aspiration, sympathy and interest. — Selected.

M. Clemenceau: "The terrible catastrophe which was let loose on the world cannot be concluded simply by pages of writing which we shall sign and then go to sleep."

Discoveries of coal in Ireland give promise of a new source of fuel for America.

The Soviets in Moscow have opened seven free children's theaters where such plays as "The Blue Bird" and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" are given.

Since June, 1914, living expenses in England have increased 120 per cent.

Cardinal Mercier says: "I would be agreeably surprised if at the next election revolutionary socialism does not gain a dangerous advance in Belgium." — Why bowest thou, Oh God, of mine crushed by ancestral sin? Thou has a noble heritage. That bids thee victory win.

The taloted part may bring forth flowers. As blossomed Aaron's rod. No legacy of sin annals. Heredity from God. — Lydia Avery Coonley Ward.

The names of fifteen hundred German soldiers who were charged with crime while in Belgium, have been forwarded to the Belgian Cabinet.

**CHRISTMAS SALE AT NORWAY UNIV. CHURCH**  
 SUCCESSFUL AFFAIR CARRIED OUT WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY

THE LEWISTON DAILY SUN



In Our Big Department

**SOFA PILLOWS**

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 13 [Washington, D.C. to Francis G. Caffey] United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / [Alexander C.] King, Solicitor General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.*

**Summary:** King explains to Caffey that the Supreme Court has ordered a stay of Goldman's deportation until December 18.

**Notes:** For follow-up, see 810113081.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

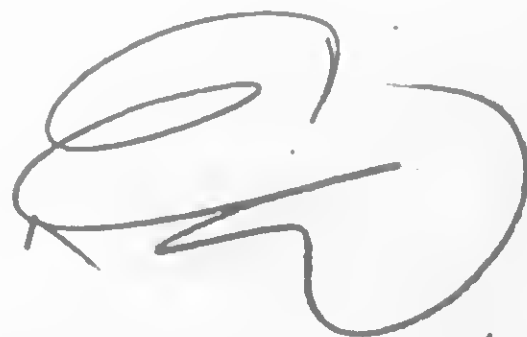
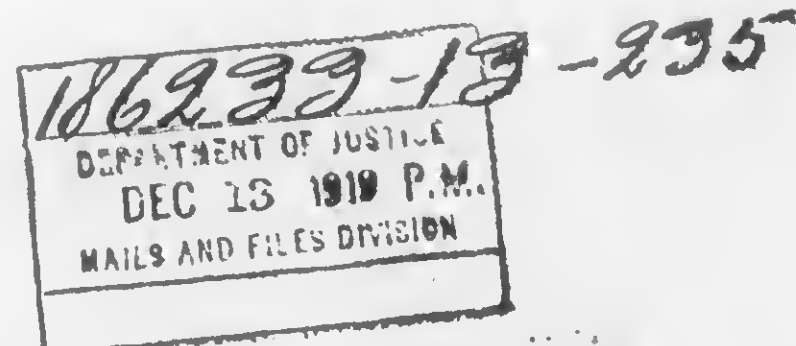
December 13, 1919.

United States Attorney,  
New York City.

Order in Goldman case assigns hearing for  
eighteenth and orders stay until application is disposed  
of and until further order of court. Am writing.

KING,

Solicitor General.

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849



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / Alex[ander] C. King, Solicitor General [Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: King predicts that any attempt to hurry the Supreme Court to decide Goldman's appeal would backfire. He notes that Goldman may withdraw her appeal.

Notes: Dark copy. Reply to 810113082. For reply, see 810113060. For telegram mentioned, see 810113070.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

80-WRL

December 13, 1919.

Mr. Francis G. Caffey,  
United States Attorney,  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your favor of December 12 regarding the Emma Goldman matter and have just wired you the substance of the order made by the Supreme Court in continuing over the consideration of this application for writ of error and appeal. I am enclosing you an exact copy of all of the order except the introductory formal statements, having had the clerk to give it to me over the telephone.

The Washington Post this morning states that the Goldman application is not to be pressed. Should it at any time be withdrawn the stay would expire.

I think it would be quite unwise to endeavor to urge to the Supreme Court that the Government had any program of deportation in the matter of Berkman and Goldman, and to request that the court should deal with this matter so as to make a decision within the period mentioned by you as the period within which these parties were to be deported. The general temper of the court, as I gather it, is to scrutinize rather closely proceedings which might be entitled summary. An attempt to in any way hasten their investigations would

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850



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / Alex[ander] C. King, Solicitor General [Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.*

**Summary:** King predicts that any attempt to hurry the Supreme Court to decide Goldman's appeal would backfire. He notes that Goldman may withdraw her appeal.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

probably have the opposite effect to that wished. I assume from their having postponed the further consideration to the 18th that the direction for the filing and printing of the record means that they will probably make a decision between that and, at latest, the morning of Monday the 22nd, which will be the last day on which the court will be in session before January 5, as we are now informed.

It is probable that the Goldman case was not acted on similarly to that of Berkman because the court wished to look into what the record showed about the marriage of Emma Goldman, and her having acquired citizenship by reason thereof, as to whether, if she did, she was not still a citizen, or can be deported without proceedings having been had and a day in court afforded her for the cancellation of citizenship. As I understand, the so-called divorce was not by any legal proceeding, and her case raises the question of marriage, of the effect of marriage on her citizenship, and of her present status. If the court should think that these questions are substantially raised on the record, in my opinion they will grant the writ of error even though they might ultimately rule against her, because, as I understand the rule, a writ of error will not be denied unless it is so plainly without merit as not to present a substantial question bringing the case within the jurisdiction of the

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851



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / Alex[ander] C. King, Solicitor General [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

FOO3

Supreme Court.

I trust, however, that the announcement in the Washington Post this morning is correct and that Emma Goldman has elected to go with Berkman.

Very truly,

(Signed) Alex. C. King

Solicitor General

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852



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [Washington, D.C. to] A.J. Carter, Division of Russian Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover requests a copy of a Bolshevik pamphlet from the State Department.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

JEH:MH

December 13, 1919

Mr. A. J. Carter,

Division of Russian Affairs, State Dept.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Carter:

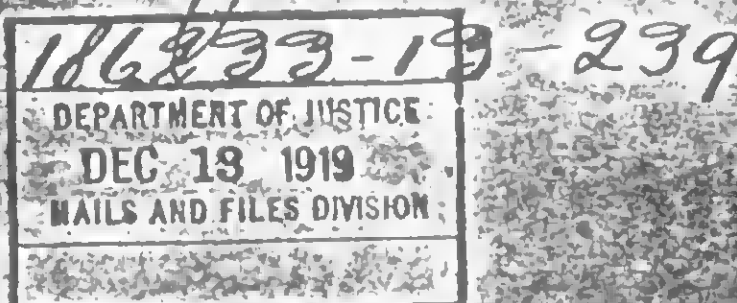
While in New York on last Tuesday, in connection with the Goldman-Berkman hearing, I noticed an article appearing in the New York Times for Tuesday, December 9th, stating that on November 25th, Mr. Kliefoth produced a copy of a Bolshevik pamphlet printed in England for use in America, calling on American Workers and Soldiers to "bring down the whole rotten edifice of your capitalist State with a shattering blow of your arms".

I am particularly desirous of obtaining a copy of this publication. I would appreciate anything you can do toward securing the same for me.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Special Assistant to the Attorney General



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853

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 13, Chicago [to] H.A. Strauss [Department Intelligence Officer? Eastern Department? War Department], New York / Thomas B. Crockett, Department Intelligence Officer [Central Department, War Department].—  
1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett sends Strauss a report on Harry Weinberger's efforts to send representatives to Ellis Island.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810331078.

*Crockett*  
10110-164  
58  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
102

DIO-II  
7655

December 13, 1919.

From: The Department Intelligence Officer - Chicago.

To: Major H. A. Strauss, 302 Broadway, New York.

Subject: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

1. Enclosed herewith, copy of report of December 9, which states Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are keeping in touch with the anarchists by means of credentials issued by their attorney, Harry Weinberger.

Thomas B. Crockett,  
Major, Infantry.

DVB.N.  
Encl.  
(report Dec. 9, 1919)

✓ Copy to D. M. I.

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854



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [New York to] Byrne H. Uhl, Assistant Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger asks Uhl to give passes to Jerome Weiss and Kitty Beck, so they can visit Goldman and Berkman on legal business.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

December 13, 1919.

Hon. Byron H. Uhl,  
Assistant Commissioner of Immigration,  
Ellis Island, New York.

Dear Sir:-

Kindly give to Mr. Jerome Weiss of  
my office and Miss K. Beck, a pass to see Miss Emma  
Goldman and Alexander Berkman, for the transaction of  
certain legal business.

Respectfully yours,

HW/ICW

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [New York to] Percy Baker, Sup[erintenden]t, Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger wants Baker to allow Goldman to see her own dentist rather than the dentist on Ellis Island.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

December 13, 1919.

Percy Baker, Esq . .  
Supt. Immigration Station,  
Ellis Island, N.Y.

Dear Sir:-

I understand that the dentist on Ellis Island is under the impression that he is required to do the dental work on Emma Goldman, while as a matter of fact it is required merely that he certify to you that she needs dental work and then have her sent with a guard for at least two different days to her personal dentist.

Thanking you for giving this your immediate attention, I am

Very truly yours,

HW/ICW

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856

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [New York to] Robert A. Lansing, Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks the State Department to guarantee Goldman and Berkman safe conduct to Soviet Russia.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For the letter mentioned, see 850712348.

December 13, 1919.

Hon. Robert A. Lansing,  
Secretary of State, for the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

On December 3rd, I received a letter from Mr. A. Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, which stated in part as follows:

"As to your request for written assurance of the Department, neither Mr. Berkman nor Miss Goldman will be deported to any part of the world where their lives will actually be in danger, the Bureau would state that you already have the assurance that they would be deported in the usual way attending deportations by the Department of Labor, to Soviet Russia."

In view of the fact that this matter of deporting Miss Goldman and Mr. Berkman, to Soviet Russia, is one of international relations and one necessarily within your Department, I respectfully ask that I be officially notified, by your Department that Miss Goldman and Mr. Berkman will be delivered to Soviet Russia and that the Government of the United States will give them a safe conduct to Soviet Russia.

Respectfully yours,

HW/ICW

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 13 [New York to] Collector of the Port, New York / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks the New York customs official if any rules prevent aliens from taking food and books with them when leaving the country.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

December 13, 1919.

Collector of the Port,  
Custom House,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:-

Will you kindly inform me if there are any rules, regulations or laws preventing aliens who leave the country, from taking their books or taking surplus food for their own consumption.

An immediate reply will be very highly appreciated.

Respectfully yours.

HW/ICW

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858



## The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Ready To Go To Soviet Russia — 28 cm. In [Chicago Tribune (Dec. 13, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

**Summary:** The *Chicago Tribune* reports that Goldman decided to drop her Supreme Court appeal following assurances of deportation to Soviet Russia.

**Notes:** Lower document only. Enclosed with 810331079 and 810331084.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT  
CHICAGO

*Enc. One*  
C. 10110-16-11  
42  
V. DEPARTMENT  
102

### Emma Goldman Gets Stay of Week; Berkman to Go

Washington, D. C., Dec. 11.—The supreme court today declined to interfere in the deportation of Alexander Berkman, anarchist, but granted a stay of one week in the case of Emma Goldman. This was granted to permit further consideration of her appeal from the action of Federal Judge Mayer in New York denying a writ of habeas corpus under the contention relating to her marriage.

*Chicago Tribune*  
Dec. 12, 1919.

### EMMA GOLDMAN READY TO GO TO SOVIET RUSSIA

New York, Dec. 12.—Rather than be separated from Alexander Berkman, her companion of years, Emma Goldman announced tonight through her attorney that she had abandoned her legal fight in the Supreme court to prevent her deportation to Russia with Berkman and some eighty other radicals.

Their plea before the Supreme court expressed fear of death if they were sent to "White Guard" Russia. The withdrawal followed assurances they would be sent to Soviet Russia.

*Chgo Tribune*  
Dec. 13, 1919.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 15, Chicago [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington [D.C.] / Tho[mas] B. Crockett, Dep[artmen]t Intelligence Officer, Central Department, War Department.—  
1 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Crockett sends Churchill clippings about Goldman and Berkman's deportation.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810331079 and 810331081.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT  
CHICAGO

DIO-11 : 7655

Dec. 15, 1919.

*Cur/Cena*

*10110-134*

*43*

*1027*

From: Dept. Intelligence Officer, Chicago. ✓  
To: Director of Military Intelligence, Washington.  
Subject: Emma Goldman and ✓  
Alexander Berkman. ✓

1. Reference is made to our letter of Dec. 13th to Major H. A. Strauss, New York City, copy to you.

2. Enclosed for your information are clippings from the Chicago Tribune of Dec. 12th and 13th, 1919. These clippings show that Berkman's appeal to the Supreme Court from the order of deportation was denied, but a stay of one week was granted in the case of Emma Goldman, who, however, elected to be deported to soviet Russia, rather than be separated from her associate.

Encls.: *MAK*  
2 clippings Chicago Tribune.

CLB/LVH

*Thos B. Crockett*  
THOS B. CROCKETT,  
Major, Infantry.

1919 DEC 18 AM 11 07

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Martens Wants Reds for Russia — 33 cm. In [New York Post (Dec. 15, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence keeps a clipping from the New York Post, reporting that Ludwig Martens offered Goldman and Berkman political asylum in Russia.

Notes: Right hand document only. For copy of letter mentioned, see 830214028.

*Ludwig Martens*

## Investigation of Martens Is Demanded in U. S. Senate

Kenyon Introduces Resolution Which, if Adopted,  
Will Compel Soviet "Ambassador" to Ex-  
plain in Detail His Activities in United States

3 *New York Tribune*  
Washington Bureau  
WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.—Investiga-  
tion of the activities of Ludwig C. A.  
K. Martens, self-styled Ambassador to  
the United States from the Russian  
Soviet government, is called for in a  
resolution introduced in the Senate to-  
day by Senator Kenyon, of Iowa.

The resolution authorizes the For-  
eign Relations Committee to make the  
investigation, and the measure was re-  
ferred to that committee. It is recited  
in the resolution that Martens has  
refused to answer questions asked him  
by the Lusk investigating committee  
in New York and that therefore he be  
called before a committee of Congress  
and be forced to explain in detail his  
activities in the United States and his  
connections with the Russian Soviet  
government.

The resolution follows:  
"Whereas, one Ludwig C. A. K. Mar-  
tens claims to be an Ambassador to the  
United States from the Russian Soviet  
government; and,  
"Whereas, according to newspaper  
reports, he refuses to answer certain  
questions before the Lusk investigat-  
ing committee in the City of New York,  
a committee appointed to investigate

propaganda against this government,  
on the ground that he is such Ambas-  
sador and entitled to diplomatic privi-  
leges; and,

"Whereas, said Martens has headquar-  
ters in the City of New York and is al-  
leged to be directing propaganda against  
this government; and,

"Whereas, according to his testimony  
before said Lusk Committee, he came to  
this country as a German citizen and is  
a member of the Communist party,  
pledged to overthrow capitalistic systems  
of government the world over; and,

"Whereas, said Martens, according to  
his said testimony, regards his govern-  
ment as a capitalistic government; now,  
therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Committee on  
Foreign Relations is hereby authorized  
and directed through the full committee  
or through any sub-committee thereof to  
investigate as speedily as possible the  
status of said Martens, what alleged  
government or power in Europe he rep-  
resents, what, if any, recognition of any  
kind has been accorded him by this gov-  
ernment, whether or not he is an alien  
enemy, what propaganda, if any, he is  
carrying on for the overthrow of gov-  
ernments, and all facts and circum-  
stances relating to his activities in this  
country, and his alleged diplomatic rep-  
resentation, and make report to the Sen-  
ate of such findings."

### MARTENS CASE IN SENATE.

*Special to The New York Times.*  
WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.—The ques-  
tion of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens's  
claims to diplomatic standing and im-  
munity as envoy in the United States  
of the Russian Soviet Government was  
asked today by Senator Kenyon of  
Iowa, in a resolution he offered in the  
Senate.

The resolution directs the Foreign Re-  
lations Committee to go fully into Mr.  
Martens's status to learn whether he is  
an alien enemy, and whether he is con-  
ducting propaganda against the United  
States Government.

## MARTENS WANTS REDS FOR RUSSIA

Writes Berkman and  
Emma Goldman

Called Ambassador Says Politi-  
cal Refugees Need Have No  
Fear of Bolsheviks.

31  
Emma Goldman was informed to-  
day by Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, Bol-  
shevik "Ambassador to the United  
States," that she, Alexander Berkman  
and other anarchists awaiting depor-  
tation at Ellis Island would be wel-  
come in Soviet Russia, where the  
Government intends to send them. In  
a letter to Miss Goldman Martens de-  
clared he had said the Bolsheviks would  
execute her if she plotted in Soviet  
Russia as she had in the United  
States.

"I wish on behalf of my country,"  
the letter continued, "to state that the  
Workers' Republic of Russia will be  
glad to offer an asylum to the first  
group of political refugees from the  
United States. Everybody, be he a  
bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or  
a communist is in free Russia at lib-  
erty to express his opinions and to  
advocate his beliefs as long as he does  
not engage himself in active co-  
operation with the enemies of the  
Russian workers. Whether he be a  
bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or  
an unfaithful communist, he meets  
severe punishment in Russia if he is  
found actively violating the interests  
of the Russian workers."

"I have no reason whatsoever to  
believe that you and your comrades  
in exile will not find yourselves in  
Russia wholeheartedly working for  
the strengthening of the ideals of  
the Russian Soviet republic. I am  
confident that you, therefore, will be  
as welcome there as any other work-  
ingman or woman, who is interested  
in the liberation of the working  
class."

"You are perhaps aware of the fact  
that I on behalf of my Government  
made an offer to the Government of  
the United States to provide, at the  
cost of Soviet Russia, free transpor-  
tation to my country of all Russians  
in America who want to return there,  
or whose presence in the United  
States is not desired by the authori-  
ties here."

"This proposition so far has led to  
no results. If realized, it would have  
saved you unnecessary humiliation  
and privation, and it would have  
saved the authorities here unneces-  
sary excitement."

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861

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Radical Activities in New York—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, "Anarchist Soviet Bulletin" [New York] 1919 Dec. 15 / J.F. McDevitt, Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 × 20 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*  
**Summary:** Agent McDevitt describes undercover agent Hajek's plan to plant a bomb in the San Francisco district attorney's office and implicate Berkman.  
**Notes:** Broken type. Enclosed with 880606307. Follow-up to 880606309.

MEMORANDUM OF AGENT J. F. McDEVITT

FOR DECEMBER 15, 1919.

IN RE: RADICAL ACTIVITIES IN NEW YORK—  
 EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN.  
 "ANARCHIST SOVIET BULLETIN".

Refer to my previous information on file in the Philadelphia office, and of which the New York Office has a copy.

Continued my investigation today. Reported at the New York Office at 2 P. M. as per instructions of Director Flynn. Reported to Agent Scully, in charge of radical activities, who detailed Agent Francisco to accompany me to our hotel, the Endicott, at 81st Street and Columbus Avenue, where former agent, James Hajek has his apartments, and who is known to us as "Count Podooky".

In the presence of Agent Francisco, Hajek told me that Francis Ralston Welsh, of Philadelphia, who is by this time well known to the New York Office, and has been known to the Philadelphia office for sometime as a man of great wealth and interested financially in the Metropolitan Detective Agency, which was formerly the Val O'Farrell Agency, and of which a man by the name of Glenn is the Philadelphia Superintendent. Welsh, Glenn and Hajek are all known to Agent McDevitt of the Philadelphia office. Hajek's statement was that:

Francis Ralston Welsh, in company with Glenn, had called him to his office, (Welsh's) and a proposition was put up to Hajek by Welsh, as to whether or not he, Hajek, would be willing to place a bomb in the office of Charles Fickert, the present County District Attorney of San Francisco, who is the District

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862



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Radical Activities in New York—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, "Anarchist Soviet Bulletin" [New York] 1919 Dec. 15 / J.F. McDevitt, Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 × 20 cm.  
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Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 880606307. Follow-up to 880606309.

-2-

attorney that conducted the prosecution which ended in the conviction of Frank Mooney, and Hajek tells us that he agreed to do this. Later, Hajek states, that he received typewritten instructions from his employer, (Glenn), stating that these typewritten instructions were the instructions of his, (Glenn's) employer, (Welsh). These instructions were as follows:

That Hajek was to go to Ellis Island and interview Alexander Berkman, now awaiting deportation, and tell Berkman what he intends to do to blow up Fickert. Hajek was to then tell Berkman to give him a letter of introduction to Harry (?) Nolan, the well known labor leader of the Middle West. Hajek was then to tell Nolan what his plans were and Nolan would then find a way to get Hajek into Fickert's office, where Hajek was to place the bomb. Fickert was then to be let in on the game and the place was to be blown. This letter that Hajek had given Nolan, which was the letter of introduction from Berkman, was to be found and Nolan arrested and charged with the crime, and the natural result following would be that organized labor would then be again under fire. Fickert, I understand, was investigated during the war by the Departments of Justice and Labor, and almost proven, I understand, to be a German spy. Hajek says that Captain Darr, the big steamship corporation man of the West, will assist ~~X~~ Welsh in this plot.

Hajek in order to prove to me that his story was correct, in the present of Agent Francisco, agreed to call Glenn up on the telephone in Philadelphia and have me listen on the wire, which was done about half past four on the afternoon of December 15th. Hajek called Glenn on the telephone and the following conversation took place:

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863

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Radical Activities in New York—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, "Anarchist Soviet Bulletin" [New York] 1919 Dec. 15 / J.F. McDevitt, Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 x 20 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent McDevitt describes undercover agent Hajek's plan to plant a bomb in the San Francisco district attorney's office and implicate Berkman.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 880606307. Follow-up to 880606309.

-3-

Hajek spoke first of his check, amounting to \$175, which matter was all arranged. Then Hajek asked Glenn whether or not he should get the letter from "Sarsha". (Sarsha is the alias of Alexander Berkman, and is well known to all concerned as Sarsha). Glenn replied: "Yes, but we may not be able to use it because our man goes out of office on January 1st." (I neglected to mention that Fickert's term of office expires on January 1st as he was defeated at the last election). Glenn continuing his conversation, said "get the letter anyhow". Hajek then asked Glenn to come to New York tomorrow, which would be December 18th, at which Glenn agreed to do, but before the conversation closed Glenn said to Hajek "did you arrange or did you talk with the Colonel?" At this point Hajek shut him up and said "You come to New York tomorrow and I'll talk to you."

Upon my going upstairs I told Hajek, in the presence of Agent Francisco, that I had overheard the whole conversation, and repeated to him what I had heard. Hajek then asked me whether or not I had heard him say to Glenn whether or not he, Hajek, should put in Fickert's private office. I told Hajek that I had not heard Glenn use Fickert's name in this connection, whereupon Agent Francisco stated that he had distinctly heard Hajek ask the question over the telephone. (This I suppose was not heard by me at the time as there was a noisy fellow in the next telephone booth to me and I did have a little difficulty for a second or two trying to hear.

Hajek informs me that when he took this job up with Walsh that Glenn was very bad off financially, but that he now owns a big home, an automobile and is educating his four children.

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864

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Radical Activities in New York—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, "Anarchist Soviet Bulletin" [New York] 1919 Dec. 15 / J.F. McDevitt, Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 x 20 cm.  
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Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 880606307. Follow-up to 880606309.

-3-

a couple of them I understand, he is giving music lessons to, and appears to be plentifully supplied with money.

In connection with this story, I would like to mention one other very interesting portion. By referring to my previous reports entitled "Francis Ralston Welsh", in our Philadelphia files, and of which I have given a special copy of to Special Agent George F. Rush in Washington, at his request, it will be noticed that a confidential informant of mine, known to me at the time as "No. 105", had told me that it was Welsh who was financing the Bolshevik Movement in Philadelphia. "No. 105" was a former Val O'Farrell detective, and he told me at the time that his informant was William Nagel, a very prominent local labor agitator in Philadelphia, connected with the Communist Party, the Communist Propaganda League and the Soldiers Sailors and Workmens Council, in Philadelphia. My reports will show that William Nagel and a man by the name of Simon Znebel, the real leader of the Soldiers, Sailors and Workmens Council, and Communist Party of Philadelphia, and a naturalized Hungarian Jew, were both introduced to Ludwig Martens, the Bolshevik Ambassador, in New York, by a man by the name of Jacob Romenenko, as being the two men in Philadelphia that he, Martens, could depend upon to carry out his work. Romenenko is well known to Agent McDevitt, and is now a fugitive from justice, having been arrested and convicted in Wilmington, Delaware, for bribing a Police Officer. Romenenko admitted to Agent McDevitt that he was a former agent of the Czar, and that he was only in the Soviet Movement for the purpose of gaining information.

I have photographs in Philadelphia, in which Romenenko's, Martens' and Gregory Weinstein's pictures appear

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865

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Radical Activities in New York—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, "Anarchist Soviet Bulletin" [New York] 1919 Dec. 15 / J.F. McDevitt, Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 x 20 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent McDevitt describes undercover agent Hajek's plan to plant a bomb in the San Francisco district attorney's office and implicate Berkman.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 880606307. Follow-up to 880606309.

-4-

together at a dinner that was given in Philadelphia about six months ago. This man Nagel, above mentioned, is continually talking about being in a position to get money when the proper time comes, and now is the proper time according to the statements of both Nagel and Knebel, as my Philadelphia report will bear out.

In the report of Agent McDevitt it will be noticed that Nagel told our confidential informants in Philadelphia that he, Nagel, was a representative of leather manufacturers in the United States who were endeavoring through Ludwig Martens, to get control of five thousand tons of raw hide leather in Russia, and that Knebel knew of all of the plans of Martens, and that Martens' supposed reasons for being in the United States, that is, for the purpose of opening up commercial relations between this country and Russia, were only secondary to his real cause, and that the real cause was to foment a revolution.

Hajek has agreed to bring Glenn to his hotel and later to bring Welsh to a convenient place where he will prove to us that his story is correct.

Hajek suggested to me that I go with he and Mená Levensohn, the former sweetheart of Alexander Berkman, and Rose Holland (?), whom Hajek says is the private secretary to Ludwig Martens, to a theatre. I agreed to go last night and left it to him to make arrangements, but he cancelled these arrangements.

About 6.30 last night, at his, Hajek's suggestion, I called at his apartment. I had not been seated long when a knock came to the door and a man with a kit of tools

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866



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Radical Activities in New York—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, "Anarchist Soviet Bulletin" [New York] 1919 Dec. 15 / J.F. McDevitt, Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 5 p.; 26 × 20 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent McDevitt describes undercover agent Hajek's plan to plant a bomb in the San Francisco district attorney's office and implicate Berkman.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 880606307. Follow-up to 880606309.

-5-

announced that he had come to repair a chain. Not liking the appearance of the man, I sized him up pretty closely and Hajek saw that I suspected him. Hajek told the man that there was no chain to be fixed in his room, but that as long as he was there and wanted to fix something, that he could fix the electric light, (which was rather dull). The man hurriedly left the room and in another few seconds appeared with a small electric globe and put it in the place of the old one. I noticed that the man eyed me carefully, and I did not fail to call this to the attention of Hajek, who admitted to me that it might be possible that Welsh had his man after him. I was at a loss to know what to do because had I told the proprietor of the hotel who I was, I would then be uncovering ourselves, and if it was possible that Welsh did have his men on us and I did not tell the proprietor who I was, then I would not get any satisfaction out of him, and that I would be told that the man who came to fix the chain was his regular house workman.

Up until this time I have not made up my mind what to do, but I am rather inclined to feel that it would be well to let the proprietor know who I at least am, and am making this note merely for that purpose.

*I neglected to mention that Hajek told me last night that he would forge the Berkman letter*

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867

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[File Memorandum re: Deportation of Emma Goldman, 19]19 Dec. 15 / [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 35 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The Department of Justice files R. Pierson's letter regarding Goldman's deportation.

Notes: Lower document only. For enclosures, see 891216025 and 870717000.

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

12/15/19

Department of Justice  
Washington DC

How does this editor get  
away with it? Look over his  
files for the past few years  
to see this only as a sample

Yours truly,  
R. Pierson

11 Pages

Brunswick

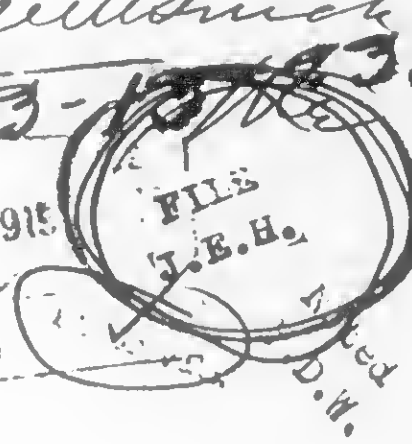
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186233-13-238

DEC 15 1915

STEWART-FLINER



186233-13-238

Misc

12-12-19

R Pierson  
Brunswick, Me.

Transmits clippings re deportation of Emma  
Goldberg and Berkman, and originaising statement  
of editor therein.

Stewart-Fliner Bu Inves.

12-15-19 CEI.

Bu of Inves.

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868

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 15, New York [to Alexander C. King] Solicitor General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey explains his worries regarding the timing of Goldman's deportation.

Notes: Reply to 810113081. For reply, see 810113059. Follow-up to 810113082.

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Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"UNITED STATES ATTORNEY"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

Department of Justice

✓ D.V.C. *Sam*

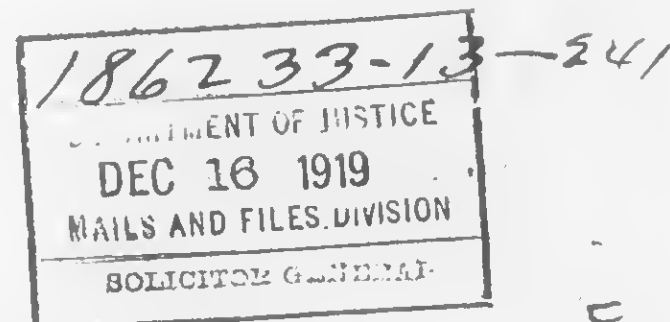
United States Attorney's Office

22179

New York

December 15, 1919,

The Solicitor General,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.



Dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 13th instant in reference to the case of Emma Goldman.

It was not my thought when writing you on the 12th instant that any representations should be made to the Supreme Court as to the plans for the date of sailing of the ship that is to carry deported anarchists. Indeed, what I said was not intended to have special reference to Emma Goldman. Neither did I have ground for apprehension that the Department of Labor might change its plan. But I was not sure that the Department of Labor would fully appreciate that any postponement on its part might be embarrassing to the Department of Justice, in view of the fact that based upon what the immigration officials had said to Mr. Hoover, I had represented to the Court on the 8th instant that the Government was then prepared within two weeks to deport Berkman, Goldman and other anarchists.

The question which gave me most concern in the habeas corpus proceedings here was whether the United States District Court at Buffalo obtained jurisdiction under Section 15 of the Act of June 29, 1906 to enter its decree of April 8, 1909 cancelling the certificate of naturalization of Jacob A. Kersner, the alleged husband of Goldman. I have now received certified copies of all proceedings in that cause. Careful examination indicates that they are perfectly regular.

The newspapers here have contained announcements from Goldman and from her counsel that she has definitely abandoned her application to the Supreme Court. So far, however, I have had no direct or formal notice to that effect.

Very truly yours,

*Francis G. Caffey*

United States Attorney.

DEC 17 19

**The Emma Goldman Papers**

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 15 [New York to] John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger asks Abercrombie to reply to his request for two visits a day for Goldman, Berkman, and the others at Ellis Island.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For reply, see 850712385. Follow-up to 830214046.

December 15, 1919.

Hon. John W. Abercrombie,  
Acting Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

I have not received word from you in reference to allow two visits a day for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and the other Russians, until the time of their deportation. I am sure that it is not asking too much, and that it is only the rush of business that has prevented you from action before this.

Kindly wire me whether these visits will be allowed, and also advise Ellis Island.

Respectfully yours,

HW/ICW

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870



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 15 [New York to] Byrne H. Uhl, Assistant Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger asks Uhl to permit Stella Ballantine, M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, and Ben Capes to visit Goldman and Berkman at Ellis Island.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

December 15, 1919.

Commissioner Byron H. Uhl,  
Assistant Commissioner of Immigration,  
Ellis Island, N.Y.

Dear Sir:-

Will you kindly allow Mrs. Stella Ballantine, Miss M. Eleanor Fitzgerald and Mr. B. Capes, to see Miss Emma Goldman and Mr. Alexander Berkman on certain business transactions and certain facts necessary for them to discuss and then take up with me.

Respectfully yours,

HW/ICW

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871

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 15, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / James D. Maher, Clerk, United States Supreme Court. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*  
**Summary:** Maher acknowledges receipt of Weinberger's letter.  
**Notes:** Reply to 810113064.

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,  
Supreme Court of the United States,  
Washington, D. C.

December 15, 1919.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 12th instant, in reference  
to the case of United States ex rel. Emma Goldman vs.  
A. Caminetti, et al., duly received and contents noted.

Yours truly,

JAMES D. MAHER, Clerk.

By  Ass't.

LM.

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872

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 15 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [A. Mitchell] Palmer [Attorney General, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Palmer wires Weinberger to send him a formal motion to dismiss Goldman's Supreme Court appeal.

Notes: Dark copy For reply, see 810113066 and 810113068.

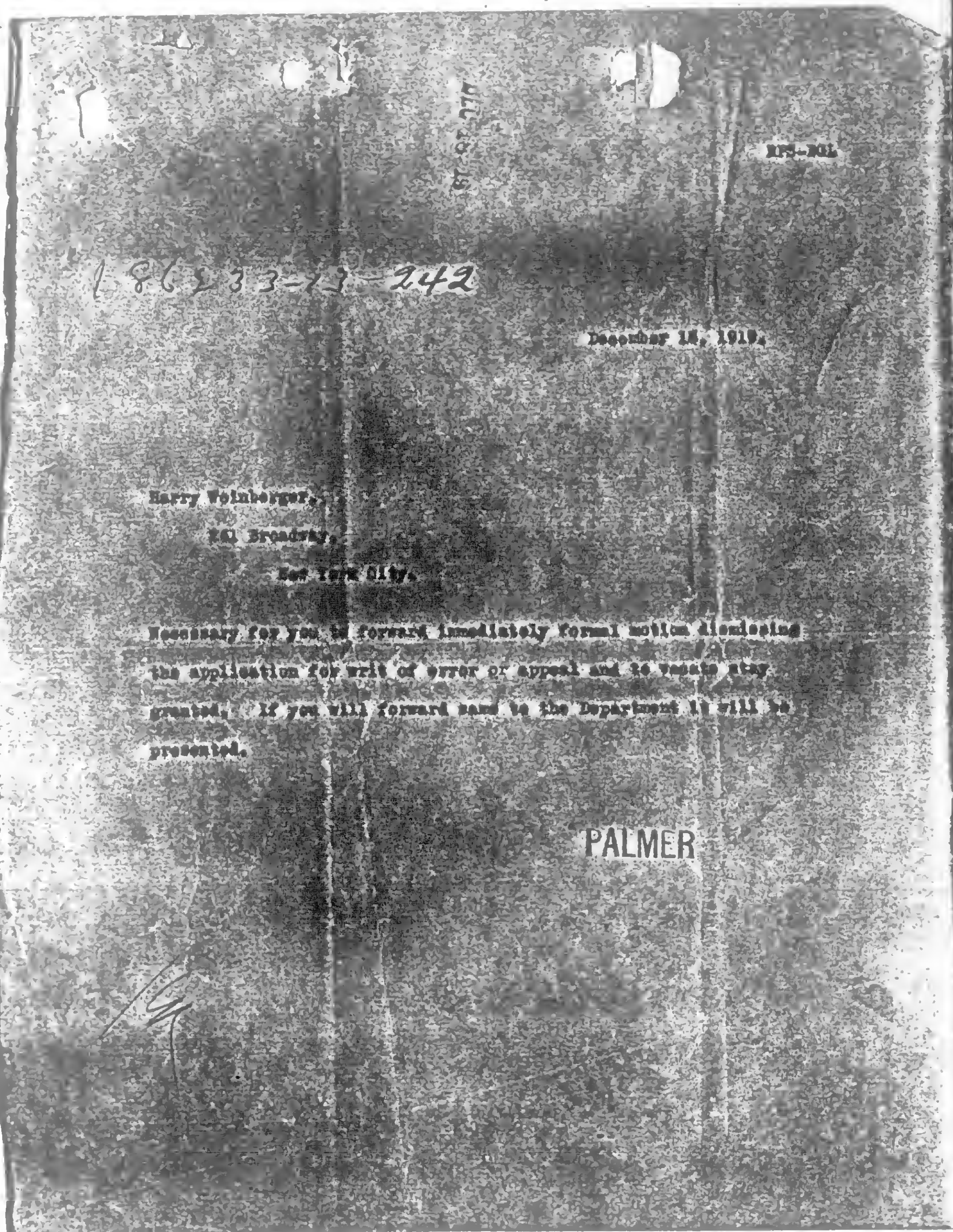
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Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)



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873



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 16 [Washington, D.C. to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Churchill informs Caminetti that Goldman and Berkman's friends are visiting Ellis Island by posing as Harry Weinberger's law clerks.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. For original report, see 810331078. For related reports, see 810331083 and 821210003.

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M.I.-4-E

1920  
MIS

10110-154  
59  
MAY 20

WAR DEPARTMENT

December 16, 1919.

4264

The Honorable A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Caminetti:-

I am in receipt of information from a source known to be reliable, as follows:

" Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are keeping in to sh with their 'plotting allies' by having Attorney Harry Weinberger issue credentials as his clerks to them. Weinberger simply writes on the back of his business card that the bearer is a clerk employed at the law office of Weinberger and wishes to interview his clients. So far every one producing one of Harry Weinberger's cards has been admitted. "

The above is forwarded to you for your information.

Very truly yours,

M. Churchill,  
Brigadier General, General Staff,  
Director of Military Intelligence.

By:

Wesley Brown,  
Lieut. Colonel, U.S.A.R.V.

ea

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874



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 16 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / Alex[ander] C. King, Solicitor General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: King informs Caffey that Harry Weinberger has notified the Justice Department that he intends to withdraw Goldman's Supreme Court appeal.

Notes: Dark copy. Reply to 810113060. For related documents, see 810113063, 810113066, and 810113068.

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Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

80-VRL

December 16, 1919

Mr. Francis G. Caffey,  
United States Attorney,  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your favor of December 15 (DVO 22179), and am much obliged for the information therein contained. In addition to what has appeared in the newspapers, Assistant Attorney General Stewart received a letter yesterday from Mr. Weinberger stating that he wished to withdraw the application for writ of error, stay and bail in the case of Emma Goldman. He was at once telegraphed to prepare and send a motion for that purpose, as the clerk considered this necessary. An inquiry develops that the Department has not yet received any further advice from him.

Very truly,

(Signed) Alex. C. King

Solicitor General

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875

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 16, New York [to] A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.*

**Summary:** Weinberger sends Palmer his motion to dismiss the Supreme Court appeal of Goldman's deportation.

**Notes:** For enclosure, see 810113068. Reply to 810113063. For reply, see 850712234.

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from

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Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

HARRY WEINBERGER  
 COUNSELOR AT LAW  
 261 BROADWAY, NEW YORK  
 TELEPHONE CONNECTION

December 16, 1919.

Hon. Mitchell A. Palmer,  
 United States Attorney General,  
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

As per your telegram, I send you  
 herewith formal motion not printed, however,  
 moving for the withdrawal of the application  
 for Writ of Error or allowance of appeal, stay  
 and application for bail, which as per your tele-  
 gram, please present to the Court.

Very truly yours,

*Harry Weinberger*

HW/ICW

Enclosure.

DEC 20 12

186233-13-240

STEWART

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876



The Emma Goldman Papers

United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Motion [to Dismiss Writ of Error, 1919 Dec. 16?] / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
Summary: Weinberger asks to withdraw his Supreme Court appeal of Goldman's deportation.  
Notes: Enclosed with 810113066.

COPY  
from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE  
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice  
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Royal Stationery Co., Inc., Printers and Law Blank Publishers 129-133 Fulton Street New York

Fol. 1.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.  
OCTOBER TERM - 1919.

-----X  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ex rel  
EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator-Appellant,

-against-

A. CAMINETTI, et al.,

Defendant-Respondent.  
-----X

No.

2.

Comes now HARRY WEINBERGER, attorney for  
Relator-Appellant, and moves to withdraw his application for  
Writ of Error or appeal, stay and bail pending appeal for and  
on behalf of said Emma Goldman.

Notice of this motion has been served on the  
United States Attorney General.

HARRY WEINBERGER,  
Attorney for Relator-Appellant,  
Office & P.O. Address,  
No. 261 Broadway,  
Borough of Manhattan,  
New York City.

3.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Motion [to Dismiss Writ of Error, 1919 Dec. 16?] / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: Weinberger asks to withdraw his Supreme Court appeal of Goldman's deportation.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 810113066.

Records of the Department of Justice  
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

**COPY**  
 from  
**THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE**  
 Record Group No. 60

## NOTICE OF ENTRY

Sir:—

Please take notice that the within is a true copy of a .....  
 this day duly filed and entered in the office of the Clerk of the .....

Dated, N. Y., ..... 191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR .....

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To ..... Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR .....

## NOTICE OF SETTLEMENT.

Sir:—

Please take notice that an order of which the within is a true copy, will be presented for settlement and entry herein to Mr. Justice .....

at ..... of

this Court at .....

..... in the Borough of

..... in the City of New York,

on the ..... day of ..... 191

at ..... o'clock, in the forenoon or as soon thereafter as Counsel can be heard.

Dated, N. Y., ..... 191

Yours, &c.,

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR .....

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To ..... Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR .....

CLERK'S INDEX No. ....

YEAR

SUPREME COURT OF THE  
 UNITED STATES.

OCTOBER TERM - 1919.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
 EX REL EMMA GOLDMAN,

Relator-applt.

~~XXXXXX~~

against

E. CAMINETTI, et al.,

Defendant  
 Respondent

COPY

MOTION BY RELATOR-APPELLANT

TO DISMISS

**HARRY WEINBERGER**

ATTORNEY FOR Relator-applt.

Office and Post Office Address

261 BROADWAY

Borough of Manhattan New York City

TO ..... Esq.

ATTORNEY FOR .....

Due and timely service of a copy of the

within .....

is, hereby admitted.

Dated, N. Y., ..... 191

Attorney for .....

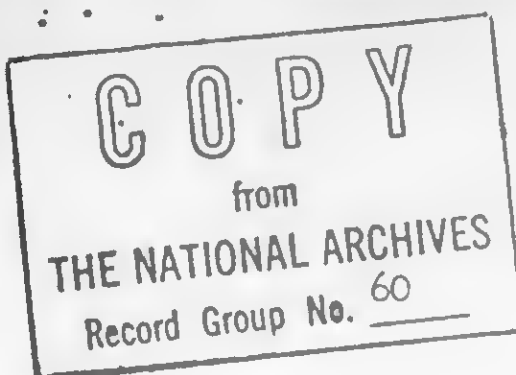
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878



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919? Dec.? 16?] Washington [D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Frank T. Hines, Chief, Transportation Service, War Department.— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.  
 Summary: General Hines sends Hoover the affidavit of James Townley, who leaked information regarding the Buford's departure.  
 Notes: For enclosures, see 870723001 through 870723003.



General Records of the Department of Justice  
 D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files  
 File Number 202600-65

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
 CHIEF OF TRANSPORTATION SERVICE  
 MUNITIONS BUILDING  
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

WAR DEPARTMENT  
 TRANSPORTATION SERVICE  
 WASHINGTON

WCB/L

REFER TO FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

202600-65

Noted  
 F.D.M.

Mr. J. E. Hoover,  
 Special Assistant to the Attorney General,  
 Department of Justice,  
 Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:-

In connection with your telephone conversation with Colonel Baker in regard to the New York matter, I enclose herewith for your information, copy of affidavit made by James H. Townley on this subject together with clippings from the New York World and the New York Globe.

I will advise you on receipt of any further information in regard to this matter.

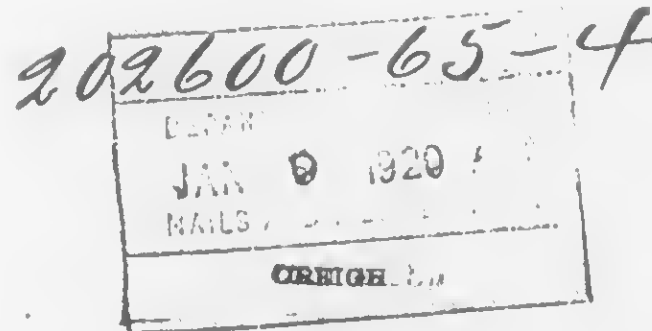
Very truly yours,

*Frank T. Hines*

FRANK T. HINES  
 Brigadier General, U. S.  
 Chief of Transportation Service.

1215 (3)

RECORDED



# The Emma Goldman Papers

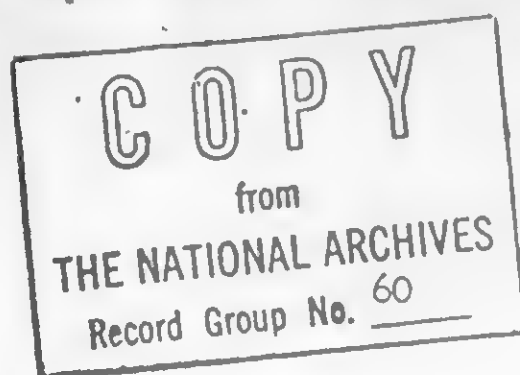
[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 16 [in re departure of the Buford] / James H. Townley.—

1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Townley explains how he started false rumors of the Buford's departure.

Notes: Enclosed with 870723002, 870723003, and 811027007.



General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 202600-65

NEW YORK  
Dec. 16th, 1919.

## TESTIMONY OF JAMES H. TOWNLEY, EMBALMER ON THE U.S.A.T.BUFORD.

1. Q. What is your name?  
A. James H. Townley.
2. Q. In what capacity are you employed?  
A. Embalmer.
3. Q. On what transport?  
A. On the U.S.A.T. BUFORD.
4. Q. Did you see the article in this mornings' paper relative to the U.S.A.T.BUFORD carrying undesirable citizens of the United States, who are to be deported from this country?  
A. Yes sir, I did.
5. Q. Will you state what you know of this?  
A. I was applying for citizens' papers yesterday, and while standing in line at the Long Island City Courthouse, a man, presumably one of the clerks, asked me what ship I was on. I told him the U. S. A. T. BUFORD, and he asked me was the ship going to take Bolshevike, anarchists, etc., back to Russia. I said that I did not know, and he said, you know all right, and I said, no, I did not know. I said that we hear all kinds of things, and he says, are'nt you going to take them back, or something to that effect, and I said we may get some and we may not, and he said when are you sailing, and I said this afternoon (Monday) at 4 o'clock. That was all I said.
6. Q. Have you heard anyone say that the U.S.A.T.BUFORD was going to take undesirable citizens back to Russia?  
A. I have heard numerous rumours to this effect. I have seen it in various newspapers, and it has also been talked about at the Army Base during the last three or four weeks.
7. Q. Has anyone specifically stated that the U.S.A.T.BUFORD was going to carry these undesirable people?  
A. Nobody said that.
8. Q. How did the newspapers get your name?  
A. I presume they got my name when the clerk called it out in the Court-room.

The above testimony subscribed  
to, and sworn to, before me,  
this Sixteenth(16)day of Decem-  
ber, 1919.

*Walter A. Skill,*  
*Capt also.*  
*Asst James.*

*James H. Townley*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

"Reds" Not Going on the Buford — 36 cm. In [The New York World (Dec. 16, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The World in New York prints official denials of the Buford's imminent departure.

Notes: Enclosed with 870723001, 870723003, and 811027007.

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from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice  
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files  
File Number 202600-65

THE NEW YORK WORLD

Tuesday - - December 16, 1919.

## "REDS" NOT GOING ON THE BUFORD

Caminetti and Gen. Hines Deny  
Rumor — Martens Assures  
Emma Goldman Soviet  
Russia Will Welcome Her.

Both Commissioner General of Immigration Caminetti and Gen. Hines, who has charge of transports, denied last night in Washington a report circulated yesterday to the effect that Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and other Russian Reds were to leave for their native land to-morrow aboard the transport Buford.

The rumor originated when James H. Townley, chief embatmer aboard the Buford, asked Justice Fawcett in the Queens County Supreme Court to give preference to his application for citizenship papers because the transport was about to sail with the radicals from Ellis Island. He said he was a native of Great Britain and had been in this country eighteen years. He received his papers.

L. C. A. K. Martens, "Ambassador" of the Soviet Government here, sent a letter to Miss Goldman, assuring her that "the Workers' Republic of Russia will be glad to offer an asylum to the first group of political refugees from the United States." Martens added:

"Soviet Russia persecutes nobody for his beliefs or political or economic theories. Everybody is at liberty to express his opinions as long as he does not engage himself in active co-operation with the enemies of the Russian workers—especially at this crucial time, when Soviet Russia is fighting for her existence against an avalanche of enmity and conspiracy. Whether he be a bourgeois, an Anarchist, a Socialist or an unfaithful Communist, he meets severe punishment in Russia if he is found actively violating the interests of the Russian workers. I have no reason whatsoever to believe that you and your comrades in exile will not find yourselves in Russia whole-heartedly working for the strengthening of the ideals of the Russian Soviet Republic."

Ethel Bernstein and Arthur Ketsas, who came before Justice Weeks, charged with criminal anarchy, were not permitted to plead, for in this way they would have come under the jurisdiction of the court. Instead they were returned to Ellis Island to await deportation action. The cases of Peter Bianki, Naum Stephanuk and Michael Krovchuck were adjourned until Jan. 5.

Hyman Lachowsky, whose twenty-year sentence under the Espionage Act has been upheld by the Supreme Court, failed to surrender himself yesterday to the United States Marshal. Assistant United States Attorney Ryan said that if he were not on hand this morning the bail bond of \$10,000 would be forfeited. Jacob Abrams and Samuel Lipman, under same sentence, are coming from New Orleans in the charge of Department of Justice agents.

District Attorney Martin of the Bronx said yesterday that proprietors had promised him they would place for them, and it is understood they will tell the story, and it is understood.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]19 Dec. 17, Washington, D.C. [to] Frank Burke, Ass[istan]t Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W.H. Moran, Chief, Secret Service, Treasury Department. — 1 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Moran forwards Goldman and Berkman's fund-raising letter to Burke.

Notes: For enclosures, see 880606305 and 880606306.

15446

Form 1543. FILE  
I.F.B.

Treasury Department,  
SECRET-SERVICE DIVISION,  
OFFICE OF CHIEF, *W.H.*

Personal  
Washington, D. C., 12/17/19.

Respectfully referred to Frank Burke,  
Esquire, Asst. Director and Chief,  
Bureau of Investigation, Department  
of Justice

*W.H. Moran*  
Chief.

Thomas B. Foster, Operative.....  
Secret Service Division.....  
Seattle, Washington.....  
12/11/19.

Encloses letter addressed to  
one Clerc, South Seattle, signed  
jointly by Emma Goldman and Alexander  
Berkman, soliciting the wherewithall  
to fight deportation.

FILE  
I.F.B.

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882



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 18, Washington [D.C. to Ludwig A. Martens, Soviet Representative to the United States, New York?] / [Robert A. Lansing, Secretary of State] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** The State Department officially notifies the Russian ambassador of Goldman and Berkman's deportation to Russia.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of Russia and has the honor to inform him that a communication has been received from the appropriate branch of the Government of the United States, reporting that on December 1, 1919, Emma Goldman Kersner, or Emma Goldman, and Alexander Berkman were ordered deported from the United States to Russia, via the port of New York, under the Act of February 5, 1917, and the Act approved October 16, 1918.

Department of State,

Washington, December 18, 1919.

311.6124K47/-

GAS/MTV

A true copy of  
the signed original.  
[Signature]

DEC 18 1919

Co. [Signature]

William Phillips

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 18, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Wein-  
berger. — 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks for Caminetti's assurances that the government will deport Goldman before December 22, 1919, as promised.

*The attached 11-22-19*

JOHN M. LOW AT LAW  
361 BROADWAY, NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

December 18, 1919.

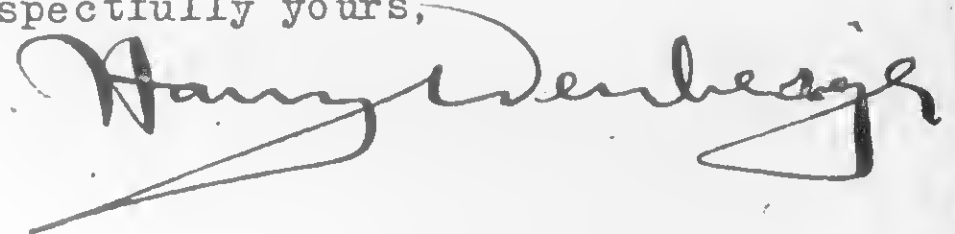
Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

Will you kindly wire me, collect, whether the Government will keep its promise to deport Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, not later than Saturday of this week or Monday of next week. That statement was made to the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York on the argument of the writs of habeas corpus, and I was so informed also by your Department and Mr. Hoover, of the Department of Justice.

Kindly send me wire collect, as to the exact time they will sail, the ship and the port that they will be sent to.

Respectfully yours,



HW/ICW

Special Delivery.

COPY

from  
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932  
File Number 54235/36

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884

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[United States ex rel] Goldman v. Caminetti: [Memorandum Decision, Dec. 18, 1919] / [Supreme Court of the United States]. — p. 565 ; 22 cm. In [United States Reports]. — Vol. 251 [1920].

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Boalt Hall School of Law Library.

Summary: The Supreme Court grants Goldman's request to withdraw her appeal of her deportation order.

1919.

by the Court. 251 U. S.

the Philippine Islands.  
want of prosecution.  
mer. No appearance

VERTISING COMPANY  
STATE POLICE, ETC.  
the United States for  
ber 21, 1919. Dis-  
rty, per stipulation.  
lant. Mr. Lucius F.

THOMAS D. McCAR-  
c. Appeal from the  
es for the Southern  
11, 1919. Dismissed  
appellants. Mr. Gil-  
for appellants. The  
rd O'Brian, Special  
or appellee.

v. ALFRED G. SCAT-  
orari to the Circuit  
ruit. December 15,  
either party, per  
for petitioner. Mr.

OUTHWESTERN RAIL-  
y. Error to the Su-

OCTOBER TERM, 1919.

565

251 U. S. Cases Disposed of Without Consideration by the Court.

preme Court of the State of Ohio. December 15, 1919.  
Dismissed on motion of counsel for plaintiff in error.  
Mr. Judson Harmon and Mr. George Hoadly for plaintiff  
in error. No appearance for defendant in error.

No. —. EMMA GOLDMAN v. A. CAMINETTI, COMMIS-  
SIONER OF IMMIGRATION, ETC. Application for appeal,  
etc., submitted December 10, 1919. December 11, 1919,  
assigned for hearing on December 18, 1919. Decem-  
ber 18, 1919. Leave granted to withdraw application for  
writ of error or appeal and for stay order and bail pending  
appeal, on motion of Mr. Harry Weinberger for Emma  
Goldman. Mr. Assistant Attorney General Stewart for  
Caminetti.

No. 64. GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY COMPANY v.  
STATE OF WASHINGTON. Error to the Supreme Court of  
the State of Washington. January 5, 1920. Dismissed  
with costs, on motion of counsel for plaintiff in error.  
Mr. E. C. Lindley, Mr. F. V. Brown and Mr. F. G. Dorety  
for plaintiff in error. Mr. W. V. Tanner for defendant in  
error.

No. 148. MAGMA COPPER COMPANY v. CHARLES RIS-  
SALA. Error to the District Court of the United States for  
the District of Arizona. January 5, 1920. Dismissed with  
costs, on motion of counsel for plaintiff in error. Mr.  
Alex. Britton and Mr. Evans Browne for plaintiff in error.  
Mr. J. J. Cox for defendant in error.

No. 130. WILLIAM H. GARANFLO v. UNITED STATES;  
and

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 18, Philadelphia [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Todd Daniel, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Daniel sends Burke a report on the activities of undercover agent Hajek.

Notes: For enclosure, see 880606310. For report mentioned, see 880606309.

## Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.

PHILADELPHIA

TD:K

TODD DANIEL  
Division Superintendent

December 18, 1919.

Frank Burke, Esq.,  
Assistant Director & Chief,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

FILE  
J. E. H.

Dear Sir:

I transmit, for your information, memorandum of Special Agent McDevitt under date of December 15th, in re: RADICAL ACTIVITIES IN NEW YORK-EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN. "ANARCHIST SOVIET BULLETIN," which should be read in connection with his previous reports entitled in the same manner.

Very truly yours,

*Todd Daniel*  
TODD DANIEL  
Division Superintendent.

enclosure

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886



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]19 Dec. 19, Chicago [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Leon Green. —  
 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*  
**Summary:** Green could not find Jacob Kersner's death certificate without a precise date.  
**Notes:** Broken type. Reply to 811104264.

TELEPHONE MAIN 3374

379

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LOCAL UNION 195

Affiliated with the A. F. of L.

## OFFICE:

704 Federation Building  
 166 W. Washington Street

CHICAGO, Decen<sup>ber</sup> 19 19

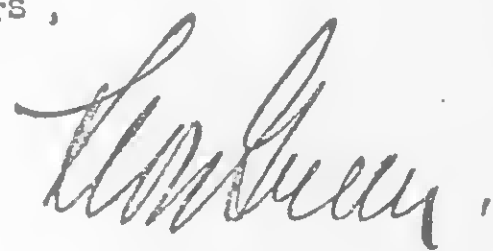
Mr. Harry Weinberger,  
 261 Broadway,  
 New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Weinberger:-

Have attended to the investigation of Jacob A. Kersner immediatly after your letter got here.

Sorry they could not trace such name in the Health Department unless a definit date or atleast an aprocsimate date of the death report is shown. If you have knowledge of any date let me know and I will get you a certified copy if there is a record of same party.

Very Truly Yours,



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 19 [New York to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].

— 1 p. ; 15 × 16 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*

**Summary:** Weinberger asks Caminetti to set a day when the families of Russian deportees may visit Ellis  
Island when the visitors' screen is removed.

**Notes:** Broken type; light copy; barely legible.

December 19, 1919.

Hon. A. Caminetti,  
Commissioner General of Immigration,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

If the Russian alien anarchists, who  
not deported Saturday, will you advise the officials  
at Ellis Island to notify the wives and children of  
these aliens of a day to be fixed when they can have  
one general visiting day without a screen, before they  
are deported.

Wire no.

Respectfully yours,

HW/ICW

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888

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 19, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Regarding Weinberger's request for better treatment for detainees at Ellis Island, Caminetti believes that whatever regulations the local officials establish are proper.

Notes: Reply to 830214046 and 850712382.

### U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION  
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,  
AND REFER TO

No. 54235/36-E

December 19, 1919.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Adverting to your letter concerning the extension of privileges to the detained alien anarchists at Ellis Island for the receipt of food by them from their relatives and friends, also mail, the Bureau has to state that it has confidence in the judgment which will be exercised by Acting Commissioner in dealing with this subject and it believes that there can be no just complaint against any regulations which the Acting Commissioner will establish concerning same. However, it has communicated with the Acting Commissioner on the subject.

Very truly yours,

AC\*REM

*A. Caminetti*  
Commissioner General.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 19, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Alex[ander] C. King, Solicitor General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.  
*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.*  
**Summary:** King informs Weinberger that he filed Weinberger's motion to dismiss Goldman's appeal with the Supreme Court.  
**Notes:** Broken type. Reply to 810113066. For motion papers mentioned, see 810113068.



SG-WRL  
Office of the Solicitor General,  
Washington, D.C.

December 19, 1919.

186233-13-240

Mr. Harry Weinberger,  
261 Broadway,  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge your letter of December 16 addressed to the Attorney General, enclosing motion for withdrawal of application for writ of error or allowance of appeal, stay and application for bail in re Emma Goldman. Said application was duly presented to and allowed by the court on yesterday morning.

Respectfully,

*Alexander C. King*  
Solicitor General.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Power of Attorney] 1919 Dec. 19 [naming Stella Ballantine] / Emma Goldman. —  
1 p.; 35 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional  
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Before her deportation, Goldman gives Stella Ballantine power of attorney over her affairs.

[Dec. 19, 1919]

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That I, EMMA GOLDMAN, of the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, being about to depart from the City of New York, have made, constituted and appointed, and by these presents do make, constitute and appoint STELLA BALLENTINE, my true and lawful attorney in fact, for me, and in my name, and to my use, hereby giving to my said attorney, power and authority to do, execute and perform and finish for me, and in my name, all and singular those things which shall be expedient and necessary or which my said attorney shall judge expedient and necessary in and about, for or concerning any of my affairs or business, as fully as I, the said EMMA GOLDMAN, could do if personally present, hereby ratifying and confirming whatever my said attorney, or her substitute shall do or cause to be done in, about or concerning my business and affairs and any part thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 19th day of December, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

(Seal)

STATE OF NEW YORK, )  
COUNTY OF NEW YORK, ) SS:  
CITY OF NEW YORK. )

On this 19th day of December, in the year one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, before me personally appeared EMMA GOLDMAN, to me known and known to me to be the individual described in and who executed the foregoing instrument and she duly acknowledged to me that she executed the same.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter to Miss Emma Goldman] / [Ludwig] A. Martens. — 27 cm. In Soviet Russia. — Vol. I, no. 29 (Dec. 20, 1919).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Ludwig Martens writes an open letter to Goldman, assuring her of her welcome in the Soviet Republic.

Notes: Pasted on Department of Labor letterhead for Goldman's immigration file.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON

EVERY WEEK

PRICE, TEN CENTS

## SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

Vol. I

New York, December 20, 1919

No. 29

### A Letter from the Soviet Representative to Miss Emma Goldman

December 15th, 1919.

Miss Emma Goldman  
Ellis Island  
New York.

Madam:

New York morning papers, Sunday, December 14th, published an alleged interview with me regarding your enforced departure to Russia. I was maliciously represented as having said that you and other refugees will not be welcome in Soviet Russia and that you may be punished by death if you "plot there as you plotted here." While I have never had the pleasure of making your acquaintance, I feel confident that you understand that I have made no such statements, and I am writing this only to emphasize this fact.

Far from sharing in the malicious hysteria, a product of which are the stories which I now want to correct and many other insults to which you, your comrades in exile, and thousands of other men and women of Russian birth have been subjected in the United States, I wish on behalf of my country to state that the Workers' Republic of Russia will be glad to offer an asylum to the first group of political refugees from the United States. Soviet Russia persecutes nobody for his beliefs or political or economic theories. Everybody, be he a bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or a Communist is in Free Russia at liberty to express his opinions and to advocate his beliefs as long as he does not engage himself in active co-operation with the enemies of the Russian workers,—especially at this crucial time, when Soviet Russia is fighting for her existence against an avalanche of enmity and conspiracy. Whether he be a bourgeois an

anarchist, a Socialist or an unfaithful Communist, he meets severe punishment in Russia if he is found actively violating the interests of the Russian workers. I have no reason whatsoever to believe that you and your comrades in exile will not find yourselves in Russia wholeheartedly working for the strengthening of the ideals of the Russian Soviet Republic. I am confident that you therefore will be as welcome there as any other working man or working woman who is interested in the liberation of the working class.

I regret very much that the anomalies of the present situation prevent me from personally arranging for your security and comfort during your journey to Russia. You are perhaps aware of the fact that I, on behalf of my Government, made an offer to the Government of the United States to provide, at the cost of Soviet Russia, free trans-

portation to my country of all Russians in America who want to return there, or whose presence in the United States is not desired by the authorities here. This proposition so far has led to no results. If realized, it would have saved you unnecessary humiliation and privation, and it would have saved the authorities here unnecessary excitement.

Please accept my best wishes and convey them to all the other refugees. Tell them that Russia, liberated from the oppression which drove them out of their native land, is welcoming them back, confident that they will find there an opportunity to work for the development of the Soviet Republic of Russia.

Sincerely yours,  
(Signed) L. A. MARTENS,  
Representative of the United States of the  
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photographs Taken On Board the Buford, between 1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] /  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. : 29 × 15 cm.

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.*

**Summary:** A government official takes photographs of deportees on the *Buford*, including a separate photograph of Goldman.

**Notes:** Enclosed with 810617064.



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893



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photographs Taken On Board the Buford, between 1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] /  
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 29 × 15 cm.  
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
Notes: Duplicate of 870717004.

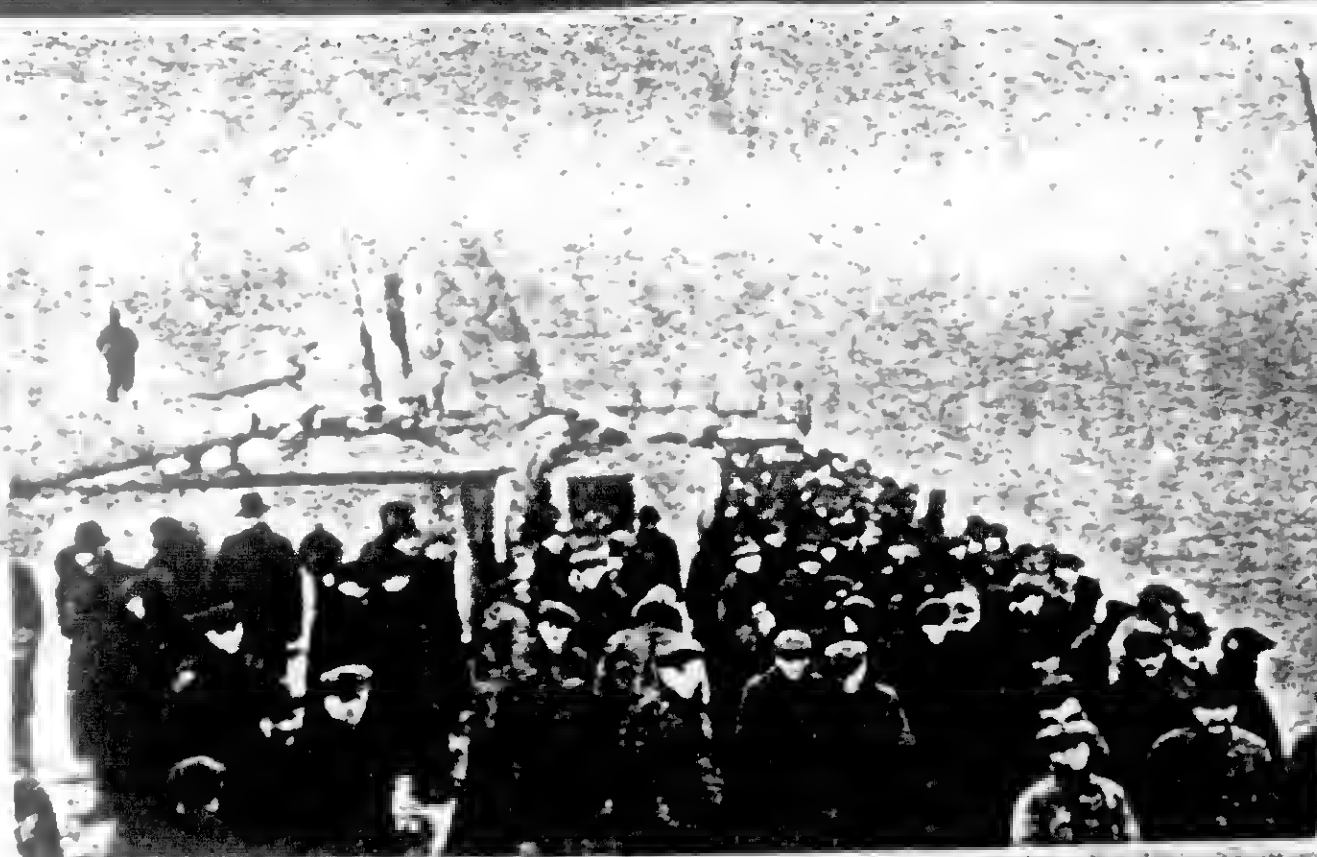


DORA LIPKIN

ETHEL BERNSTEIN



EMMA GOLDMAN



DEPORTEES ON THE "BUFORD"

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photographs] Leading Personages on the Buford's Passenger-List — 10 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 21? 1919)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** An unidentified newspaper prints a composite photo of Goldman, Berkman, Ethel Bernstein, and Peter Bianki.



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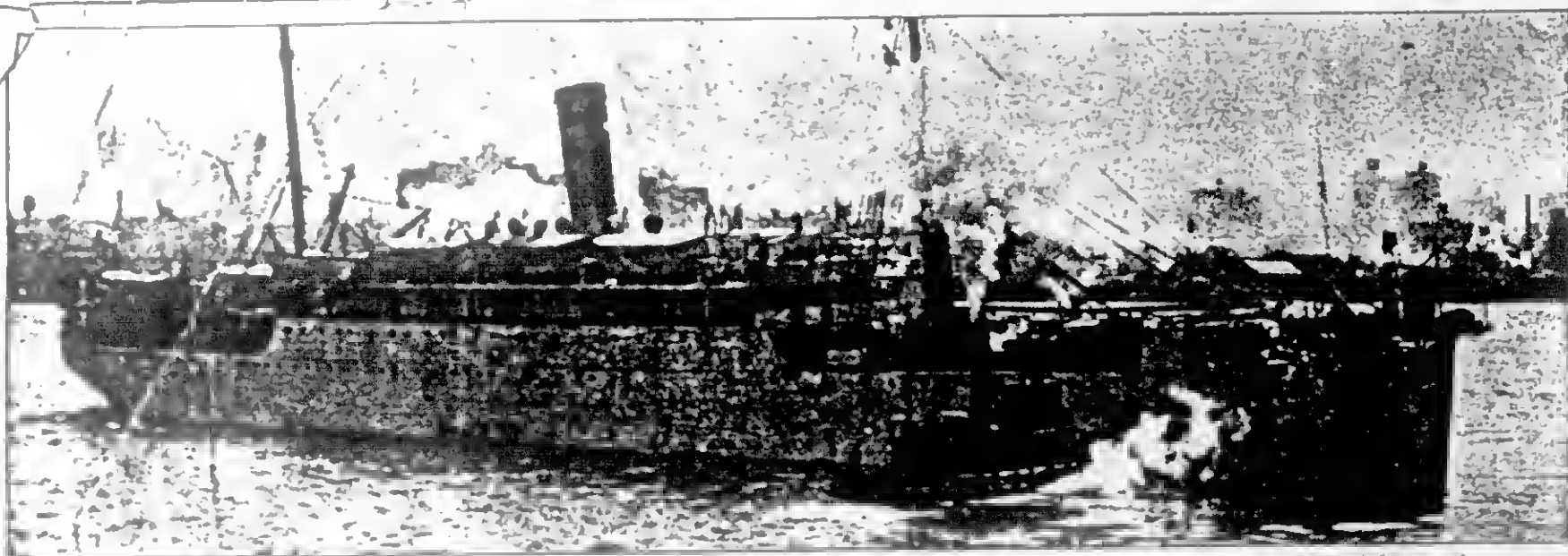
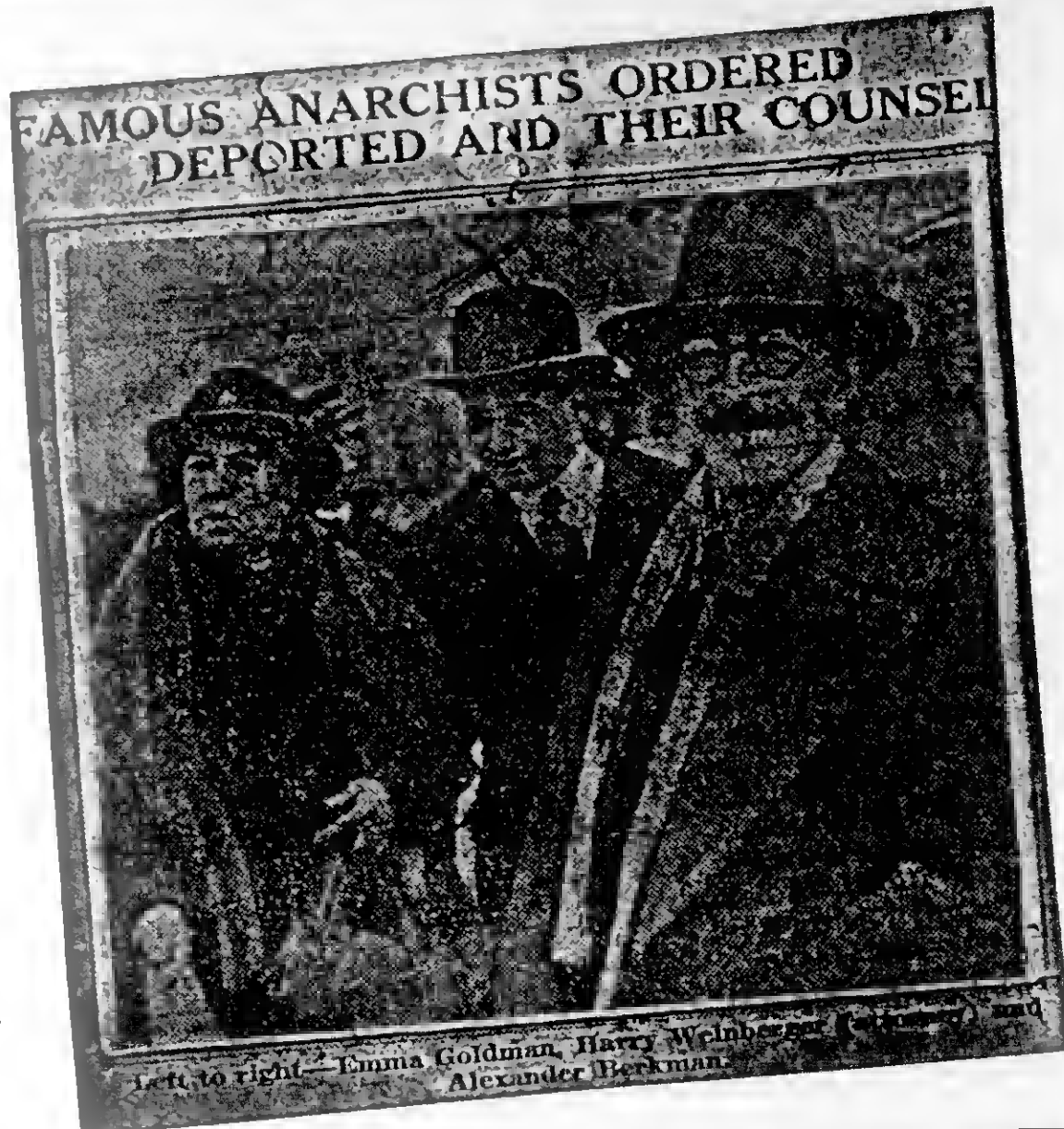
895

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photograph] Famous Anarchists Ordered Deported and Their Counsel — 24 cm. In  
[unknown periodical (Dec. 21? 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: An unidentified newspaper prints a photograph of Goldman, Berkman, and Harry Weinberger at Ellis Island.



"THE SOVIET ARK."

The United States army transport *Buford*, carrying 249 Russian "Reds" as America's Christmas present to Lenin and Trotsky.

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896

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, en route to U.S.S.R.] 1919 Dec. 21  
 [government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.  
 Summary: The American commissioner in Riga transcribes names and addresses from Berkman's address book, which Berkman compiled on board the *Buford*.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 810409020 through 810409028. For similar list, see 810409026.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter  
 of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept.  
 By R. Z. Weise Date 4-19-64

On Board U. S. T. Buford. Dec. 21. 1919.

Anderson, Marg. 24 W 16 St.

An. Club - Moscow - Tiversk 19.

Andreeva - Maria Feodorovna - Dmitr. Per. 12 - Qu. 25 - (Moscow)

B. Aline - 715 Merritt Bldg. - Gorod Billy

Blackwell, Alice Stone, 3 Monadnock St., Dorchester Mass

B. Max - 537 E. 182 St.

B.B. - 21 Van Dam St. - NY

B. Kitty - 1310 Yeon Bldg.

Mr. A. Rachmetev, Central Postoffice, Post Restante, Moscow

Blanco, John J. - 5512 - 5th Ave Bklyn (Decent Rlman)

Ed. Behre 45 W. 39 St.

B.-Small Kharitonensky Per. 10 - 5047, 6473 (Moscow)

Brand - Red. Bjoerklund, Oelandsgattan 48, Stockholm, So

Axel Karlsson, Lindquist

Augustin Souhy, bei Kater, Berlin O., Warshauer Str. 62

Bremen - Ernst Klausner - Brakerstr. 29

M.A.C.-Dr. - 1457 East Parkway

Stolov - Tversk. 19 - 2052-17 (Moscow)

Store - Tv. 70 - 2-67-86 (Moscow)

Cummins, Saxe-Mercantile Bldg., Main St. Roo

Cornevaux, M-lle C. - 134 W. 70th St. N. Y.

Cleveland - Riva Hessin - 2259 E. 73 St.

Diamond, Ida - 1056 Hoe Ave, Bronx

House of Soviets: 1) National 206-82, 2) Metropole, 3) 4-32-49 (Sadovaya)

Drozdov (V-Tohoka, Moscow) - Bol. Lubimka, 14 - room 47. Tel 2-08-78  
 Ushkalan

Copenhagen - Danus - Croix Rouge Danoise, Amaliegade 24

Eppstein, Joseph Viotorovich, Orsha, Chief Administration of Plenbezh  
 (Prisoners and Fugitives)

Fishman, Minnie, 245 Ft. Wash. Ave. NY

Fleshin, Moscow Street 22, Anarchist Club, Kharkov

Fleshin, Riva 2259 E. 73 St. Clevel

Goldenberg, Dr. - Tel. 420-26

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/10

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, en route to U.S.S.R.] 1919 Dec. 21  
 [government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.  
 Summary: The American commissioner in Riga transcribes names and addresses from Berkman's address book, which Berkman compiled on board the *Buford*.  
 Notes: Enclosed with 810409020 through 810409028. For similar list, see 810409026.

-2-

Gorki, Maxim - Group A - 212-68 - 23, Kronverk Per., Qu. 5 (Moscow)  
 Hamburg, August Heidel, Seilerstr. 22, I.  
 Hochs, Hyman - 74 Elliot St. Roch.  
 Inform. Tel. Moscow - 206 - 82  
 Iljitch, Drogol. Iv. Belgrad, Belgrad St. 49  
 Ispart - Olminsky or Aminsky, Tel. 6-74, Secretary of Lezhava  
 Uskah - Max Sheroven  
 Karakhan - 871 - Sofiiskaya Naberezhnaya 14, Moscow  
 Kolontai, M-me - 1st House of Soviets, 206-82 - 229 (room) after 7 p. m.  
 Khariton - Maly 10 - 50-47, 64-73  
 Karakhan - Sofiiskaya Naberezhnaya 14 - 871  
 Kropotkin - Phone Zagorodnaya Dmitrov, Sergeev Posad, Soviet Street  
 Alsufiev House  
 Kaplun - Morskaya 13/3, Qu. 25, Entrance from the Kirpichny Per.  
 Miss Korobovinska, Hotel Cosmopolite, Copenhagen, Denmark.  
 Mrs. J. Kagan, Route 2, Box 58 B, Petaluma, Cal.  
 Kovarsk - Dr. Dambo (wife Kov), Suvorov 24, Petr.  
 Shak, Isak Abramovich, met in M., Zagorodny 21, Qu. 44, Tel 411-86 Petr.  
 Per Arkad, Osipov. Kov. - Julii Mark Blumenthal, beer-brewer, K.  
 Rosenbaum, Presid. Jewish Society  
 Dr. Rabinovich, friend of Dr. Horatio  
 Osipovich (in W. the latter)  
 also his friend Soloveich.  
 Moisey Horatzevich K - in Berlin, Student, o/o Dr. Gluecksberg  
 Charlottenburg, Wallstr. 61/III  
 Kovno - M. J. Eliapern, Mitzkevich Str. 14 (from M.M.)  
 " Soltkdviezgor 15 K. Beiles  
 (P. J. Klavansky, Ilia and wife Regina M. Beiles)  
 Lunacharsky (Pres. Theatr) (Gorod. 16-07) or Kremlin 4-01-00) Dab. 29  
 Centrotheatre - 3-42-39 - Neglinnaya  
 Liggio-Jennie-Casella Postale 384, Torino, Italy  
 London, Langton House, 31 Palace Gate, Kensington, W.  
 Mrs. S. Littauer (friend of ?) 255 Pearl St., ?  
 Miller, J. (Libby) - 540 Manhattan Ave, NY  
 Melnichansky - Pres. Trade Unions, Moscow 30-70-4, 4.1-1.0-1 - 92  
 Merkel (492-64 - Ofitizerskaya 41, Qu. 8  
 Metropa - 2nd Soviet House - 5-29-00 Dob. 41(50)

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 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
 Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State  
 Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, en route to U.S.S.R.] 1919 Dec. 21  
[government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American commissioner in Riga transcribes names and addresses from Berkman's address book, which Berkman compiled on board the *Buford*.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020 through 810409028. For similar list, see 810409026.

-3-

Kaidanovskaya 19. second fl. Club (City M-k)

Osher Levin - Zakharevsk. St. -

Peter Malkin - Serpukhovskaya 8, Qu. 4

Tell Lev. his address red'd from Marshak

Newlander, Carl, Hjortkvarn, o/o. Brand

Naft, Gert - 164 Waverly Pl.

Norway - Alfred Madsen o/o. Ny - Tid Expedition - Trondjem  
to be forwarded to A. Gran o/o Hotel North Pole, Vardo, Norway

Netlau, Max, Wien IX, Lazarettgasse 32 III/22

Shapiro - Latv. Ruble - S. 056904 Riga

Radek, Kremlin 4-01-00 (Upper Commutator)

Rayevskaya - Political Dept. 12, Sadovaya 1 Kiev

Riga, Kivul, Nicolai 3, Qu. 13

Rudolf Berlin, Neukoeln, Kirovstr. 3

Riga, - A. Peterson, Great Lach eela 14, 25

Reval, Esthonia - Julius Isidor Freymann, 22 Shirskaia (from Vydrin)

Kater, Berlin O.34, Kopernikus str. 25.11

Rieger, Unterwiesch 12a, Stettin

Stockholm, Axel Holmstrom, Buchverlag, Hagagatan 16, St - V&A

Albert Jensen, Helenoborgsgatan 25 B, Stockh. So

Naum Jurievich Hergel (friend of Alesta; knows Latzky) can help send letters

Jda Lvovna Milner - Podgorodnaya 12, Chief of Children house, friend of  
Aleksa M.

Sister of Rosa Abram Wydrin

Fran Fraenkel, Kleistrasse 29 I, Berlin W. 62

City of Birth - bro. of Mice Boris - Alex top.

Fran Elise Wydrin, Wien XIX, Sieveringerstrasse 12

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/10

899

## The Emma Goldman Papers

Alex. Berkman and Emma Goldman say they will come back... — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec.? 22? 1919)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** An unidentified newspaper asks why Goldman and Berkman intend to return to the United States from congenial Russia.

**Notes:** Upper document only. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Paper unknown  
December, 1919 (approx.)

Alex. Berkman and Emma Goldman say they will come back to this country after assuming titles of the highest distinction in Russia. Why return from a land so abundant in congenial opportunities?

### THE BUFORD, HAS FINE SERVICE RECORD

The transport Buford, now making a trip to an unknown port as "Soviet ark," has been under the American flag since June, 1898, when, with seven other vessels, she was purchased by the army quartermaster department to bring home troops who had served in the Spanish war. Previously she was the British steamship Mississippi. She was launched in 1890 at Belfast, Ireland.

On one of her voyages from Manila, through the Suez Canal to New York, she was at sea for eighty-one days. Major General Leonard Wood, when he completed his term as Governor General of Santiago de Cuba, returned to New York on her. In 1915, when a large portion of the Texas coast was cut off by hurricane, the Buford, then lying at Galveston, was the only means of communication with the outside world, her wireless working with the government station at San Antonio.

She once made a trip from San Francisco to Alaska with eight hundred officers and men of the Twenty-third Infantry.

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900

# The Emma Goldman Papers

The Buford Has Fine Service Record — 28 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec.? 22? 1919, fragment)] / [author unknown].

*Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.*

**Summary:** An unidentified newspaper outlines the history of the Buford.

**Notes:** Dark copy. Lower document only. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Paper unknown  
December, 1919 (approx.)

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman / Walt Mason. — 28 cm. In [unknown periodical (Dec.? 22? 1919)].  
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.  
 Summary: Walt Mason writes a poem approving Goldman's deportation.  
 Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Paper unknown,  
 December, 1919 (approx.)

### Emma Goldman

I saw fair Emma leave our  
 shores, and crape was festooned  
 on her lid; she sailed with many  
 other bores who talked too  
 much, as Emma did. She stood  
 upon the vessel's prow, that time  
 the siren gave three hoots, and  
 shrieked to us, "I leave you now,  
 but I'll come back, you bet your  
 boots!" Alas, it was an idle  
 threat, though hurled at us with  
 force and vim; the ocean's deep  
 and wide and wet, and poor old  
 Emma cannot swim. Thus sailed  
 away a brainy dame who might  
 have ranked among the great,  
 and figured in our Hall of Fame,  
 had she but had her head on  
 straight. She went around de-  
 nouncing things and telling peo-  
 ple they were slaves, the bond-  
 men of the money kings and  
 other plutocratic knaves. Her  
 whole existence was a knock,  
 she had the morals of a dip; and  
 now, because she couldn't walk,  
 she's crossed the ocean in a ship.  
 We couldn't shoo her off the  
 earth, but we did shoo her off  
 this shore, which tribute to her  
 sterling worth appeared to make  
 old Emma sore. So fare thee  
 well, O Emma dear, may you  
 keep fat in other lands; we're  
 tired of locoed ladies here, who  
 talk of bombs and burning  
 brands. WALT MASON.

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902



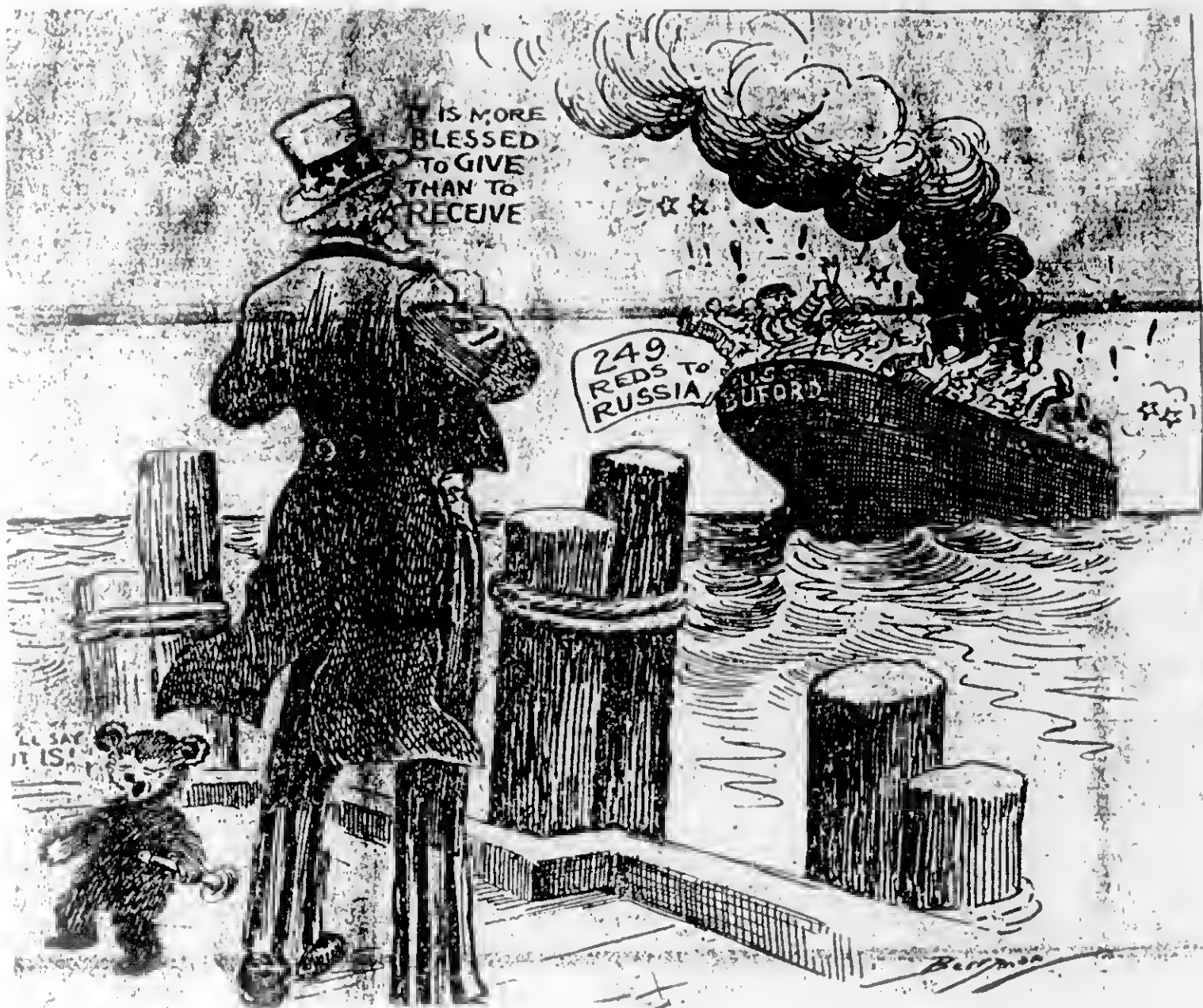
## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Political Cartoon] 249 Reds to Russia / Berryman. — 28 cm. In [unknown periodical (Dec. 22? 1919)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

**Summary:** Berryman's political cartoon depicts Uncle Sam watching the *Buford* leave the dock.

**Notes:** From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.



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903

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Berkman and Goldman — 28 cm. In [unknown periodical (Dec. 22? 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: An unnamed newspaper columnist observes that Goldman and Berkman have no skills to offer Russia beyond their oratory.

Notes: Right-hand column only. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Emma Goldman, the American citizen, the department states that she has no right to be a citizen either through the naturalization of her father or by marriage. In the spring of 1887, to be a citizen, Mr. Hoover contends that Miss Goldman was 24 years of age when her father was naturalized in Rochester, N. Y., October 13, 1894, and that she did not claim citizenship herself or apply for citizenship papers. Furthermore, the department proves that she was married "by a Reverend Bardin, who had no right to perform the marriage ceremony under the laws of New York."

## Charges Husband With Fraud.

As further proof that she cannot claim citizenship because of marriage, the department states that her alleged husband "was not entitled to admission as a citizen," that he obtained his papers by fraud and his certificate of naturalization was cancelled by the United States district court ten years ago.

It is also stated by the Department of Justice that in 1888 Emma Goldman and her purported husband were divorced according to the Jewish law by Rabbi, Abe C. Levinson, at one time chief Rabbi in Baltimore. After this "divorce" the government memorandum states, "Emma Goldman and her husband lived together again for a few months until she fell in love with Alexander Berkman, with whom she has kept continued company except for the periods during which he has been incarcerated in penitentiaries and jails."

Between the time of her arrival and deportation, Miss Goldman spent 35 years in the United States, during which period she actually worked eighteen months. Thus, for more than 15 years, she has been travelling throughout the country or resting in prison as an agitator, anarchist, and enemy of our government.

## Carries Off Thousands of Dollars.

The government states that after her arrival in New York from Hamburg on the steamship Gallet, December 31, 1886, she went at once to the home of her half-sister, Mrs. Samuel Cominsky, in Rochester, N. Y., and obtained employment as a fall dress, in which trade she worked about one and one-half years. Nevertheless, as a writer and lecturer, she was able to raise thousands of dollars, and when she was deported from the United States today she carried with her thousands of dollars in American money.

It shows that preaching anarchy pays, said one of the government officials who has been trailing anarchists for more than 20 years. "While the rest of us work hard for living and are satisfied with our form of government, these anarchists accumulate comfortable fortunes by denouncing the very country which makes them prosperous."

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Berkman and Goldman. Upon departing, Berkman and Goldman made the conventional gesture and announcement: "We go, but we return." But they will not return. They have had their day. They have had their day in America. They should have been deported years ago. It is inconceivable that such creatures will ever be tolerated in this country again. We are, at last, on to their kind, and conditions are such that the gates must be shut against them.

Of what force will they be in Russia, assuming that their destination is Russia? They are at most but soap-box orators and agitators of that type. Neither has ever had to do with practical affairs. They came to America young, and when not in prison have spent their time principally with discontented loafers and wastrels. They have been widely advertised, but not in connection with any contribution to constructive work of any sort.

Now, in Russia, the need is of men and women of constructive ability; and there is a great scarcity. The soap-box orators and other agitators have done their stunt. They have overturned the government and either killed or banished the former despots. But a new government must be established, and considerable difficulty is being encountered by those engaged in the effort. As yet only a ramshackle arrangement has been made. Unless something better and much more substantial can be devised, the condition of the Russian people will inevitably grow worse.

Of what use, then, at this time will these mouths be in Russia? And these two mouths are foreign. Berkman and Goldman as agitators have learned their trade outside of Russia, and under conditions so different from any Russia has ever known it will be very difficult if not impossible for them to find employment in their new environment. And their mouths are all they have to offer.

It will be of interest, therefore, if any intelligence comes back about them, to note the character of their reception in Russia, and what, if anything, they are set to do. Of course, they will attempt the martyr role. But there are so many martyrs—professional martyrs—among the Russian Reds, the immigrant article cannot hope for the center of the stage.

Very likely, in deporting these two persons this government has reduced them to impotency. They are no longer a menace here, and never will be again, while in Russia they can be of no service to those at present in power, and will have to scuttle with the rest whenever the change comes which will bring in a more intelligent and orderly procedure.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

249 Reds Sail, Exiled to Soviet Russia... — 28 cm. In [New York Herald (Dec. 22, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The New York Herald describes the Buford's departure and the government's anti-radical policy.

Notes: Typed date is incorrect. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

# 249 REDS SAIL, EXILED TO SOVIET RUSSIA; BERKMAN THREATENS TO COME BACK; SECOND SHIPLOAD MAY LEAVE THIS WEEK

## BUFORD LEAVES AT DAWN

Heads Eastward With  
Cargo of Sedition Under  
Heavy Soldier Guard.

## THREE WOMEN IN PARTY

Emma Goldman Shows Bravado  
—Glad to Go, She Says, Pre-  
dicting Triumphant Return.

## SOME HAPPY, OTHERS CURSE

Carry Great Quantity of Bag-  
gage and Quarter Million  
Dollars in Cash.

Under the guns of Fort Wadsworth the leaden-colored transport Buford loomed vaguely in the beginning of yesterday's dawn, her port holes blinking out one by one as light came on. Shortly after 6 o'clock, splashing and rasping in the silence of the empty bay, the anchors came up to the bow, the Buford's prow swung lazily eastward, a patch of foam slipped from under the stern and 249 persons who didn't like America left it.

Some indifferent, some happy, some cursing, some sullen and some crying, the company of radicals guilty, by confession, of seeking the overthrow of American ideals and institutions, passed out to sea while the city slept—went out without the slightest chance to pose as the martyrs they considered themselves to be. Two hundred of them started on their way forty-four days after they were arrested.

Scarcely an hour after the Buford de-

parted for Soviet Russia, bound, it was believed her secret sailing orders read, for Cronstadt, an hour's ride from Petrograd, it was ascertained that yesterday's action was the beginning of an extremely rigorous policy against radicals. Another shipload is going out, perhaps this week, and a drive to cut down the Department of Justice's list of 60,000 radicals in the nation already has been started, with Assistant Attorney General Francis P. Garvan and Chief William J. Flynn of the Secret Service co-operating in direction.

The action that ended yesterday had its beginning when Mr. Garvan joined the staff of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, it was said yesterday. He took office determined to stamp out the Red menace. The first results of this determination were the wholesale raids of the Department of Justice on Nov. 7—action aimed chiefly at the Union of Russian Workers, the constitution of which advocated the destruction by any means of all government. Two hundred who went out yesterday—and there were sixty-one New Yorkers among them—were the fruits of these raids.

### Buford Picked for Voyage.

Quietly conducted investigations and arrests in the industrial centres in New England, in the Middle West, in Seattle, San Francisco, Butte, and at a few Southern points followed. The goal of the Federal agents was the capture of the leaders, the "Intellectuals," of agitation, and on the Buford, in the opinion of Chief Flynn, went the brains of the ultra-radical movement.

Many trains, starting from widely scattered points, converged on Ellis Island. The prisoners they brought mounted from tens to hundreds, until Saturday night more than 300 were caged there. As the island filled, official Washington seemed to find itself in a dilemma. No one seemed to know where to get a ship to deport the undesirables.

Finally, Mr. Garvan went to the War Department, talked it over with Secretary Baker, and a liner was obtained for Emma Goldman, who failed to find the kind of liberty she sought after thirty-four years here; for Alexander Berkman, anarchist and attempted assassin, and for the lesser fry.

The ship chosen was the old Buford, not quite 5,000 tons, which has done a deal of tossing about in her twenty-eight years of seafaring. Captain George J. Hitchcock, who commanded her when she carried troops in the Spanish war and A. E. F. doughboys more recently, was told last Wednesday to get his 125 American-born officers and men busy revamping troop quarters for a cargo of Reds.

He was instructed to load stores and provisions enough to last 500 persons sixty days, and was told that he probably would be cruising for eighteen days, allowing for the usual bad weather at this time of year. He also was told to issue automatic revolvers to a detail of guards to be picked from his crew.

### 250 Soldiers as Guard.

Over at the Port of Embarkation Colonel John Hilton was directed to prepare to sail on the Buford in command of a full company of 250 soldiers from Governors Island, assigned to supplement the crew. In the Military Intelligence Section of the General Staff at Washington Colonel A. Ely was informed that he was detailed to accompany the deportees to their destination. Men from the Department of Justice and Immigration Service also were assigned to make the trip.

New York Herald,  
December 2, 1919.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Mentor of Czolgosz, McKinley's Slayer, Declare U.S. Investigators / Carl W. Ackerman. — 28 cm. In [Washington Post (Dec. 22, 1919)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Using recently released information from J. Edgar Hoover's brief, *The Washington Post* describes the government's case for Goldman and Berkman's deportation.

Notes: Page two, left-hand column only. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Washington Post,  
December 22, 1919

## Emma Goldman Mentor of Czolgosz, McKinley's Slayer, Declare U. S. Investigators

*Department of Justice Bares Confidential Reports on "Red Queen" and Berkman That Caused Their Deportation—Cites Berkman's Confession of Attempt to Assassinate Frick.*

By CARL W. ACKERMAN.

New York, Dec. 21.—The United States Department of Justice today raised the curtain of secrecy, behind which was concealed the work of years of investigation, to show the people of this country every fact and incident about the life and agitation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the two Russian anarchists, who, together with 247 other "reds," are tonight on their way back to soviet Russia. By direction of Assistant Attorney General Garvin, the confidential reports on Berkman and Goldman, prepared by J. E. Hoover, special assistant to Attorney General Palmer, were made public.

Although the great majority of Americans have been convinced for years that these two Russians were dangerous aliens, the Department of Justice, after the most painstaking investigation, has the proof in the form of documents and testimony, and now that Berkman and Goldman have been exiled, the documentary proof, for the first time, is made public.

### Goldman Mentor of Czolgosz.

The main facts established by the government against these two Russians are:

1. That Emma Goldman was "instrumental in helping to form the unnatural ideas" of Czolgosz, who assassinated President McKinley.
2. That she is not and never has been an American citizen; that she

is not entitled to citizenship because of her father's naturalization, and that her "American" husband, whom she divorced and then lived with again, obtained his naturalization papers by fraud.

3. That although she was in the United States nearly 34 years, she worked only eighteen months, and spent most of the past 25 years denouncing the United States government, teaching anarchy and disrespect of authority, advocating violence and obstructing the law.

4. That Emma Goldman stated that her philosophy was: I am a "revolutionist by nature and temperament and as such I claim the right for myself and all those who follow with me to rebel and resist invasion by all means, force included, consequently a destructionist."

### Involved in Assassinations.

5. That she has been involved directly or indirectly in nearly a score of killings and assassinations in the United States and that she has been in prison almost as much as she has been out of the confines of prison walls.

In the indictments of Berkman, the government quotes him at considerable length showing by his own words that he has violated nearly every law and custom of this country. He called the selective draft "involuntary servitude," and said that in

the United States "the cry of democracy is a lie and a snare for the unthinking." A republic, he declared in his magazine, "The Blast," is not synonymous with democracy. The government quoted from his book, "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," his own confession of why he attempted to assassinate the late Henry C. Frick. The Department of Justice, summing up its memorandum about Berkman, quotes him as favoring a "world-wide violent social revolution," by means of a "general strike."

### Open Advocate of Violence.

In connecting Miss Goldman with the assassination of President McKinley, the government brief states:

"We find that Emma Goldman openly admits that she believes in the use of violence and states that she not only is an anarchist, but she is likewise a destructionist. Czolgosz (who shot President McKinley in Buffalo in 1901), read and carefully perused, according to his own statements, the various issues of 'free society,' and even though it be conceded that Emma Goldman was not a direct party to his crime in the assassination of President McKinley, yet she was instrumental in helping to form the unnatural ideas which Czolgosz held toward government and authority."

In its charges against Berkman the Department quotes extensively from his writings and submitted as an exhibit a copy of "The Blast," dated May 1, 1916, in which Berkman has an article entitled, "To Hell With the Government."

That Emma Goldman is not an American citizen and cannot claim protection from the United States government is proved by the Department in the form of a detailed history of her life, from the time of her birth in Popolan, State of Kovno, Russia, in June, 1870, to the day of her arrival on Ellis Island, a few days before she was deported.

### Berkman a Russian Subject.

"Alexander Berkman," according to the government memorandum, is a Russian subject and not a citizen of the United States. He was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and is stated to be about 50 years of age. His occupation has been that of an editor and publisher. He has stated that he is single and that his parents are dead. Prior to his arrest in June, 1917, he was the publisher of the Blast, a publication issued in San Francisco, several issues of which were barred from the mails because they violated section 211 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits the circulation of mail matter intended to incite arson, murder or assassination."

The department was unable to fix the exact date of Miss Goldman's birth, but, according to two sources of information, she was born between June 27 and 29 in the year 1869 or 1870. "In a book entitled 'Anarchism and Other Essays' by Emma Goldman," so reads page 1 of the government document, "there is a biographical sketch by Hippolyte Havel, in which the following statement appears: 'Emma Goldman was born of Jewish parentage on the 27th day of June, 1869, in the Russian province of Kovno.'" The department adds, however, that according to an investigation made by the assistant United States district attorney in Pittsburgh in 1908 she was born June 29, 1870.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Mentor of Czolgosz, McKinley's Slayer, Declare U.S. Investigators / Carl W. Ackerman. — 28 cm. In [Washington Post (Dec. 22, 1919)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Using recently released information from J. Edgar Hoover's brief, *The Washington Post* describes the government's case for Goldman and Berkman's deportation.

Notes: Page two, left-hand column only. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

In the discussion of Miss Goldman's claims of American citizenship, the department states that she has no rights as a citizen either through the naturalization of her father or by marriage. In the spring of 1887 to Jacob Kersner, Mr. Hoover contends that Miss Goldman was 24 years of age when her father was naturalized in Rochester, N. Y., October 13, 1894, and that she did not claim citizenship herself or apply for citizenship papers. Furthermore, the department proves that she was married "by a Reverend Bardin, who had no right to perform the marriage ceremony under the laws of New York."

## Charges Husband With Fraud.

"As further proof that she cannot claim citizenship because of marriage, the department states that her alleged husband "was not entitled to admission as a citizen," that he obtained his papers by fraud and his certificate of naturalization was canceled by the United States district court ten years ago.

It is also stated by the Department of Justice that in 1889 Emma Goldman and her purported husband were divorced according to the Jewish law by Rabbi Abe C. Levinson, at one time chief Rabbi in Baltimore. After this "divorce" the government memorandum states, "Emma Goldman and her husband lived together again for a few months until she fell in love with Alexander Berkman, with whom she has kept continued company except for the periods during which he has been incarcerated in penitentiaries and jails."

Between the time of her arrival and deportation, Miss Goldman spent 34 years in the United States, during which period she actually worked eighteen months. Thus, for more than 32 years she has been traveling throughout the country or resting in prison as an agitator, anarchist, and enemy of our government.

## Carries Off Thousands of Dollars.

The government states that after her arrival in New York from Hamburg on the steamship Gallet, December 31, 1885, she went at once to the home of her half-sister, Mrs. Samuel Cominsky, in Rochester, N. Y., and obtained employment as a tailress, "at which trade she worked about one and one-half years." Nevertheless, as a writer and lecturer, she was able to raise thousands of dollars, and when she was deported from the United States today she carried with her thousands of dollars in American money.

"It shows that preaching anarchy pays," said one of the government officials who has been trailing anarchists for more than 20 years. "While the rest of us work hard for a living and are satisfied with our form of government, these anarchists accumulate comfortable for themselves, denouncing the very country which makes them prosperous."

(Copyright, 1919, by the Public Ledger Co.)

## Berkman and Goldman.

Upon departing, Berkman and Goldman made the conventional gesture and announcement: "We go, but we return." But they will not return. They have had their day—much too long a day—in America. They should have been deported years ago. It is inconceivable that such creatures will ever be tolerated in this country again. We are, at last, "on to" their kind, and conditions are such that the gates must be shut against them.

Of what force will they be in Russia, assuming that their destination is Russia? They are at most but soap-box orators and agitators of that type. Neither has ever had to do with practical affairs. They came to America young, and when not in prison have spent their time principally with discontented loafers and wastrels. They have been widely advertised, but not in connection with any contribution to constructive work of any sort.

Now, in Russia, the need is of men and women of constructive ability; and there is a great scarcity. The soap-box orators and other agitators have done their stunt. They have overturned the government, and either killed or banished the former despots. But a new government must be established, and considerable difficulty is being encountered by those engaged in the effort. As yet only a ramshackle arrangement has been made. Unless something better and much more substantial can be devised, the condition of the Russian people will inevitably grow worse.

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Very likely, in deporting these two persons the government has reduced them to impotency. They are no longer a menace here, and never will be again, while in Russia they can be of no service to those at present in power, and will have to scuffle with the rest whenever the change comes which will bring in a more intelligent and orderly procedure.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Radical Writings of Emma Goldman Are Made Public — 28 cm. In [Washington Star (Dec. 22, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Washington Star describes the evidence used against Goldman at her deportation hearing.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

## RADICAL WRITINGS OF EMMA GOLDMAN ARE MADE PUBLIC

Washington Star,  
December 22, 1919.

### Mass of Evidence Secured by Department of Justice Brought Deporting.

A mass of evidence used by the Department of Justice in deportation proceedings against the Russian anarchists, including Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, started on their way to soviet Russia early yesterday morning, was made public today.

It consists chiefly in quotations from writings and speeches uttered by Emma Goldman, and shows the influence she had in certain acts of lawlessness and some outrages in the United States over a period of years. Goldman is connected, by J. E. Hoover, special assistant to the Attorney General, who has prosecuted the deportation cases, with the Los Angeles Times explosion, the assassination of President McKinley and, of course, with organized efforts to resist the selective service draft during the war.

"Emma Goldman has been a prolific writer on all subjects," said Mr. Hoover's statement, "varying from discourses on the 'drama' to the 'Advocation of Birth Control' and the 'Exposition of Anarchy.'"

#### Recent Writings Revealed.

Among her recent writings were pamphlets which found a wide distribution among workers in mines and factories, especially foreigners. Some of the titles were: "Cynicalism, the Modern Menace to Capitalism," "Preparedness the Road to Universal Slaughter," "Patriotism, a Menace to Liberty," "Anarchism, What It Really Stands For," and "The Psychology of Political Violence."

For several years Goldman has been proprietor and editor of a radical publication, "Mother Earth." Much of the evidence used against the woman was presented simply in the form of copies of the periodical. In this the anarchist "queen" advocated all sorts of violence—sabotage, bombing, assassination—and when such outrages occurred she praised the perpetrators, describing them usually as "noble comrades."

#### Attacked at Religion.

One of her most popular pamphlets bore the title, "Philosophy of Atheism and Failure of Christianity." In connection with this, it is pointed out by Department of Justice agents, Goldman is of Jewish parentage and has lived out of wedlock with men over extended periods.

In another pamphlet issued by the Mother Earth concern, Goldman says: "Religion is a superstition that originated in man's mental inability to solve natural phenomena. The church is an organized institution that has always been a stumbling block to progress."

At another place Goldman says: "Every institution today rests on violence; our very atmosphere is saturated with it. So long as such a state exists we might as well strive to stop the rush of Niagara as hope to do away with violence."

Preparedness says Goldman is "to uphold the institutions which protect and sustain a handful of people in the robbery and plunder of the masses; the institutions which take from the alien whatever originally he brings with him and in return give cheap Americanism, a false glory and a false sense of duty and honor."

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908

# The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchist Leaders Fought to Last Legal Ditch to Escape Deportation — 28 cm. In [New York Tribune (Dec. 22, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

**Summary:** The New York Tribune reprints the government's evidence supporting Goldman and Berkman's deportation and gives J. Edgar Hoover's account of his meeting with them prior to their deportation.

**Notes:** Dark copy. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

New York Tribune,  
December 22, 1919.

## Anarchist Leaders Fought to Last Legal Ditch to Escape Deportation

Legal battles fought by Emma Goldman and Berkman to remain in this country are described in a statement issued last night by the Department of Justice. Both anarchists, according to the statement, took advantage of every opportunity to fight the government's purpose to deport them.

The cases of four others also are explained. Of these, two were arrested following raids by the Lusk committee on November 8. Another was arrested at a Russian demonstration at Washington Square several months ago. This government summarizes of these cases follow:

**Emma Goldman:** On September 5 a warrant of arrest was issued by the Assistant Secretary of Labor, J. W. Abercrombie, charging Emma Goldman with being in the United States in violation of the Immigration act of February 5, 1917, and the act approved October 15, 1918, wherein it is provided that persons found advocating or teaching anarchy shall be deported from the United States. At the issuance of this warrant Emma Goldman was confined in the Missouri State Penitentiary for Women, Jefferson City, completing a sentence of two years imposed upon her by Judge Mayer, of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, for her activities in obstructing the selective service act.

### Gave Bond of \$15,000

Immediately upon the discharge of Emma Goldman from the Jefferson City Penitentiary in the latter part of September, 1919, the subject was immediately taken into custody by the Federal officers upon a warrant issued by the Assistant Secretary of Labor and upon furnishing liberty bonds in the amount of \$15,000 was released to appear later before the immigration authorities at Ellis Island for hearing upon the charges set forth against her in the warrant of arrest.

The Department of Justice had made a very thorough and searching investigation into the activities of Emma Goldman, tracing the same from the beginning of her career in anarchy down to the present time. Every speech delivered by the subject had been taken down stenographically and the department had also in its possession exhibits of all the writings of Emma Goldman which had appeared from time to time not only in the form of pamphlets but also in various anarchistic periodicals.

On October 27, 1919, Emma Goldman was ordered to appear at Ellis Island for hearing. The government was represented by A. P. Schell, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, New York; W. J. Peters, law officer of the Bureau of Immigration, Washington; and John Edgar Hoover, special assistant to the Attorney General.

The alien was represented by counsel. At the outset of the hearing Emma Goldman refused to answer questions by the government officers, and it was incumbent upon the government to proceed with the case, proving not only the fact that the subject was an alien but also proving her various activities and writings along anarchistic lines.

Two weeks later, upon request of counsel for Emma Goldman, a supplemental hearing was held at Ellis

Island to enable Emma Goldman to produce any evidence in her possession concerning the claim that she made to American citizenship. At this hearing the alien had failed to obtain any evidence, and counsel requested that she be given one month in which to gather additional evidence. This request was objected to by the representative of the Department of Justice, and the immigration inspector refused to allow the request. In connection with the fictitious claim to American citizenship made by the subject, it is to be noted that she endeavored to prove that her husband, Jacob Kersner, was dead in 1909, when he was denaturalized for having obtained his citizenship papers through fraud and for that reason the denaturalization proceedings could not operate against Kersner or against herself, thus perfecting the fraudulent citizenship which she had procured through her husband.

### Deportation Is Ordered

The Department of Justice had, however, obtained information to the effect and affidavits to support the same that Jacob Kersner, instead of being dead in 1909, did not die until January, 1919; thus showing that Emma Goldman either knew little or nothing about the whereabouts of her husband through whom she endeavored to claim protection, or, else she intentionally made the false statement that the husband was dead in 1909.

Upon the conclusion of the second hearing at Ellis Island, the record in the case was forwarded to the Commissioner General of Immigration, Anthony Caminetti, for review and final action and on Friday, December 5, 1919, Emma Goldman was ordered to report at Ellis Island and surrender herself to the immigration authorities for deportation. The Department of Labor having acted upon the case and concluded that she was an alien advocating and teaching the doctrine of anarchy.

Emma Goldman hastily returned to New York from a speaking tour on December 8, 1919, and presented herself at Ellis Island, at which time she was taken into custody and her release upon bond refused. Her counsel immediately sued out a writ of habeas corpus before Judge Mayer and on Monday, December 8, 1919, a hearing upon the writ of habeas corpus was set to be heard before Judge Mayer. At this hearing the government was represented by United States Attorney Francis G. Caffey, special assistant to the Attorney General, John Edgar Hoover, and W. J. Peters, law officer of the Bureau of Immigration. At this proceeding the judge found that there was no grounds for granting habeas corpus and, therefore, remanded Emma Goldman to the custody of the Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island.

Immediately counsel for Emma Gold-

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchist Leaders Fought to Last Legal Ditch to Escape Deportation — 28 cm. In  
[New York Tribune (Dec. 22, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

**Summary:** The *New York Tribune* reprints the government's evidence supporting Goldman and Berkman's deportation and gives J. Edgar Hoover's account of his meeting with them prior to their deportation.

**Notes:** Dark copy. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

mon sued out a writ of error and on Wednesday, December 10, 1919, counsel for Emma Goldman appeared before Justice Brandeis for the purpose of arguing the writ of error. At this proceeding the Department of Justice was represented by R. P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General, and John Edgar Hoover, special assistant to the Attorney General. Justice Brandeis considered this matter of such a nature that he referred it to the entire Supreme Court.

## Stay of Deportation Order

Briefs in the proceedings were filed with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on Wednesday afternoon, December 10, 1919, 4 o'clock p. m., and on Thursday afternoon, December 11, the Chief Justice stayed the deportation proceedings for one week in order that counsel for Emma Goldman might, if he so desired, present the record to the Supreme Court on December 18, 1919. The Chief Justice, however, refused to allow the subject to be released on bail pending this stay.

Counsel for Emma Goldman refused to avail himself of the opportunity to present the record to the Supreme Court, with the result that on December 18 the stay in the deportation was vacated.

Immediate steps were then taken to secure the deportation of Emma Goldman, and she is included among those sailing upon the transport Buford for Russia.

**Alexander Berkman:** At the hearing before Judge Mayer on December 8 the government was represented by United States Attorney Francis G. Caffey, special assistant to the Attorney General John Edgar Hoover, and W. J. Peters, law officer of the Bureau of Immigration.

After argument on the case, Judge Mayer decided that there were no grounds upon which the writ of habeas corpus could be sustained and, therefore, remanded Alexander Berkman to the custody of the Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island. Immediately counsel for Berkman sued out a writ of error, and on Wednesday, December 10, 1919, counsel for Alexander Berkman appeared before Justice Brandeis for the purpose of arguing the writ of error.

At the proceeding the Department of Justice was represented by R. P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General, and John Edgar Hoover, special assistant to the Attorney General. Justice Brandeis considered this matter of such a nature that he referred it to the entire Supreme Court.

## Goes to Supreme Court

On the afternoon of December 10 the government submitted its briefs to the Supreme Court in the case of Alexander Berkman, and Thursday, December 11, 1919, the Chief Justice handed down the opinion of the entire court to the effect that there was no ground upon which the writ of error could be sustained and for that reason refused to stay the deportation of Alexander Berkman; he also refused to allow the sustained, and for that reason refused his actual deportation.

The government immediately took steps toward securing the deportation of Alexander Berkman, and he is now one of the number sailing on the transport Buford for Russia.

## Views on Patriotism

Of patriotism she said "a superstition artificially created and maintained through a network of lies and falsehoods; a superstition that robs man of his self-respect and dignity. The awful waste that patriotism necessitates ought to be sufficient to cure the man of even average intelligence of this disease."

A part of the evidence against Goldman consisted of testimony given by Leon Czolgosz during his trial for the assassination of McKinley. In this the prisoner declared he had been influenced to kill by hearing the woman speak and reading her writings advocating violence and killing. And about Czolgosz, Goldman wrote: "My heart goes out to you in deep sympathy and to all those victims of a system of inequality."

## Used Against Berkman

Much of the same evidence was used to convict both Goldman and Berkman, who have been intimates from the time, years ago, when Goldman left the man to whom she had been illegally married. The two worked hand in hand in much of their agitation.

Mr. Hoover returned to Washington last night from Ellis Island. He, with Immigration Commissioner Anthony Camminetti and Chief William A. Flynn of the secret service, supervised the large job of getting the 219 anarchists to Ellis Island from various parts of the country in which they had been apprehended and in putting them aboard the transport Buford, which sailed at 6 a. m. yesterday from Sandy Hook for some point in bolshevik Russia.

## Women Travel First-Class

"The three women in the party," explained Mr. Hoover, "are traveling first-class. The men are traveling with the same accommodations the American Army had en route to and from Europe. Goldman had several trunks and half a dozen suit cases filled with her belongings and she took with her a lot of money she has collected from her followers in America. Berkman and most of the others had plenty of money. Just before we left the island, one of the men wanted me to cash a check for \$3,000. I refused and suggested he send it to some of his friends remaining in this country and have them get the money. He said he wouldn't trust the check into our hands for transmission. 'All right,' I said, 'take it to Russia and trust the bolsheviks.'"

"The crowd was very cocky Saturday night, and full of sarcasm for the Department of Justice and immigration agents. When we got them out about 4 a. m. and they saw the number of soldiers and guards on hand they were thoroughly cowed. They showed no pep. Berkman bossed all of the others. He was strutting around wearing high Russian boots, khaki and a sombrero hat."

## Goldman Is Bitter

"I went to pay my respects to Goldman after she and the other two women were put in their stateroom. She was very bitter in her remarks about the United States and about the Department of Justice activities. 'I'll be back before long,' she declared, 'and I'll give you plenty more work to do.' Berkman's uncle is one of the leaders under Lenin and Trotsky, and Berkman told me he expects to join the two and help govern Russia just as soon as he returns."

"Berkman declared we were making a mistake in sending back most of those being deported. 'They are not anarchists,' Berkman said, 'but they will be by the time I've talked to them a few times on the way back to the old country.'"

"The government saw to it that all of the deportees were warmly clothed and well treated. Many people may think they didn't deserve such consideration, but the department considered the matter in a more generous light. After the crowd disembarks at the Russian port they will receive each several days' supply of food—enough to see them through until they can make arrangements."

"Oh, no; it isn't likely the deportees will mutiny. There is on board ship a guard of 200 soldiers, each carrying, besides his rifle two pistols. Berkman is expected to start trouble, in that event he will be put in solitary confinement."

"The Department of Justice is not through yet, by any means. Other 'soviet arks' will sail for Europe just as often as it is necessary to rid the country of dangerous radicals."

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

Sails With 249 Reds — 29 cm. In [Washington Post (Dec. 22, 1919)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Military Intelligence Division keeps a clipping of *The Washington Post's* colorful account of the early morning departure of the *Buford*.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible.

## SAILS WITH 249 REDS

Deportees Off to Russia Curse U. S. as Ship Leaves Port.

### THREE WOMEN IN LIST

Berkman Hailed as Leader; Emma Goldman Unconcerned.

Radicals Chant "Long Live Revolution in U. S." as They Are Taken From Ellis Island—Sailing Orders Kept Secret—Youngest Deportee 17—Accompanied Down Bay. Another Ship Seen to Sail.

(By the Associated Press.)

New York, Dec. 21.—The United States army transport *Buford*, ark of the soviet—called before dawn today with a cargo of anarchists, communists and radicals banned from America for conspiring against the government. The ship's destination was hidden in sealed orders, but the 249 passengers it carried expect to be landed at some far northern port giving access to soviet Russia.

"Long live the revolution in America," was chanted defiantly by the mobley crowd on the decks of the steel gray troopship as she turned her way past the Statue of Liberty. Now and then they cursed in chorus at the United States and men who had cut short their propaganda here. Not until the *Buford* steamed out of the narrows between Forts Hamilton and Wadsworth did the din cease. Over their heads whipping in the wind, the Stars and Stripes floated from the masthead.

#### Troops Aboard as Guard

The autocrats of all the Russians on the transport were Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, his best companion for 22 years. With them were 215 men and two women—Hazel Bernstein and Dora Lushin. None knew where they would debark, and even Capt. G. A. Hitchcock, commander of the veteran transport, was no better off. At daybreak tomorrow Col. Hilton, commanding the troops on board as guards, will hand the skipper his instructions. Only a few high officials of the War and Labor departments knew the ship's destination.

The voyage will last 12 days unless it is prolonged by unfavorable weather. The presumption is that the *Buford* will land at Hango, Helsinki or Abo, in Finland, which are connect-

The chant of "Long live the revolution in the United States" was started by Peter Blanky, general secretary of the Union of Russian Workers, as the *Buford* got under way at

From the "Washington Post" of Dec. 21, 1919.

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ed by rail with Biele-Ooperoff on the Russian frontier. It was intimated in official quarters that arrangements have been made with the Finnish government to permit the passage of the Russians through that country.

#### Preparations Secretly Made

The transfer from Ellis Island to the *Buford* of the agitators who have preached death and destruction was an event unique in the annals of this nation. Seized in raids in all parts of the country, they were mobilized here for deportation. An elaborate system of secrecy was thrown about the preparations for sending them away.

It was in the darkest hours of night that an army tug drew up at the dock at the immigration station to take aboard the undesirable for the seven mile journey down the bay to the *Buford*. Two dozen soldiers armed with rifles and 45 many immigration inspectors carrying nightsticks patrolled the shores of Ellis Island until the tug arrived at 5:15 a. m.

The reds were marched single file between two lines of guards from the immigration barracks to the boat landing, each carrying his or her baggage. A score of agents of the Department of Justice circulated among the Russians waiting to begin their long journey. These agents and the soldier guards on the island went on board the tug with the deportees and took them to the transport.

#### Few Weep; Most of Them Downcast

A revenue cutter and two other army tugs formed an escort for the reds and one tug lay alongside while they were being transferred to the *Buford* to prevent attempts by these reluctant to leave to swim the half mile to the shore of Staten Island.

While all the anarchists had professed joy at the thought of returning to Russia a few of them wept and most of them seemed downcast as they stepped on board the tug for the grim journey through the darkness of the harbor to the troopship. The air was cold and a biting wind was blowing as they huddled on deck. "Good-by, America," sobbed Miss Bernstein, as the tug plowed past the Statue of Liberty with her lighted torch held proudly aloft. The girl was leaving behind Samuel Lipman, her fiance, facing a 20-year term in the Atlanta penitentiary for violating the espionage law.

Berkman was defiant to the last, and threatened secret service men as he stepped from the roll of the United States.

#### "Coming Back," Says Berkman

"We're coming back, and we'll get you," he muttered, embellishing his statement with curses.

"To hell with America!" came in a deep bass voice from the anarchist tug as it passed a boat crowded with more Department of Justice men.

W. F. H.

6:15 o'clock. Proof of membership in this organization, which was formed here in 1907 by a Russian who is now chief of police of Petrograd, caused most of those in the party today to be deported. Its constitution advocates the use of violence.

Miss Goldman was so unconcerned that she slept until after midnight, although the rest of the party remained up all night. All were notified immediately after dinner last night that they would be deported before daylight. They had not expected to be quickly. Despite elaborate precautions, Harry Weinberger, counsel for Berkman and Miss Goldman, learned of the plans, and made two ineffectual attempts to visit the island. The bureau of immigration considered another visit useless because he had said farewell to his clients. So had Mrs. Stella Ballentine, Miss Goldman's niece, and Miss Emma Fitzgerald, of New York, who had expressed a desire to see her mother, Miss Goldman, and her sister, who she kissed in public when she was rendered for deportation.

#### Johnson and Blagovestnik

Anthony C. Johnson, general of immigration, in charge of place at the night and down the bay. Johnson and Blagovestnik, House committee on both were there, as were Garvin, Assistant Attorney General, and William J. Flynn, secret service of the Department of Justice.

As soon as they were informed that they would be out of the country for a few days the anarchists on the island formally organized a soviet anarchistic commune. Berkman and elected Berkman "general secretary." He passed the word of all in the large detention room and no monarch was ever more humbly obeyed. All stood up when he entered the room. The members of the commune obeyed him as perfectly that guards transmitted their orders through him. In khaki shirt with khaki trousers tucked into high Russian boots, he was the central figure in a merry group that awaited the tug. They played banjos and guitars and sang the "Internationale." All their conversation was in Russian.

#### Berkman to Join Lenin

Berkman said he expected to go to Petrograd and cooperate with Lenin and Trotsky in governing Russia. He said his uncle, N. M. Berkman, was the director of all the country's railroads and also head of the Moscow soviet.

"Why should I not be happy?" he remarked as he tied up a box of oranges which was put on board the transport with canned goods, condensed milk and chocolate and great quantities of other food supplies that the whole soviet took with it. "I am going among friends."

Most of the members of the commune had ample clothing of their own but the immigration officers took care that no one should be imperiled by the rigorous weather of Russia. Those who had not properly equipped themselves were supplied with complete outfits from army stores, including overcoats, underclothes, mittens, hats and boots.

#### Take Nearly Half Million Away

The commune took nearly half a million dollars in American money

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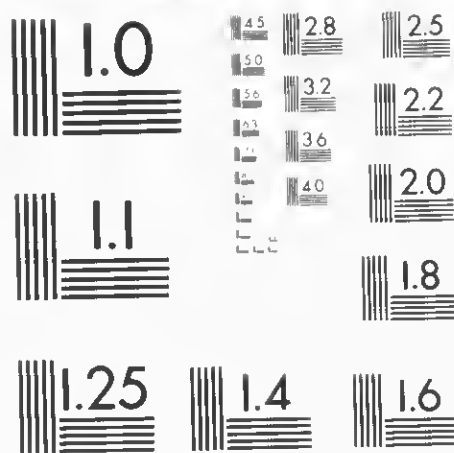
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Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible.

"We, the first American political refugees," the statement said, "will yet live to see America truly brave and truly free and we will be recalled by this land to rejoice with her people in their triumphant achievements."

The  
Emma  
Goldman  
Papers

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